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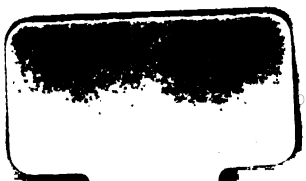

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XXIX.

JULY—DECEMBER, 1857.

"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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ERRATA.

Page 170 line 13. For *Commissioner*, read *Commission.*

„ 177 — 36. For *Mr. Webbe*, read, *whom we suppose to have been still Captain Kirkpatrick.*

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THIS number of the "Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government" is more than usually interesting. The two last reports, on the Botanic Garden, and on the methods adopted in the cultivation, collection, and preparation of opium in the Patna district, are especially so, and could we transfer them *in extenso* to our pages, we are sure that our readers would thank us. What strikes us as to the first report, by Dr. Falconer, is the late period of its publication, it having been written early in 1854. It contains information on the growth of teak in Sylhet, Bancoorah, Rajshaye, Rampore Bauleah, and Kishnaghur. The subject is one of vast importance to the commercial interests of India, and one that has been neglected till almost too late. Civilisation is often apt to be too hasty, and in its efforts to clear the land and fit it for the abode of man, to deprive itself of that which is one of its most material aids in its progress and extension. Recently an attempt has been made to correct the error by planting young trees in various parts of Bengal. Dr. Falconer, however, is of opinion that "no portion of the delta land of Bengal is suited to the growth of first-class teak." The reason that he assigns for this, is the excessive moisture of the rainy season, the compact character of the soil, and the inferiority—so great as fifty per cent—of the fruit, or nut to that of the Tenasserim Provinces. Injury has further arisen from unskilfulness in planting. In most of the Bengal plantations, the young trees were placed at intervals of only ten feet apart, whereas "first-class 'teak cannot be grown at a less distance apart than forty feet, 'or 272 trees to the acre." In the conclusion of the Report, a remarkable instance of the growth of teak in the Bengal Provinces is mentioned. "A teak tree at Gowalparah, planted about twenty-five years before, had attained a height of between fifty and sixty feet, with the following dimensions to the trunk.

Girth, at three feet above the ground ...	9 feet 3 inches.
Ditto, at twelve feet (offset of branches)...	7 „ 10 „

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The subject is one of vast importance, and it is hoped that Government will direct more attention to it. Neither they nor the Agricultural Society will be able to effect permanent good, unless the Zemindars take it up.

The Report on the Shans, by Lieut.-Col. Hannay, is precisely of such a character, as might have been inserted in the Asiatic Researches of former days, or as would enliven the dulness of the Asiatic Society's Journal, in more modern times. From it, it seems that their country is one that, in a commercial point of view, is of immense importance. Its vegetable productions consist of teak, rose-wood, gamboge, a species of gum-benjamin, cardamum, saffron, red-wood, sandal-wood, stic-lac, a variety of the tea-plant similar to that which grows in Assam, and the leaves of which are prepared by a peculiar process as a condiment. Several useful fibres—among which is silk, are also produced. In the department of minerals we have tin, antimony, lead and abundance of iron. There is also a silver mine, ruby, sapphire, serpentine rock of a fine quality, amber of various colours and qualities, lignite, fossil-wood, and gold dust in small quantities. Though far behind the Chinese, in arts and manufactures, the Shans yet produce fine parti-coloured silk, such as is worn by the highest dignitaries of the Burmese Court; they understand something of mining and smelting, produce beautiful lacquered-ware, and are excellent workmen in silver. The Burmese Pony, so well-known and so useful in Bengal, is "entirely a native of the Shan states." It is taken to Ava, thence to Rangoon, and shipped to Madras and Calcutta. Bamo on the Upper Irrawaddy (latitude 24° 12′, longitude 97°) is the modern capital of the old Shan Province, the seat of a Burmese Governor, and yields a revenue of three lakhs of rupees. The following description of it is given:—

"I find that this is a modern town, erected on the banks of the Irrawaddy for the convenience of water carriage between it and Ava. The old Shan town of Manmo or Bamno is situated two days' journey up the Tipan River, which falls into the Irrawaddy, about a mile above the new town of Bamo or Zee-theet Zeit, or new mart landing place.

"This modern town is situated on high unequal ground, and the bank toward the river is from forty to fifty feet in height and composed of clay.

"With the exception of Ava and Rangoon, it is the largest place I have seen in Burmah, and not excepting these places, I certainly think it is the most interesting. The novelty of so large a fleet as ours passing up, (and no doubt having heard that an European officer was of the party,) had attracted a great crowd of people to the river side, and on landing, I felt as if I were almost in a civilized land again, when I found myself amongst fair-complexioned people, wearing jackets and trowsers, after being accustomed to the harsh features and parti-colored dress of the Burmans. The people I saw were Chinese from the province of Yunan, and Shans from the Shan Provinces subject to China. Bamo is said to contain 1,500 houses, but including several villages which join it, I should say it contained 2,000, at least 200 of which are inhabited by Chinese. Besides the permanent population of Bamo, there are always a great number of strangers there, Chinese, Shans, Polongs and Khykhyens, who either come to make purchases, or to be hired as workmen. There are also a great number of Assamese, both in the town and in the villages immediately connected with it, amongst whom are several members of the Tapan or Assam Rajah's family.

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"The inhabitants of this district live in large comfortable houses, which are thatched with grass and walls made of reeds. They are generally railed in, and all the villages have bamboo palisades surrounding them. The most conspicuous objects on approaching the town are the large cotton godowns erected on the bank of the river—these belong to the Chinese, 500 of whom there may be permanently residing in the town, which, with the numerous arrivals from different parts of the country, gives the place a very business-like appearance, and there is of course a good Bazaar. The Chinese have erected a temple, and in the quarter occupied by that people, the houses, not temporary, are built of bricks stained blue. The streets are paved also with the same material.

"The position of the modern town of Bamo is altogether well chosen, the high hard clay bank on which it is situated being completely beyond the highest rise of the river, which is one vast sea during the height of the rains, in consequence of the narrow space into which its waters are confined in the passage through the range of hills, called the second Kyoukdwen,* about one day's journey below the town. The view from the bank, therefore, during the rainy season, extends over a small inland sea, studded with islands, having to the North-west the lower gorge of the third Kyoukdwen, or passage of the river through a range of mountains, and from the vast bed which the river naturally makes for itself when freed from its rocky limits, the view in the direction of this gorge, about ten miles distant, is, at this season, even grand and imposing. Opposite the town to the west the land is low, and an extensive chur, or alluvial island, runs parallel with the high Eastern bank, and which, at the proper season, is under cultivation, with all the different esculents in use with these vegetable-eating Bhudduts, the fields being generally kept by the women, who are to be seen passing to and fro at all hours, six or eight of these (Shan women) standing upright, paddling their canoes, and keeping time to a native air of their own.

"The water of the river under the town is deep, but the bank being precipitous boats put to on the opposite sand. The water is peculiar from its light greenish hue, caused by the color of the clay in its bed.

"All Indo-Chinese people are jealous of European encroachments on them; it was naturally to be expected therefore, that the advent of an European officer, at an unknown and prohibited mart, to all western Foreigners, would make enquiries with regard to inland traffic, with China particularly, attended with great difficulty. Amongst the Burmese, I certainly found it so, but with the Chinese themselves, there was very little unwillingness to impart to me all they knew."

Col. Hannay recommends the settlement of a British Merchant at Bamo; twenty-five years ago, a Portuguese factory is said to have existed there, and the tradition regarding it is current among the natives:—

"*Cutti Kaksu*, near the lower gorge of the Second Kyoukdwen. below Bamo, is perhaps the site of the ancient Ura Thena and Cutti-gara.† The Polongs, in their personal appearance and habits in the present day, completely answer the description given of the Sesatæ or Basunaræ (literally Bussaneeahs, or petty traders) of the days of Ptolemy."

The report on the Botanic Garden is worthy of Dr. Thomson. It gives a history of the garden, and is full of practical and valuable suggestions as to its future working. Were they carried out, not

* Between Ava and Bamo, there are two Kyoukdwens or passages of the river, between a range of hills. Both are navigable at all times Third Kyoukdwen above Bamo, is not navigable during the rainy season. The depth of water in these rocky passages is very great, extending from ten to sixty fathoms.

† Kaksu, in the Shan language, signifies a fall or break in the level of the river, and may be considered synonimous with Gara.

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merely would it be to a far greater extent than it now is the resort of the denizens of Calcutta, but it would recover that scientific celebrity and utility which it acquired under Dr. Wallich, but which, we fear, it has lost. It will not be Dr. Thomson's fault, if it does not recover it.

Dr. Thomson took charge of the garden in April, 1855. The head gardener Mr. Scott, of whom his chief speaks highly, was then on duty in Pegu, and hence many important horticultural operations were for a time suspended. The plan of issuing plants to all who applied for them was found to be a most injurious one. During last year, from June 1855 to February 1856, 15,865 plants were issued to 296 applicants. Selfish wishes for fruit trees, and especially grafted-mangoes, were thus largely satisfied, but the cause of science was not in the remotest degree promoted. Hence Dr. Thomson contemplates with satisfaction the carrying out of the resolution of Government, to stop the general issue of plants after the 28th of February, 1857. This of course will not affect exchanges with public establishments. It is proposed to extend the Palmetum laid out by Dr. Falconer in 1849, "so as to include a further portion of the eastern extremity of the garden," formerly called the teak plantation. Thus that jungly waste will be redeemed. New roads will be added. The natural and medicinal gardens laid out by Dr. McClelland will be removed, the natural garden laid out in a different place, and a select number of specimens of one natural family, planted in the various compartments of the garden, "so that, with a small plan of the garden as a guide, the student would at once be able to find each tribe of plants." The garden school, which has failed in its objects, will be discontinued, the pay of the coolies increased, and greater care shewn in the preservation of the Herbarium. Dr. Thomson is urgent for more funds, to increase the present establishment, to build a new glass house, to purchase new and rare plants, to increase the number of collectors in the various parts of Asia, and to add to the Library the latest and most valuable works on botanical science. The following is full of wisdom and common sense:—

"Twenty years ago, it might have been necessary to enter into details, in order to prove the importance of a Botanic Garden. At the present day, the value of such a national establishment is no longer a matter of doubt, and the necessity for such an institution in the metropolis of a great empire, which is also the seat of a nascent University, will probably be conceded by every one. The great national Botanic Garden of England was re-organized in 1840 (previous to which time it was in a state of decay), and it has already become, popularly and scientifically, one of the most important institutions in the world.

"What Kew Garden is to the metropolis of England, the Calcutta Botanic Garden might be, and ought to be, made with respect to the metropolis of India. The taste of the natives of India for the beauties of nature is certainly very small, and there is, I will admit, no demand, on the part of the people, for a national Botanic Garden. This taste, however, like all others, requires culture for its development, and no means appears better adapted to produce that gradual modification of the modes of thought of the people of India, which alone can bring about their amalgamation with European civilization, than the cultivation of the natural sciences, and the education of the taste for the beauties of nature.

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"The local importance of the Hon'ble Company's garden has, therefore, I think, never been sufficiently appreciated. Its position, on the right bank of the Hooghly, is undoubtedly, in some respects, disadvantageous, as rendering it difficult of access, but any change of site is obviously impossible, from the great expense by which it would be attended. The rapid extension of the population of Howrah makes this annually of less importance, and it may reasonably be hoped that, before many years, improved means of crossing the river, the exact nature of which cannot be foreseen, will facilitate access to the garden from the Calcutta side.

"The rapidity of the development of Calcutta, during the last fifty years, has undoubtedly been very great, but it is probably trifling in comparison to what may be expected in the next half-century. The existence of a large area of open ground, the property of the State, in the immédiate vicinity of a populous and rapidly increasing city, is so important on sanatory grounds, that no question can exist as to the propriety of retaining it. The value of ground in the neighbourhood of Calcutta is already considerable, and may be expected to increase from year to year, so that the acquisition of land for the purpose of Parks will annually become more difficult. The area occupied by the Botanic Gardens will probably ere long be entirely surrounded by a dense population, when its importance, as a pure and healthy spot, will be even greater than at present.

"To make the Botanic Garden an establishment worthy of the Empire, its scientific character ought to be raised, and it ought to be made available as a place, both of instruction and of recreation, for the public. To attain the latter object, it is not in the least necessary to neglect the former, and both may be effected without any great increase of expenditure. It will, however, be necessary to abandon the present fixed limit to the expenditure of the garden, which has, during the twenty-five years it has been in operation, destroyed its efficiency by cramping the efforts of the successive superintendents to make improvements. A fixed establishment is undoubtedly quite necessary, but extraordinary expenses for improvements should surely be taken into consideration on their own merits, and if approved of after a rigid scrutiny, sanctioned without reference to the ordinary expenditure. I shall therefore proceed to indicate, in succession, a number of points, in which increased outlay is, I think, called for.

"At present, the garden is open to all pedestrians, but carriages are excluded. This rule is found to work admirably at Kew, but it is not adapted to a tropical climate, so that practically the public are excluded from the Garden for the greater part of the year. I would propose at once to abolish this restriction; but unfortunately our roads are not adapted either in width or solidity to carriage traffic. To widen the principal roads, and to make them *pucka* throughout, will, in the first instance, entail a considerable expense, but when the roads have been brought into a thoroughly good state, a small annual outlay will suffice to keep them in good order. This outlay, I think, will be well repaid by the increased facility of access to the garden, which will increase its utility, and make the public take a greater interest in its maintenance and welfare.

"I have already stated my belief that, when the issue stops, the establishment of the garden will be quite sufficient for all ordinary demands upon it. Buildings for Garden purposes must, however, be excluded from the ordinary expenditure, and if we extend our operations in ornamental gardening, we shall need several additions to our buildings. Of these, none is more urgently required than a Glass House, the want of which is very severely felt in all our operations.

"At present, the Botanic Garden may be compared to the out-of-doors part of an English garden, in which hardy plants, or those capable of flourishing in the open air, grow. The stock is, therefore, limited to such as can endure the Calcutta climate, and consists chiefly of shrubby plants, annuals requiring so much labor for their cultivation, and for the preservation of their seeds, that they are only partially grown. These, however, constitute the most ornamental part of a garden, and an extension of their culture would much increase the beauty of our grounds."

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Under the dry character of a report, the whole is a manly appeal to Government to rescue the garden from its present position of a "gigantic nursery" and give it that scientific character to which its importance, as an institution of the empire, and an educating establishment, entitles it. We shall welcome the day hinted at in the report, when we can drive comfortably from Chowringhee across the Hooghly-bridge, and passing through the densely populated city of Howrah, then no more a suburb, enjoy the rich vegetation, rare beauty and glorious air of the Botanic Garden.

We have left ourselves no room for the report on opium. It takes up the details of the cultivation of the drug, its collection, its treatment, the import of it into the Sudder Factory, the weighment of it, its export, packing boats and loading, and finally its analysis. Dr. Lyell,—Alas! since fallen a victim to the recent Rebellion,—cannot account for the preference that the Chinese give to certain varieties of opium:—

"The Chinese pay the highest price for Opium which in the drug market of Europe is looked upon as the poorest description. The Benares drug, which is markedly inferior in quality to the produce of this Agency, and each chest contains five per cent. less of solid Opium, commands a higher price in the market. Chemistry fails in showing satisfactorily why this should be the case, and the manufacture is conducted with as much care here as at that place. It may be owing to the greater number of Patna chests in the market, or to the impossibility of reconciling the Chinese to it after their confidence in it has been once shaken by the disaster which occurred several years ago.

"No certain knowledge exists as to the cause why they prize the Opium. My own opinion, as already mentioned, is that they value it for the quality and quantity of consumable extract; others, however, assert that it is for the quantity of morphia; another, that it is for the narcotine; and another, for its resinous principles."

The following is the analysis that he gives of it.:—

"1*st Step.*—3,000 grains of opium are accurately weighed out, broken down by the hand in 32 ozs. of alcohol (at 42) and introduced into a stoppered bottle, where it remains for twenty-four hours, being occasionally shaken, the more thoroughly to expose all the soluble parts to the action of the alcohol.

"2*nd Step.*—The solution which has been formed by the maceration of the drug in alcohol is filtered and washed with more alcohol till it ceases to communicate any color to the spirit, or till all the soluble parts have been extracted.

"3*rd Step.*—2 ozs. of ammonia are then added to the solution thus obtained, put into a retort, and 16 of the 32 ozs. of spirit are drawn off by the heat of a water bath. By this means the ammonia combines with the meconic acid which in opium is always found in combination with narcotine, morphia, and the other alkaloids present in opium, and at the same time the strength of the alcohol is materially reduced, the narcotine can no longer be held in solution, so that narcotine in an impure state is obtained when the residue cools, and it is therefore set aside in an open vessel for about twelve hours.

"4*th Step.*—The impure narcotine thus obtained is collected on a filter; the morphia remaining in solution being more soluble. The impure narcotine collected on the filter is well washed with distilled water, and further with a weak solution of muriatic acid. This dissolves the narcotine, leaving the impurities on the filter.

"To the solution of muriate of narcotine thus obtained, which is usually of a

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bright lake color, ammonia is added, which precipitates the narcotine pure or nearly so. This precipitate is collected on a filter, washed, dried, and afterwards, as in the case of morphia, boiled in alcohol with animal charcoal. On cooling this gives pure crystals of narcotine, and which are then ready to be weighed.

"The morphia solution from which the narcotine was obtained on filtering is then evaporated down to the consistence of syrup, to drive off all the remaining portion of the alcohol.

"To this water is added, and part of the resin is precipitated by cautiously adding ammonia. The whole of the resin is precipitated, the solution now freed from resin is heated over a water bath, and when the solution cools, the morphia is obtained in the form of a precipitate of more or less impurity, as care has been bestowed in extracting the whole of the resin. This precipitate is then collected on a filter, washed, dried, and afterwards boiled in alcohol also with animal charcoal. On cooling crystals of pure morphia are obtained, which are carefully weighed."

The Method of Reasoning, for the use of those who have not leisure to study Logic. Calcutta, 1857.

THIS little work of thirty-one pages is part of the results of an attempt "to do a little good among the educated young men of Calcutta, as it was feared that many of them had forgotten much that they had been taught in their school and college days." Its object is thus good, but perhaps it were well not to enquire too closely into the mode in which it is carried out in the present case. The pamphlet is a very short abridgment of some of the principal sections of Whately's well-known work—a few of the examples of syllogisms and fallacies only seeming to be original. The character of many of these may be seen from the concluding statement of the preface.

"He would earnestly request those of his readers who do not 'believe in the Christian religion, to point out some flaw in the 'arguments used, or else to admit their force and *embrace the* 'Gospel."

From what we know of the state of the native mind and of the non-Christian world generally, we question, if such an effort as this, will be likely to give any converts to Christianity, who are worth having. The class of men for whose use it is intended do not see that there is any necessary connection between their inability to refute the arguments in support of the Gospel, and the call upon them to embrace that Gospel.

Memoirs and Letters of the late Colonel Armine S. H. Mountain, C. B., Aide-de-Camp to the Queen, Adjutant General to H. M.'s Forces in India. Edited by Mrs. Armine S. H. Mountain. London, 1857.

WE need make no apology for introducing this volume to the notice of our readers. It is the memoir of a good and gallant man, well-known to his countrymen in this land, and whose name is

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imperishably associated with the most heroic achievements on one of India's bloodiest battle-fields. Were there no other reasons, the single one that Colonel Mountain, at the head of his brigade, stormed the centre and captured there the Artillery of the enemy in the battle of Chillianwallah, would be sufficient to claim for him, that his name should not willingly be let die. We are sure therefore that the memoir of him by his widow, will be received with general satisfaction.

With the exception of his service in the first China, and second Punjab wars, the career of Colonel Mountain was not marked by much of varied incident or exciting adventure. He entered the army in a time of peace, in 1815, after the close of the great continental war, and first saw active service in 1840 in China. His father was Bishop of Quebec, a man of high character and ability; and the hallowed influence of his training and example, his soldier son seemed to have carried with him throughout life. Born in 1797, Armine Mountain entered the army at the age of eighteen, served successively with the 96th, 52nd, 76th and 26th regiments, and arrived in India in 1829. Previous to this, he had been in Nova Scotia, England, Ireland, and the Island of Jersey. His life had been that of an active and conscientious officer, an affectionate son and brother, and an upright and honorable man. His first impressions of India contain in them, nothing particularly noticeable by people in this country, save perhaps a disposition to deal somewhat more gently with the natives with whom he came in contact than is often the case. For about a year, he was stationed in the Presidency of Madras, and was then removed with his regiment to Calcutta. After a few weeks in Bengal, the 26th marched to Meerut, and whilst stationed there, he renewed his acquaintance with the late Lord Dalhousie, then Commander-in-Chief, and also made the acquaintance of Lord and Lady William Bentinck, of whom he frequently speaks with the warmest affection and respect. Shortly after he proceeded to Bombay, as Military Secretary to Sir Colin Halkett, held that office till Sir Colin's recall, and then returned to Bengal as Aide-de-Camp to the Governor-General. In 1835, he visited England, in the hope of obtaining promotion to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, but in this he failed, and returned to India two years after. Whilst at home, he had the sad consolation of being present at his mother's death, whom he seems to have loved with the tenderest affection. He had married and brought his wife to India, but his prospects of domestic happiness were soon marred by his wife's untimely death. His only remaining solace was the little daughter which his wife had borne him. This child died two years afterwards, at the commencement of a voyage to England. Her father was not with her, and there is something very beautiful and touching in the expression of his feelings when he heard of his loss. Writing to his sister, he says:—

"It is a bitter thought that you never even saw her; that the wide 'sea is drifting her little bones I know not whither! That only one 'brief week after I had been permitted to embark her with so much 'thought, and care, and hope, and thankful confidence, my sweet child 'died, before she had learnt to love or even rightly knew her father,

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'—but this is weakness. God knows best. It was no doubt best 'for you, for her: and at 'that day,' wherever I may be, she will 'surely be yielded up by the wide waters, and be numbered by her 'Saviour amongst the Angels of God."

Having been appointed Adjutant General of the China force, he sailed from Calcutta in April, 1840, along with a party of staff officers, and after encountering what appears to have been a cyclone in the Bay of Bengal, he reached the scene of War. Throughout this, we do not mean to follow him; suffice it to say, that in one action he was severely wounded, having received three musket balls, and that he seems to have discharged his duties so admirably, as to draw from the Duke of Wellington, subsequently, the remark, when a list of the officers who had served in this war, was laid before him, and he laid his finger upon Colonel Mountain's name, "this man has 'done his work remarkably well; I should like to do something 'for him."

There is one thing however which we feel inclined to notice in Colonel Mountain's Correspondence, during the continuance of this war. We are well aware that it is the duty of a soldier simply to obey orders, and to sink his personality in his military allegiance; and that if it be a right thing for a man to enter an army, and a right thing for an army to be maintained, the responsibility of wrong-doing on a great scale, such as we sometimes see, rests not with subordinates, but with those at the head of affairs. We say therefore that if it be a right thing, as we think it is, for an army to be maintained to guard the interests of a kingdom, and if it be a right and justifiable thing that qualified men should take service in it, and if it be necessary that in this army, perfect discipline be maintained, as of course it is, then we do not see that the responsibility for the way in which it is employed, can rest any where but with the controlling power; and we do not see that for one individual wrong use of this army, the subordinate members are responsible. Were an army to be deprived of the services of all its conscientious members, every time the moral rightness of a war came to be a question, then it is not easy to see how it could exist for the accomplishment of those ends for which it was right that it should be embodied. It is a simple fact that very decided opinions have been held by many of our countrymen as to the morality of these China wars; that whilst all have felt that outrages had been committed upon the English flag, and upon the persons and property of Englishmen, many have been satisfied that we were both actively and passively the aggressors. True it is that Englishmen had been maltreated, and their property seized; but why? Simply because they would not cease from a traffic which was in transgression of the laws of the Chinese empire, and would not withdraw from the country of the Chinese, when required to do so. We look in vain to the principle of commercial reciprocity, so often alleged as a justification of such a line of conduct. If it justify our forcing our traffic upon the Chinese, it must equally justify the French or the Russians in forcing their traffic upon us, or demanding our traffic for them. Supposing that

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Russia, acting upon the principle of commercial reciprocity, said it is right and fair that she should have some of England's machinery, or some of England's Enfield rifles, and sent her legions to our shores to secure compliance with this demand, would we still think commercial reciprocity a sound principle, and that we have nothing to complain of, provided we get Russian flax and tallow and corn? We would undoubtedly simply say, we Englishmen have a right to say to whom we shall sell, and of whom we shall buy, and what we shall sell and what we shall buy. Until England shall cease to be powerful and free, never will she hold any other principle.

But it may be said, how can England pass over the insults she has suffered again and again from the Chinese;—for these she must have redress. We say, and we say it with a blush on our cheek, that England is shewing in the present day, a considerable power for pocketing insults. It may be a right thing for the sake of humanity to refrain from going to war with America, but every man knows that if America had been a third or fourth-rate power, the insults which of late she has haughtily heaped upon England, would have been pronounced an unavoidable cause of war. If for the sake of humanity, England can quietly submit to her ambassadors being ignominiously dismissed, her ministers receiving something very like the lie in their teeth, her subjects having their property wantonly destroyed, and their houses bombarded, and her own flag upon her consul's dwelling torn down, and the dwelling itself destroyed;—if England for the sake of humanity can pocket all this at the hands of a civilized people, is it too much to expect her to be magnanimous enough to forget the insults of a half-civilized people, whose military power she never meets but to crush—insults which it cannot be denied Englishmen originally provoked?

So much for these Chinese wars, in the first of which Colonel Mountain was engaged. What we wonder at in his journals and correspondence is this: not the absence of any feeling of personal responsibility for the carrying on of this war; *that* we acquit him of all obligation to feel. But we meet with such passages as the following:—

"Albeit we may leave China inglorious, and the English may still 'be subject to insults in the course of trade, I am yet disposed to 'consider this expedition as the era whence the regeneration of China, 'and ultimate prevalence of the true faith, may be dated," p. 180.

"I have from the first been inclined to consider our expedition as 'the epoch of better days for China, and to believe, however unworthy 'the instruments, that this is the commencement of the ultimate 'conversion of a race, which has been so many ages a distinct portion 'of the human family," p. 190.

"To see however a crowd of Mandarins in their cumbrous boots, 'long petticoats, and conical caps with their distinctive balls and 'peacocks' feathers, like beings of another planet mingling in amity 'on the quarter deck of a British ship, with our military and naval 'officers, was a sight novel and striking, which led the mind to future 'visions of God's purposes, and to the hope that the day was an era

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'of blessing to China, and to our own country also, being chosen as a 'means of blessing to a new world," p. 211.

These passages occur amid descriptions of what were the chief incidents of the war, in which of course by far the most striking were the carnage committed by our troops, and the yet greater and more frightful carnage committed by the Chinese themselves upon their own families. Most of our readers, we presume, have read descriptions of those awful scenes of blood, in which a despairing people, in the madness of their misery, took wholesale the lives of those dearest to them, in order to save them from the disgrace and horrors which they believed awaited. Passing cases in which the feeble and helpless fell under the fire of the British, as e. g., p. 195, and such passages as that in p. 198, where Colonel Mountain says, "The head of the enemy's 'thousands met our handful of men, and in a few minutes the street 'was choked with a pile of slain, extending hip-deep for about thirty 'yards." "We followed up the pursuit for seven miles, inflicting a 'great deal of loss upon the retreating enemy. * * * It became 'a regular chase after the first brush, during which the Chinese stood 'well, and their killed were scattered over the country for miles 'round!"—we come to such passages as the following: "At length 'finding the struggle hopeless, they set to and murdered their families, cutting their wives' throats and throwing their children down 'wells, and then in many cases committed suicide. You cannot 'imagine a more frightful scene," p. 205. * * * "A more pitiable scene than the gates of Chin Kiangfoo presented for several 'days after the capture, has seldom perhaps been witnessed. The 'storming of the town, the blowing in of the west gate, the 'struggles within the walls, the frightful murders in the Tartar city, 'the continual fires,—some lit by us, some by the Tartars in their fury, 'some by the population in thirst for plunder,—completed the panic 'of the people, who were already excited by the Tartar commanders 'having shut the gates previous to our arrival, and denied them 'egress. Sir Hugh was very unwilling to coerce them, and gave 'orders that free egress and ingress should be given, and no molestation offered to the peaceable inhabitants. The whole population 'poured out, from dawn to dark for several days, in one continuous 'stream. There were to be seen females of every age and degree, 'from the time-worn cripple to the infant at the breast; many a 'weeping mother staggering under the weight of a couple of frighted children; ..... many young and old evidently unaccustomed 'to go abroad, tottering forth under a sun at 140°—where?—to seek 'a precarious shelter in the country, and subsist on charity, in many 'cases to die by the way side!"

"As we were leaving the place, an officer called my attention to 'a well in the outer court. It was full of young Tartar girls 'recently drowned. The two upper ones were comely young women, 'apparently of the higher class, with handsome gold ear-rings in 'their ears, and their hair neatly dressed. * * * I observed two 'Tartar soldiers walking under a wall with a large tank on their left 'at some distance from us. Our leading men fired, and I called out

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'to cease firing, as I thought I saw a woman, and presently a line 'of women and children following the men, were visible. We fired 'no more, but the women forced their children's heads under; the 'men performed this office for the women, and then ducked them-'selves, and so the whole party was drowned!"

Amid such scenes as these, and many more, even more horrible, as described in the pages of the defenders of the war, a Christian officer could hope that this was "the era whence the regeneration 'of China might be dated!" "The commencement of the ultimate 'conversion of the race!!" 'an era of blessing to China and to our 'own country also, being chosen as a means of blessing to a new 'world!!!" Because the Chinese would not receive our opium in obedience to "the principle of commercial reciprocity," and had intimated this somewhat irregularly and summarily, war had broken out, and we were now visiting them with the utmost horrors of fire and sword, slaying them in thousands, entailing misery upon tens and hundreds of thousands, driving them in their madness to perpetrate even greater horrors amongst themselves. Yet we were the bearers to them of regeneration and conversion, the chosen means of blessing to them! We believe in the sincere piety of Colonel Mountain, but we deplore the perverting and blinding influence of this miserable war, so that even a good and brave man could persuade himself that the perpetrators of these atrocities upon an unhappy people, who would not receive the poison forced upon them, were those whom God would choose to be the bearers to them of gospel blessings. We question not the sovereignty of God, who often chooses the most unworthy instruments to accomplish his purposes; but we can hardly *expect*, that after these opium wars, England will be honoured to play a very large part in the conversion of China to the faith of Christ.

We gladly turn to note two incidents beautifully illustrative of the self-denying generosity of Colonel Mountain's character. Sir Hugh Gough had offered to send him with his despatches, announcing the close of the war to England, and this would have secured to him the rank of full Colonel. Before he had accepted this offer, a young officer came to Colonel Mountain, and begged him to use his influence with Sir Hugh to send him home with the despatches, pointing out how important the step of rank would be to him. Colonel Mountain, without mentioning his own prospects, promised to recommend him to the General. The young officer was sent home with the despatches, and received in consequence the rank of Major, whilst Colonel Mountain waited three years before the rank of Queen's A. D. C. was conferred upon him.

Subsequently Sir Hugh, on hearing that he was to be appointed Commander-in-Chief in India, proposed that Colonel Mountain should be his Military Secretary. This appointment was in every way suited to Colonel Mountain, and his personal attachment to Sir Hugh would have made it very agreeable to him; but the previous evening, a nephew of Sir Hugh Gough's had confided to him his desire to fill this situation. Colonel Mountain therefore thanked

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the General for his kindness, but declined his offer, on the ground that he did not wish to interfere with his nephew's prospects.

In 1843, Colonel Mountain returned to England, married a second time in 1845, and, having been offered by Lord Dalhousie, who had become Governor-General of India, the appointment of Military Secretary, accepted it and arrived in Calcutta in January, 1848. The second Sikh War breaking out almost immediately after, he applied for and received leave to join his regiment (the 29th, into which he had exchanged) in the field. On reaching Head Quarters, he received command of a brigade in the division of General Gilbert, consisting of his own, the 29th Queen's, and the 13th and 30th N. I. We find him writing as follows:—

"*November* 9, *Gunda Singh Wala.*

"Here I am for the second time, not as visitor, but as head of a 'camp of three regiments, extending over the plain, and containing 'about 3,000 fighting men; but perhaps not less than 11,000 human 'beings of one sort or another. My General of division, however, 'not far from me, that is with the C.-in-C. about a mile to the rear. 'We move to Kupoor to-morrow. We marched at four from the '29th barracks, my two native corps coming up in rear. It was a 'beautiful moonlight, and the band was inspiring.....We had to 'ford the first branch of the river, which is only ankle-deep, and 'then came to the bridges, where there was an immense crush of 'cattle and followers. The General had stopped to let the brigade 'pass, and the bands played as they passed. On crossing the second 'bridge, General Gilbert, who was on the bank, welcomed me to 'the Punjab. He is a fine frank soldier-like fellow, and I am very 'glad to be in his division....."

By the death of Colonel Cureton in the action at Ramnuggur, the office of Adjutant-General of H. M.'s forces had become vacant, and it was offered by Lord Gough to Colonel Mountain, subject of course to the approval of the Duke of Wellington. Lord Dalhousie also wrote to him:—

"If the Commander-in-Chief (as I conceive he will) should offer 'you the succession to the Adjutant-General's Commission, do not 'let any consideration of me lead you to decline what would be so 'much for your interest ..... I need not assure you of my confidence 'and attachment, and of my pleasure therefore, in your continued 'service with me personally; but I hope, I need as little assure you 'of my greater pleasure in seeing your interests substantially pro-'moted in official, though less close connection with myself."

Lord Gough's offer was gratefully accepted, but it was arranged that Colonel Mountain should retain command of his brigade till the answer from the Horse Guard was received.

The battle of Chillianwallah was fought on the 13th January, 1849. On the following day, Colonel Mountain wrote to Lord Dalhousie:—

"My Dear Lord—

"We marched from Lussoorie on the 12th, and reached ground, the 'name of which I forget, after a march of six and a half hours. We

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'marched again yesterday, 18th, in order of battle, and about 'noon had a scrimmage with the advanced post of the Sikh, who was 'soon induced to abandon it after a salute from our heavy guns. We 'then formed up, and a head-quarter officer told me in passing, '"Major Mackeson has persuaded the chief not to attack to-day," 'and our baggage was ordered up from the rear, but about half-past 'one, the Sikh opened the ball with artillery; our heavy guns were 'then thrown forward, and replied. My brigade was lying down in line, 'the round shot toddling spent were picked up, and hurt only two 'men. After a time, the chief passed down and said, "Advance," 'so up and forward was the word. We had what is the severest 'trial for infantry, to charge against grape through jungle. The 'Sikh had brought his field guns into the jungle, dug trenches, 'which were evidently fresh, for his matchlock men, and supported 'them by cavalry. I had not gone 100 yards before I lost sight 'of any superior officer, as well as of any support, but we pushed 'on till we had taken the last gun in our front, on the skirt of 'the jungle. The Sikh cavalry were on the open to my right 'front, and if I had had cavalry, I might have swept them be- 'before me, but as the enemy were all about the jungle and on my 'flanks, I could not advance further, and after a time, I got an order 'to move to my left to support General Campbell. Thus the guns 'that we had taken, were left to be carried off by others. We brought 'away two however, and the rest I believe were brought away by 'spare horses from the artillery. I can give no account of the 'whole, as in such a jungle, each brigade, and in some cases each 'regiment, had to act for itself. My loss has been heavy, it has 'pleased God to spare me, but I grieve for officers of my brigade, 'and for men too, though I do not yet know the number. The '24th Queen's suffered severely! Brigadier Pennycuick, Colonel 'Brooke, and one of the Majors, killed; Brigadier General Campbell 'wounded; Major Ekins, D. A. G., killed.

"After the enemy had been driven back and had disappeared, it 'was near night fall, and we had to come back here, the line of the 'Sikh advanced post, for water. It was quite dark before we arrived, 'and we had to bivouac as we could. We lay on the ground without 'covering, shelter, or food. Fortunately we had only two or three 'slight showers, the heavy rain having kept off till after we got 'our tents this morning, and we are now all comfortable. The 'chief intended to have pushed his advantage this morning, but a 'report came that the enemy had abandoned their camp;—happily, 'for if we had advanced, and been caught in this heavy rain after 'the fatigues and losses of yesterday, the troops would have suffered 'much. The Chief was pleased to say on the ground last night, 'that my brigade had done its duty well."

Upon the folly which prompted, and the blind inconsiderateness which planned this disastrous battle,—a battle which was utterly barren in results, and which yet cost England many of her noblest sons, it is not our purpose now to dwell. The personal heroism, and final brilliant success of the General Commanding have, in the estimation of many

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a critic, mitigated the censure which would otherwise have been awarded. Our object at present is merely to shew how Colonel Mountain played his part. We have given above his own cautious and modest letter to Lord Dalhousie. The following extracts from the newspapers will interest our readers. They are taken from the memoir:—

"The 4th brigade was sent against the centre of what was supposed to be the enemy's line, and advanced, under their gallant leader Brigadier Mountain, in the most undaunted manner through the jungle, in the face of a fire (a storm) first of round shot, then grape, and lastly musketry, which mowed down the officers and men by dozens. Still they advanced, and on reaching the guns, spiked every one in front, and two others on the left, which had subsequently opened a flank fire upon them."

Another paper says:—

"The 29th charged nobly, like a wall, and took many guns, but how many have been actually secured is not known. Mountain in the thickest of the most murderous fire the oldest officers ever saw, escaped unhurt by a miracle. What a gallant fellow he is!"

Sir Hugh Gough's despatch, also, is very honourable to Colonel Mountain. He says:—

"The right attack of infantry, under that able officer General Sir Walter Gilbert, was most praiseworthy and successful. The left brigade, under Brigadier Mountain, advanced under a heavy fire upon the enemy's guns, in a manner that did credit to the Brigadier and his gallant brigade, which came first into action and suffered severely. This division nobly maintained the character of the Indian Army, taking and spiking the whole of the enemy's guns in their front, and dispersing the Sikhs wherever they were seen..... Sir Walter Gilbert speaks warmly of the charge led by Brigadier Mountain against a large battery of the enemy, and followed up on his right by Brigadier Godby, and of the subsequent conduct of these officers."

Mountain was present at the battle of Goojerat, but his brigade was not called into action, very much to his disappointment. But as a soldier he had to sustain a yet greater trial. Having been appointed, with the chivalrous General of his division, to follow up the flying Sikhs after the battle of Goojerat, he hoped for a share of the glory almost certain to be reaped under such a leader. But an unfortunate accident from a pistol-shot, which shattered his left hand, and threatened even more serious consequences, compelled him to give place to another, and seek repose. And we are sure every reader of the memoir will sympathise with this brave man denied thus a share in this wondrous and never to be forgotten pursuit. Sir Walter writing to him, says:—

"Be assured, I was by no means unmindful of one to whom I was so much indebted for his judicious and gallant leading of my left brigade at Chillianwallah, and again at Goojerat, and whose every act whilst serving with me, had gained my most unqualified approbation. Next to yourself, no one regretted your absence so much

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'as I did, inasmuch as it deprived me of the services of one I could 'place the most implicit confidence in under all circumstances: so 'none of your numerous acquaintance grieved more than myself for 'the accident which caused your absence."

Having been confirmed in the post of Adjutant-General, and received the warm congratulation of his friends, from Lord Dalhousie downwards, the rest of his days were spent till his death in 1854, in the vigorous and earnest discharge of the laborious duties attached to it. His service in the field was now all over, and in the remainder of his career, as well as of his correspondence as given by his biographer, nought very stirring is to be found. He continued however, the same conscientious officer and Christian gentleman to the last. But one extract from a letter of his we are in the present circumstances of this country, tempted to give:—

"The present state of things in Bengal particularly needs revi-'sion. An officer perhaps after eighteen years' service in the com-'missariat, or other civil department, on promotion, or on return 'from sick furlough, falls back on his regiment as Major, and com-'mands it. All the captains but one, are either on furlough in 'Europe or on detached employ; so are most of the senior subalterns, 'of whom perhaps the adjutant and quarter-master, and three or 'four young ensigns only are with the regiment. The commanding 'officer knows nothing of regimental duty, or of teaching the young 'officers their work,—is either harsh, or lax and careless; and the 'boys run wild. This is not at all an extreme, but a very common 'case, and it is only wonderful that the service gets on as well as 'it does. *It is impossible that the sepoys can feel attachment to 'commanders who have not seen their regiments for fifteen or twenty 'years—or to boys who have their duty to learn.*"

The italics are ours. Other quotations might be made to the same effect. It was a simple fact which is here stated, well known to the whole Anglo-Indian community, and intimately so to one holding the official position which Colonel Mountain did. True, he was a Queen's officer, but that he was influenced in his statement by no unworthy jealous dislike to the Indian service, is sufficiently proved by such passages in his letters as the following:—

"John Company, whatever may be his faults, is infinitely better 'than Downing Street. If India were made over to the Colonial 'Office, I should not think it worth three years' purchase, p. 297. 'Take them all in all, the Directors have done their work well—the 'Company has many active and enterprising officers, p. 300."

Could such sowing, as that above described, fail in due time to bear a disastrous crop? Could such an ulcer in our military system, exist and gather strength, and fester on without striking at the very life? Can we wonder at the unequalled calamities which have been the result? Yet every one in Military Authority knew it, the Commander-in-Chief knew it, the Governor-General in Council, who granted every furlough and made every civil appointment, knew it; yet what did he ever do to reform such a state of things. And yet there were men, and intelligent men too, who strained them-

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selves to find language to set forth the unequalled greatness of Lord Dalhousie, who could never open their mouths about him without trying to persuade us that he was a demi-god. Much lies at the door of poor old Sir Wm. Gomm; but did not pity for an enfeebled dying man interpose, the people of England would yet have a reckoning with Lord Dalhousie for the precious blood which has been shed, for the heaviest load of war which has ever befallen the families of our countrymen.

Editorial Note.—We allow the concluding sentence to stand, under protest. It not only assumes, what may be very probable, but what has never been proved, that the mutinies have been caused by the inefficient officering of the regiments. It is not improbable that this may be the case, or rather that the causes which produced them might have been checked, had the system of withdrawing officers from their regiments not prevailed. But the attack on Lord Dalhousie is most gratuitous and unmerited. Lord Dalhousie had no discretionary power in regard to furloughs. As to Civil appointments,—considering the vast accession to our territory made during his rule,—he took away fewer men than probably any one else would have taken away, from the effective strength of the army; and had the work done, to as great an extent as possible, by covenanted and uncovenanted civilians. *We* never represented Lord Dalhousie as a demi-god, but we are not ashamed of having lent our pages to a hearty and well-merited panegyric on his administration, of which we believe every statement is true to the letter.

Chow-Chow; being selections from a Journal kept in India, Egypt, and Syria. By the Viscountess Falkland, 2 vols. London, 1857.

It is not often that the reviewer has to do with an author, who is at once the daughter of a King, the sister of an Earl, the wife of a Viscount, and the cousin of our most gracious Queen—God bless her! Lady Falkland is all this; and in addition to all this, she is a clever, sensible woman, quite able to appreciate the sycophancy which has led some of our brethren in England to dilate on the surpassing advantages which her position in Bombay afforded her for the observation of "men and manners" in the east. Her ladyship must have been quite well aware that nearly the opposite was the fact; that almost every lady in Bombay had better opportunities than she had to observe both European and native habits of life and conversation, unless indeed she had chosen to adopt the Harun Al Raschid policy, and to mingle with society *incognita*. In point of fact, there is not one of the thousand books about India that contains less than this one does of the active life of either community; and what it does contain is almost entirely restricted to the retail of the staple legendary anecdotes, such as that relating to the matrimonial valuation of a civilian, and that relating to a lady who got "fixed" in her arm-chair in church, and had to obtain extraneous aid before her release could be "effectuated." But Lady Falkland

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has a good eye for the beauties and the sublimities of nature, and a graphic style for the description of scenery. She has, moreover, made ample use of a good library; and has collected, through the help of others, a good deal of information from natives, respecting the habits of the different races and castes. In this way, she has produced an exceedingly pleasing book, which contains a great deal of information in a very unpretending and attractive form.

Chow-Chow professes to be a collection of "odds and ends," and there is no way of noticing it more suitable to its nature, than merely selecting a few of these, as fair specimens of the whole. As a specimen of the notes that Europeans in India are constantly receiving from natives, we are presented with the following from

AN AFFECTIONATE BUTCHER.

"To Mrs. Collector ——— Sahib, Esq."

"Honoured Madam,

"Madam's butler says that madam is much displeased with poor butcher, because mutton too much lean and tough. But sheep no grass got, where get fat? When come rain, then good mutton. I kiss your honour's pious feet.

"I have the honour to remain madam,

"Your affectionate butcher,

Mahomed Cassein."

We think our readers will agree with us in considering the following as a good and graphic description of

A DUST-STORM:

"At about four o'clock one very lovely afternoon, while in my verandah, overlooking the sea and beautiful view, embracing Back Bay, Colaba, the Fort of Bombay, the harbour, distant mountains, and the extensive cocoa-nut wood of palms, to the left, I heard some one say, suddenly, 'what is that?' "It is a fire." "No, it is a dust-storm." Over the far distant mountains, dingy, yellow, red clouds were stirring. With us at Malabar Point, all was bright, calm, and beautiful. In a few minutes the mountains, Colaba, the fort and town of Bombay became quite invisible, as if they had suddenly sunk into the ocean. But we were not to escape unmolested; soon a low, murmuring sound was heard; the sea close to us became gently agitated. The leaves of the trees, till now quite undisturbed, began to rustle; the sky was overcast, but the sun was not quite obscured; the colour of the sea was magnificent; there were streaks of deep purple, green, and lilac; the waves looked like rainbows; the wind became stonger every minute; kites and crows could not fly, they perched themselves on rocks and trees, waiting for the storm to be over. Myriads of dragon-flies were tossed up and down by the wind, which now rushed through the bungalow, bringing with it clouds of dust, which covered everything in its passage; and then fell torrents of rain, and everything was refreshed for a time."

"The distant view was still scarcely to be seen, and a cloud swept over the ocean to the right, seeming to disappear at the islands of Kennery and Hennery. When the storm subsided, the sky did not recover its usual serenity, and the evening closed with murky-looking clouds still moving about."

We have said that Lady Falkland does not tell us much about the European society in Bombay, and in this, we think that she acts wisely. When she has any thing to say, however, she is not afraid to speak out. The following portraiture of two veterans might

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have found an appropriate place in the *Delhi Sketch-book* in its best days.

OLD FOGIES.

"I knew in Bombay, an old officer, who had been at least forty years absent from Europe; during which time, he had served his country well in a military capacity; had been in many climates, and seen many countries. His face was like a map; here you could see a corner of Sierra Leone, there you could trace a bit of Canada, and here was Bermuda. His career was engraven on his face.

"I happened once to mention to him a great event which had lately taken place in Europe. He stared at me, and said, "I know nothing at all about it."

"Not discouraged, I started another topic connected with public affairs in England, when I received a decided check by his answering, "I take no interest at all in it." I still hoped to rouse him from such a state of apathy, and spoke of the admirable speech of some well-known politician, when to this he calmly replied, "I know nothing at all about him."

"This person belonged quite to the 'old school.' People now 'run home,' as it is called, oftener—get their ideas brushed up, and, what is far better, bring out new ones with them.

"It is seldom that members of the *Company's service* remain so long in India, but worn-out Queen's officers are occasionally sent there from our colonies by the authorities at home. Of this last class was my friend above mentioned. I afterwards knew an ancient general officer, who was appointed to a command in India. He was nearly blind and deaf, and, though the 'pink' of courtesy and an amiable man—distinguished, moreover, as a soldier in earlier life—of course, could no longer be active in the discharge of his military duties. His aides-de-camp were for ever occupied in preventing his falling over the footstools in the drawing-room, when he went out to dinner. He was not exactly 'the right man in the right place.'"

With reference to the above extract, we must call attention to the fact that these two gentlemen were not "old Indians." We question whether, even in our most "benighted" days, the most thorough specimen of the "country-bottled" class would have so far gloried in his shame, as to confess that he knew nothing at all of the important events taking place in Europe.

We have said that, in order to get an acquaintance with the manners and habits of the natives, Lady Falkland was in the habit of calling in the aid of gentlemen acquainted with the native languages, who made enquiries for her, and translated the depositions thus obtained. In this way, she procured the following account of the "hamals" or

PALKI-BEARERS OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY:

"We begin to learn about seventeen; an old hand is placed in front, and a young one behind, under a pole, with heavy stones at each end, slung with rope, to give the weight of a palanquin, and so the step is learnt; some take to it immediately, others are very long in learning.

"Of the six hamals under the poles of a palkee, the leader and the last of all are of most consequence; for, if not steady, able, and quick, they may throw down the rest.

"We size ourselves with care before starting, and make up for difference in height by pads on the shoulders. We prefer going down a gentle slope, rather than on a straight road; and, if all are good hamals, can go down a steep hill very quickly. It is hard work, up hill for long. We can go eighteen coss (of two miles each) at one run.

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"The strong and healthy among our sons are always selected for palkee work; others, weakly, and without good heart, seek other employments, such as 'biggaries' (porters of loads), cultivators' labourers, &c.

"Palkee employment is considered creditable, and always gladly embraced by the stout sons, who see that hamals eat well, and can dress and live respectably.

"We always pray to our Hindoo god when bathing, and particularly when out of employ and hard up. We are sure to improve afterwards. When not able to get sufficient palkee work, we carry loads, or trim fields. Our relatives or friends in all villages are the constituted carriers and guides. One always attends at the village office, and when a traveller arrives, and wants carriers or a guide, he gives intimation to others in their houses, and they run for employment. Small portions of land, rent free, are allowed by government to some of our people, in the neighbourhood of each village; and they are greatly trusted by the head men of villages, even to transport large sums of money. We hold ourselves individually and collectively answerable for any loss by theft, when employed in sets; and any individual among us detected in robbing from a palanquin, would be expelled, with disgrace. I have been at work seventeen years, and never knew of a loss.

"Most of us have no certain provision for old age, and when unable to work, depend generally on near relations, or, failing them, we beg.

"We are almost always in arrears to the Banian shopkeepers, whom we pay after employment, and entirely trust to keep the accounts, for none of us can read or write. God knows if they are truly kept; but we cannot object, or we should get no food or credit when out of cash, and so, perhaps, starve.

"We always remain in sets of twelve, and the Banians will trust us to the extent of twenty rupees for the whole set in one month, which must be paid generally before a new score is commenced. Our usual daily food is one seer (two pounds) of bajree flour, which equals two Bombay seers, for one man, and fish or meat, when we can get them; we generally manage to have one good, large dinner in a month. A set receives a few rupees in advance when ordered for a journey, and then we purchase food on the road, as opportunities offer; the remainder of the hire is paid us on our return.

"Noon and eight at night are our feeding hours, three times a day if rich.

"If our first wife dies we take another, with a binding, but less expensive ceremony. Widows never marry again, but 'nikkur,' that is a less expensive ceremony. We marry our children when infants, if we can afford to do so, otherwise wait until they grow up, for a regular marriage costs a deal of money.

"We all speak Mahratta amongst ourselves, but the best of us can generally speak Hindustani. You see I can. We sing because it lightens the burden and shortens the road; we forget the distance; always improvise the songs according to the circumstances of the road, the weather, the weight, travellers or animals we meet, or people or things we all know about at a distance. Some men make quick and amusing observations in their song, the rest answer, as it were, or acknowledge their merit together in chorus.

"When very tired, we walk up and down each other's backs, after which we feel greatly refreshed; this is done when the tired man is lying flat on the ground. If a man is too much knocked up to proceed, then 'the set' must, at any cost to themselves, get another on the road, and sometimes have to pay a great deal for the assistance they cannot do without. It is a point of credit and character among us, that every man shall do his best on the road. I have five fingers on this hand; none of them are alike: some long, some short, it is the same with us all. Some are strong and stout-hearted, others are so in different degrees; but, if every man does his best, whatever that may amount to, we are all satisfied, and equally distribute the pay received for the whole set. If a man is stout and hearty, it is by the favour of God, and the best of the stout man does not cost him more than the best of the weak man costs him.

"At first the pole gives pain to the shoulders, but the flesh becomes thickened after a time, and at last quite callous.

"We sometimes get swollen (varicose) veins in the legs, but they get well, at

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least for a time, after bleeding them. We are nearly always well when employed; but sicken when idle, and nothing to do—no pay, the heart gets sad, and body unwell.

"We all acknowledge 'Bugwan' as the supreme ruler of Heaven and Earth.

"We are Mhars, and considered of low caste; other Hindoos will not eat with us, or let us draw water from their wells, neither are we permitted to go within those portions of the temples in which the images of our deities are placed; but, notwithstanding, we are the first in the land—every one admits that.

"We are the children of the soil; the land is ours, though the law will not let us enjoy the fruits of it, as it was intended we should do, but if it be unproductive, if men, women, or children are possessed of the evil spirit, it is the Mhar who is called by the other castes of the Hindoos to wrestle with and drive him out, and to intercede with the deities; and by these efforts and intercessions only can the object be gained. Ask all the people about you, if this is not the case. Who has the honour of swinging with hooks in his back before our images at the feast of the Dussera? It is the Mhar alone, and no one else can be so honoured.

"If a Hindoo of any caste has a domestic affliction or personal grievance, and he repairs to one of the shrines to pray for relief, he places his offering (a cocoanut or other fruit) before the image, and pours water on it, but he says nothing; it is I, the Mhar, who from the outside of the door, but looking on the image, must first address the god in the petitioner's favour, for nothing will be granted unless I do so; it is my acknowledged right. If, on these occasions, the petitioner, or any other Hindoo, lays down, or accidentally drops anything on the earth, even money, it is mine, and all that so touches it, and he cannot, if a good Hindoo, take it back again; but if his heart is small, he may redeem it, because there is no order of government by which I can retain it.

"We bury our dead, and do not burn them; some other Hindoo castes bury as well as burn, but with them, as you know, to burn the dead is considered the more correct course; but we are content, and think it right to bury.

"We throw flowers, if we can get them, into the graves, but there is not any particular ceremony or prayers used at funerals."

From a note, which we have omitted, appended by Lady Falkland to the passage where the "hamal" speaks of the different lengths of his fingers, we perceive that she has entirely missed the point of the allusion. She evidently supposes that it is of the nature of a complaint, as to the laborious nature of the avocation; whereas it is in reality an illustration of the great principle in political economy, that all the members of a community, laboring in their various measures for the good of the whole, are entitled to the recognition due to all who "do what they can." It is in fact a more elegant version of the allegory which produced so beneficial an effect, when told in old days on the *Mons Sacer;* or it is an illustration of the Christian precept, "They that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please themselves."

As Mr. Sydney Smith declared that no improvement would be made on a certain public work, unless, by good luck, a bishop should lose his life by it, it may not be without its uses, that a Governor's lady should experience the ups and downs of travel in India. We therefore submit, for the consideration of all whom it may concern, the following sketch of

A TRAVELLER'S BUNGALOW.

"A traveller's bungalow is one of the most wretched-looking abodes when no visitor is there. In each room there is a table, if it has three legs and half it

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is well. Should the chairs have backs, seats, and their usual number of legs, the traveller who brings none with him may congratulate himself.

"The small narrow cots are skeletons of beds denuded of all furniture, except dirty mosquitoe curtains with very open holes in them, large enough to admit a dragon-fly.

"Everybody travels with as many comforts as they can. Linen they must bring, and if they do not bring a cook, they will often have to put up with native fare.

"It is frequently the case that persons arrive at these wretched resting-places which are scarcely better than the durumsalas (native inns), who are far from affluent, and very ill, trying to "get home" before it is too late, and what inconveniences have such invalids to encounter! when (their few comforts being perhaps detained on the road,) they find an empty, dismantled chamber, a mud floor, a bed without furniture, and food from which the healthiest would turn with disrelish.

"People in Europe talk of the 'luxuries of the East.' It is but little known how much the wife of a subaltern in the Indian army undergoes, when she travels with young children, on arriving at one of these bungalows. I often think of the strange and melancholy scenes which have occurred in such places.

"I heard, not long ago, of the following sad and touching inscription being found scratched with a nail on the wall of a room of a traveller's bungalow, at Kurrachee, in Scinde, close to one of the couches. Some of the words were almost illegible.

'As on this bed of pain I lie,
And count the hours of each long day,
And think, with terror, I must die,
And scarcely even dare to pray.
* * * *
'———— Yes! it has come at last—
The last on this sad earth for me—
The time for hope, repentance, past—
An eternity of what's to be!

'And I have laughed this hour to scorn—
And deemed this life an endless age—
The light of a returning morn—
The man is' (*illegible*)—'turn the page.'

"The servants of the bungalow said, they knew of two gentlemen who had long lain ill in that room. One died, and was buried at Kurrachee; the other recovered, and went away; but who they were, they could not tell."

We have now given various extracts, exhibiting the very miscellaneous nature of the contents of her ladyship's Chow-Chow basket. With one more, considerably different from those we have hitherto submitted, we shall draw this notice to a close. It is an old maxim that honesty is the best policy; but there is a better policy still. It is generosity, unselfishness, self-denial: as is taught in the following legend.

NOW-LAKH OOMRAJ.

"Oomraj, a small village of the Deccan, near Poona, has, like many other places here, a very pretty tradition connected with it. It is called the history of 'Now-lakh Oomraj, or Oomraj of the 900,000.'

"Once upon a time, in the days of the Mahomedan kings, there was a very covetous king, who had a very beautiful wife. She was the only being in the world for whom he cared; the only thing he loved, except money. When the king's tax-gatherers oppressed the people, and denied them justice, they used to

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fly to the queen, and she would always use her influence on the part of the poor and oppressed, and was the only source of mercy or justice in the kingdom.

"One day, when the king was in a very good humour with her, he told her to ask of him whatever she wished for, and promised to give it to her. She prayed him to give her one day's transit duties at the toll-gate of Oomraj. The king, covetous as he was, was half angry at the smallness of her request, and said, 'That's always the way with her! instead of asking for something really useful, she is for ever begging for something that can do her no earthly good.'

"However, he was comforted by thinking that she had asked for the tolls of a wretched village in the mountain, where they hardly covered the pay of a single toll-keeper, when she might have begged for the customs of Surat or Lahore. So he gave the order, and it was proclaimed that his majesty, of his royal liberality, had granted to his beloved consort one whole day's toll of the village of Oomraj.

"The day fixed was far in advance, so that though not one in five millions of his people knew where Oomraj was, when the edict was proclaimed, all had inquired and discovered, many months before the day came, that it was among the hills near Poona and Chakun.

"Every trader and cultivator in the kingdom had some cause to bless the queen's name, and wish her well; so with one accord, they agreed, in every village throughout the land, that, as the king's rapacity left little else in their power, they should every man go, with his cart or his bullocks, and pay toll to her on that day. So to Oomraj they went; and though there was no Bhore Ghaut road in those days, they all found their way to the place; and from sunrise to sunset, filed through the village by thousands and millions, each paying his four pice for one hundred head of cattle, and when the wearied toll-keeper counted the heaps of money after the day was done, the total was 900,000 rupees (£90,000), and the village has been called Oomraj of the 900,000, ever since. His majesty was so struck by this practical illustration of the financial benefits of a character for justice and mercy, that he reformed his administration, and the good queen had the pleasure of seeing his people happy and prosperous ever after."*

Here we stop—Chow-Chow is not a book of high pretensions; but it is the lively production of an intelligent, amiable woman, and well accomplishes all that it professes. We are indebted to its author for the pleasant employment of some hours; and have much pleasure in recommending it to our readers.

Sakoontala; or the Lost Ring, an Indian Drama, translated into English Prose and Verse, by Monier Williams, 3rd Edition, 1856.

POETRY in a foreign tongue ought to be translated by poetry. If this applies to such poems as the Lusiad, Tasso's Jerusalem, the Henriade, how much more is it the case with oriental poetry, whose language is a reflexion of the gorgeous clime of the East. Professor

* Another story of royal domestic life in the palace of the Delhi emperors, is told in connection with zodiacal gold mohurs, each of which bears the impress of some sign of the zodiac. I do not vouch for it as an historical fact. It was told me, I think, of Noor Mahal, who, when her husband bade her ask a favour of him, begged that, for one day, money might be coined in a woman's name. So the emperor ordered all his mints, for one day, to coin in her name: and I have seen a very beautiful gold mohur, which was shown me as Noor Mahal's. I believe there are coins with her name on them. The story is told with variations: some affirming that the emperor allowed her to reign supreme for one day and that the coinage was only one of her acts of sovereignty."

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Williams is doing for Sanskrit what Socrates professed to do for morals—bringing them down from the clouds to the level of common humanity. The *Belles Lettres* and poetic beauties of Sanskrit have been greatly overlooked. Mr. Williams has rendered full justice to the beauties of the original, and as his preface opens out the subject to general readers, we shall give extracts from it:

"The earliest Hindoo drama, with which we are acquainted, 'The Toy-Cart,' translated by Professor H. H. Wilson, is attributed to a regal author, king Sudraka, whose reign is generally fixed in the second century B.C., and it is not improbable that others, the names of which only have been preserved, may belong to a previous century. Considering that the nations of Europe can scarcely be said to have possessed a dramatic literature before the fourteenth or fifteenth century of the present era, the great age of the Hindu plays would of itself be a most interesting and attractive circumstance, even if their poetical merit were not of a very high order. But when to the antiquity of these productions is added their extreme beauty and excellence as literary compositions, and when we also take into account their value as representations of the early condition of Hindu society—which, notwithstanding the lapse of two thousand years, has in many particulars obeyed the law of unchangeableness ever stamped on the manners and customs of the East—we are led to wonder that the study of the Indian drama has not commended itself in a greater degree to the attention of Europeans and especially of Englishmen. The English student, at least, is bound by considerations of duty, as well as curiosity, to make himself acquainted with a subject which illustrates and explains the condition of the millions of Hindus who owe allegiance to his own Sovereign and are governed by English laws.

"Of all Indian dramatists, and indeed of all Indian poets, the most celebrated is Kálidása, the writer of the present play. He comes next in date to the author of the 'Toy-cart;' and although little is known of the circumstances of his life, yet there is satisfactory evidence to prove that he lived in the time of King Vikramáditya I., whose capital was Ujjayini, now Oujein (a sacred and very ancient city situated to the north-east of Gujarát), and who flourished in the middle of the century preceding the commencement of our era.

"Indeed, the popularity of this play with the natives of India exceeds that of any other dramatic, and probably of any other poetical, composition. But it is not in India alone that the 'Sakoontala' is known and admired. Its excellence is now recognized in every literary circle throughout the continent of Europe; and its beauties, if not yet universally known and appreciated, are at least acknowledged by many learned men in every country of the civilized world. The four well-known lines of Goethe, so often quoted in relation to the Indian drama, may here be repeated:

"Wouldest thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed?
Would thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine?
I name thee, O Sakoontala! and all at once is said."

"Augustus William von Schlegel, in his first Lecture on dramatic literature, says: Among the Indians, the people from whom perhaps all the cultivation of the human race has been derived, plays were known long before they could have experienced any foreign influence. It has lately been made known in Europe that they have a rich dramatic literature, which ascends back for more than two thousand years."

"The need felt by the British public for some such translation as I have here offered, can scarcely be questioned. A great people, who, through their empire in India, command the destinies of the Eastern world, ought surely to be conversant with the most popular of Indian dramas, in which the customs of the Hindús, their opinions, prejudices, and fables, their religious rites, daily occupations and amusements, are reflected as in a mirror."

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The Merchant Abroad in Europe, Asia and Australia. A series of Letters from Java, Singapore, China, Bengal, Egypt, the Holy Land, the Crimea and its battle-grounds, England, Melbourne, Sydney, &c., &c. By George Francis Train, of Boston. With an introduction by Freeman Hunt, A. M., Editor of "Merchants' Magazine," &c. London and New York, 1857.

It is only in virtue of the word *Bengal* in the above title, that it falls within our province to notice Mr. Train's book. It is a fair specimen of the class of literature to which it belongs, containing 512 closely printed pages, written and printed in hot haste, disfigured by probably 1,024 typographical, and 1,536 material, mistakes, but containing also a good deal of information, which would be valuable if only it could be depended on.

Mr. Train arrived in Calcutta on the 1st of March, 1856, and left it on the 9th. It seems to have been a "felt want" that induced him to give to the public his letters from Bengal. The following estimate of the literary labors of his predecessors in this field is characteristic :—

"A year of constant reading would hardly finish the works on India, for the volumes would crowd a library—memoirs, journals, sketches of the multitude of civil servants of the Honorable Company—histories and reports of Governor Generals from Lord Clive to Lord Canning—annals, records and accounts of the Board of Directors—biographies, historical reminiscences, despatches, and pretty volumes of clever military officers, who, during years of service, had little to do but write, draw bills, smoke, play cards and shoot tigers from off an elephant's back ; and others, who were in action, fought, gave their own account of the battle, and won medals and eulogies for their bravery.

"The printing press has been always active in introducing distinguished civil and military officers to the literary public, and books on "our Eastern Empire" are to be found everywhere but where you most want them. Some of the writers have become rich, others poor, and some won a name ; others sunk into obscurity with the first edition ; but most of them lost their hair, their lungs, and, in one or two solitary instances, their conscience, in the honorable service of the Honorable Company. Tourists, too, poetical and prosaic—some falling into hysterical composition when standing on the summits of high mountains, or resting in their palanquins on the banks of grand rivers, watching the innocent gambols of Hindoo maidens, whose ablutions attracted them, while other writers tell of brave hunts, where they have luxuriated in the exciting embraces of a wounded female tiger ; and missionaries who have grown inspired in describing the horrors of the opium trade—the thrilling scenes of the jungle, the revolting customs of heathen worship, and the prayers* which they have made in the evangelization of the native races, prayers* somewhat doubted by many of the company's servants, who, living in the same localities, have seen few instances of a fruit the seed of which was planted long ago, but somehow or other refuses to ripen under an Indian sun, missionaries whose life of exile commands admiration, and far be it from me to speak lightly of their labors, for their motives are the best, although success seldom crowns their life of toil and absence. Others have written, and many who never saw the Indian shore have written, and many of their works show astonishing research and careful compilation. Moore's knowledge of the Orient is sprinkled along the great three thousand guinea poem, like pearls in a diamond necklace, and yet he never saw the country. Lalla

* *Query* "progress."—Ed. C. R.

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Rookh is full of Eastern painting. Burke, and Fox and Sheridan enchanted Parliament with their startling pictures of Indian life, when the American nation was in its cradle, and yet they were not in India.

From such a mass of composition one is fairly disheartened in reading upon such a country. No digest like Goldsmith's History of England has yet been thrown together. Yes—I am wrong—MacFarlane, who wrote on Japan, has published a valuable summary, which gives one taste for more. Yet his travels never extended to the East. Bishop Heber's "Indian Journal," "Wellington's Despatches," P. Auber's "Rise and Progress of British Power in India." James' "Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan"—a work of more than ordinary merit; Mills' "History of British India," which I think, passed under Macaulay's favorable criticism in the *Edinburgh Review*; Scott's "History of Bengal," Gleig's "Warren Hastings," are among some of the more prominent writings; but only in proportion as the letter A is to the alphabet. In volume four—the last of the brilliant series that has been issued from the press from the pen of England's great historian—you will find an occasional page of England's progress in the East, and as you read the eloquent description of the birth and infancy of the empire you long for another chapter, and wait with impatient anticipation to see something of its youth and manhood."

We presume it was with a view to the supply of this want, to furnish "a digest, like Goldsmith's History of England," that Mr. Train undertook the composition of "a retrospective view of India," which he thus concludes:—

"I have now ran over the history of India since commerce opened the country from Capt. Lawrence to Josiah Child; from Child to Clive, and from Clive to Hastings and Mornington, past Dalhousie to Canning, who is next in turn—'tis a strange and interesting history, the formation of the East India Company. Merchants wish to trade, and call in political power to assist them; then jealousy arises, ambition, conquest and a standing army, now numbering 300,000 men in round numbers, 30,000 of which are Queen's troops—all paid by the Company. For two centuries the natives have been brought in contact with the Christian race—and what is there to show for it? Ancient and modern writers assure us that the products of the soil, the peculiar mode of irrigation, the strange fancy for copper utensils, the simple cotton cloth about the loins, the brilliancy of their colors and dyes, their extravagant love of jewelry—wearing them in ears, nose, on their toes, their ancles, their fingers, their necks, and their arms, the custom of eating alone, the religious seclusion of their women, the cutting off of goats' heads for the sacrifice, the training of elephants, and the extraordinary divisions of caste remaining unchanged; habits and customs of a thousand years ago are the habits and customs now. The Hindoo talent, then, of quick observation, perseverance, dexterity, tact, against the vices of greediness, servility and treachery, have gone through trifling changes for centuries. The European vices have been carefully studied; but the European's virtues don't flourish in the Hindoo's mind. Of course, there are some exceptions; but I have yet to learn that the merchant, the missionary or the soldier have been able to break up prejudices which have for so long been handed down from generation to generation."

This "digest" was written on board the steamer *Nubia*, while she was bearing our author away from us. We must therefore go back, and see the impression made on our visitor by the city of palaces and its inhabitants. Mr. Train's first visit was to the mint, which he admits to be "a remarkable picture," and where he informs us, with apparent seriousness, that the "intense heat of the furnaces turns the black men white!" From the mint he went to the Asiatic Society's museum, where he found the model of the Taj Mehal "most attractive." Then there was a flower-show, which was "most refreshing." But "the public buildings did not especially offer attraction.

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'The Mission rooms, Metcalf Hall, the Hindoo College, where 'English is so quickly learned by the apt natives; the $150,000 'English cathedral, were among the most prominent, after the 'Government House." Where the mission rooms are, we have not ascertained. Perhaps the Town Hall may be meant. We have heard of a "penny-pie," and a "two-penny-halfpenny piece of work;" but a $150,000 cathedral is original, and highly characteristic; as is also the designation of Lalla Rookh as "the great three-thousand-guinea poem."

But the great event of Mr. Train's sojourn here was a ball and supper at Government House, "to meet Lady Canning." His remarks on his hosts and his fellow-guests do not quite square with our notions of the obligations implied by the acceptance of hospitality; but we shall not repeat them. The following piece of genealogical lore however, we shall submit to the criticism of those of our readers who are versed in these matters:—

"I find peculiar interest in watching the motions of the State prisoners, and distinguished natives, who, dressed in the picturesque costume of their country, had been invited to partake in the festivities of those who had brought them to their present humiliating position. Kings, Princes and Rajahs, or their descendants, were there bowing and cringing under the iron rule of military power. There was the grandson of the great warrior chief who so long kept the English at bay in his almost impenetrable fastnesses that nature had made for him, and also in that stronghold of which European architects must have drawn the plan—Seringapatam—Tippoo Sultan, the son of the great Hyder Ali, Ghoolam Mahomet, and his son Feeroz Shah, were the descendants of those great men who, three generations ago, were the terror of the Deccan; and had his great ancestor lived to hold his power, Ghoolam would have been the most powerful and the wealthiest of all the Indian princes. These two have just returned from England, where they were courted and *fêted* by crowned heads and noble peers, the most distinguished lions of the day—but at Government House they pass unnoticed, and are taught to remember that they are beggars only, dependent upon an English pension."

We should like very much if any one would tell us who was whose son, and who was whose grandfather. So far as we can make out, Tippoo Sultan was the son of Hyder Ali, Ghoolam Mahomet and Feeroz Shah; while Feeroz Shah is the son of Ghoolam Mahomet; and Tippoo Sultan, Hyder Ali, Ghoolam and Feeroz, are the descendants in the third generation, that is the great grandsons of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan.

As Paris is France, so "the Course" is Calcutta. And we cannot refuse our readers the treat of Mr. Train's description of it:—

"I am no enthusiast, nor can I paint, my youth has been buried among the dry leaves of commerce—the cobweb realities of the counting house—the invoice, the ledger, and the ship—and now, on the restless drifting of never-ceasing change, I am purchasing dearly enough by absence from my family, my first draught of Oriental customs and Indian habits. The evening drive, however, as delightful as it is strange, would make me forget my commission account, were not the familiar names of clipper ships always before me as they range along the anchorage. All there is of European and Western life in Calcutta is reflected every evening on the course; and as I lay off so lazily in my barouche, I can but contemplate the scene so singularly beautiful. Ik. Marvel should

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have driven on the Course after he had been brooding over his sea coal fire. There was the holy river coursing far up above the city, far away beyond the suburbs,—past the hunting fields of the fierce Mahrattas—winding its many coils through the palace gardens on its sacred banks, past the umbrageous banyan, the palm, the sycamore and cocoa trees, past heathen temples, rusting under the corroding influence of climate and of time; and as it loses itself in the distance far beyond Barrackpore, and your imagination traces it beyond your visional reach, torturing its bends through the vast possessions of the honorable company and the paddy fields that give so many millions nourishment—past the wheat and the corn and the indigo plantations—near where the poppy blossoms bloom under government stimulants, to raise a few more lacs to pay the army, no matter how great the misery that every chest of opium may occasion in the sea port families of the Celestial Empire—past the Zemindars, whose tyrant power grinds the life blood out of the poor ryot at the rate of twelve dollars per annum, without rations, or house, or home (the lion's share of which finds its way into the Bengal treasury)—worse in some instances than the Legrees of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," that raised such a storm of virtuous indignation and false philanthropy at the Sutherland House—past the Saracenic ruins of Hindoo temples, endearing because so gray with age, by the Sepoy camp, where English officers are the lords of native regiments—till it finally loses itself among the valleys that base the mountain ranges, and in company with some of its branches waters the roots of the towering Himalayas—lost as you may be in reverie, your fancy is now arrested by the soul stirring music of the regimental bands (made perfectly harmonious by constant years of practice) in the garden enclosure, where nurses and children most do congregate, and where, in the little arbor, you may find an American apple or an American ice—fellow countrymen one is so glad to meet with."

Mr. Train does himself injustice. He *can* paint—after the fashion of the sign-painter, whose rule is to "lay it on thick." At all events if these are not specimens of painting, we despair of being able to find out what they are specimens of. Certainly not of intelligible English writing. And now we must stop. An article in our present issue is proof sufficient, if any proof were necessary, of our perfect willingness to do justice to the intelligence and taste of American travellers, when they do justice to themselves and their country. But when a traveller, misled by the possession of a certain kind of cleverness, mistakes impertinence for smartness, conceit for knowledge, violation of the duties imposed by hospitality for legitimate descriptions of men and manners,—and himself for a gentleman,—our calling requires of us to attempt, after our poor measure, to do justice to him too.

Episodes in the War-life of a Soldier: with the Dream-testimony of Ora May, and other sketches in prose and verse. By Calder Campbell, Author of "The three trials of Loide," &c. London, 1857.

CALDER CAMPBELL, formerly an officer in the Madras army, has been before the public as an author of books for a full quarter of a century; and as a contributor of prose and verse to various periodicals, for a still longer period. The dedication, prefixed to the volume now before us, bears date the 15th December, 1856; and since then we

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have seen it announced that the earthly career of its author is closed. This fact would have induced us to censure gently, had censure been required. But it is not required. The volume before us makes little pretension, and fulfils all that it professes. It is a collection of slight sketches, in prose and verse, some of which have appeared before in several periodicals, and others are now published for the first time. It was a sage remark of a sage critic that *love* in the drama bears a disproportionate part, as compared with the part that it occupies in actual life. In like manner, we may remark that *serpents* are somewhat out of due proportion in our author's narratives. They crawl, and coil themselves, and dart and hiss in almost every page. We should like to extract one of our author's episodes ; but they are all too long, and it would not be doing justice to extract a fragment. We shall therefore content ourselves with a specimen of his poetical powers :—

HOW A TRUE POET IS MADE.

" The Bird, when ripe, will soar and sing,
The Bard, when Grief matures his mind
Will from his Heart's heaped treasures bring
Thoughts, fit to teach his Adam-kind ;
And—set to music—they will turn
To strains the willing crowd shall learn.

But not till then—Oh ! not till Care
Hath stared him sternly in the face,—
Hath fettered him to real Despair
That scorches with a fierce embrace,—
Oh ! not till then can poet give
The song by which his fame shall live !

We learn to sing, as Nightingales
Are said in Eastern tales to do ;
To many a Cross by cruel Nails
Our spirits must be bound, ere true
To Posey and Nature, we
A Rose's grace can sing, or see !

Then haste not Thou, who, in thy soul
Ambitious art of poet's meed,
To woo the Prophet's strange control—
To gauge the depths of human Need ;
For thou shalt—if a Poet born—
Learn all too soon how Crowns are worn !

With heavy brows and aching hearts
Our Anadems we wear.—for they
Bear that around them which imparts
A spiritual suffering, night and day ;
A sense to see, a touch to feel
Sorrows they have no skill to heal !

Yet Grief, yet Pain, may visit all,
Though few possess the Poet's power
To bid soft strains of Music fall,
That sooth man's dark and moody hour :—
We may not pity him who hath
One Song to cheer his onward path !

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But, Poet, if thy lesson well
From Trial and from Pain thou'st taken,
I need not teach thee what the spell
By which their influence may be shaken —
I need not tell thee *what* the Book
In which for comfort thou must look!

Not Praise of men, not Laurels bound
By Beauty's fingers on thy brow —
Not all the Charms that throng around
The circle where Fame's torches glow —
Can chase a pang, or change a sin,
Or make a healthy life *within!*

When thou hast learnt thy hymns to raise
To God—whose Book, thy Harp beside,
Shall teach it such high Chants of Praise
As soar beyond all human Pride -
Then Christ thy Theme, and Love thy Creed,
Thou shalt a Poet be indeed!"

This volume is well worthy the attention of those who like to beguile a vacant half-hour by light reading.

The Moslem Noble; His land and people. With some notices of the Parsees or Ancient Persians. By Mrs. Young, Author of "Cutch;" "Western India;" "Our camp in Turkey," &c., &c. With illustrations from original drawings by the Author. London, 1857.

This book derives its title from the fact that the well-known Nawaub of Surat is occasionally introduced into it. The lesson that it is intended to teach, seems to be that there is no difference between Europeans and Asiatics, or if there be, that it is all in favour of the latter; and that there is no difference between Hinduism, Parseeism, Mohammedanism and Christianity, unless it be that the fourth system is rather inferior to the three others. This is not a doctrine that Englishmen will receive with very much favour *just at present*, when they will read Mrs. Young's text along with the practical comment upon it just published at Delhi, Bareilly and Cawnpore.

A Synopsis of Science, in Sanskrit and English reconciled with the Truths to be found in the Nyaya Philosophy. By J. R. Ballantyne, 1857.

This work is dedicated to the memory of James Thomason, late Lieutenant Governor of the N. W. Provinces,—and well it may—for he was a warm friend to the plan of connecting the literature of the East and West, and of making western knowledge more acceptable

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to the Hindus and Mussulmans by clothing it in an oriental garb. The same view was taken by the late Mr. Colvin of whose death we have lately heard. Both Governors considered that while the English language was to be studied as the store-house of ideas, the oriental languages had their proper position in making those ideas intelligible and adapted to the eastern mind.

This volume of Dr. Ballantyne is a collection of short popular Anglo-Sanskrit treatises on Rhetoric, Logic, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Natural Science, Ethics. The first one relates to the studies pursued in the Benares Sanskrit College. His views are thus given :—

"The most perfect European education bestowed upon a young Brahman, however great a blessing it might be to himself, would exert no beneficial influence beyond his own breast, if unaccompanied by the amount of Sanskrit erudition which is indispensable for securing any degree of respectful attention to his words.

"Those who have heretofore had the direction of Educational measures in this country—whether on the part of Individuals, Associations, or the Government, appear to have acted for the most part on the principle of regarding the Hindoo mind, for all practical purposes, as a 'tabula rasa' in respect to any preconceived ideas, and pre-established system of literature, philosophy, or science either useful and valuable in themselves, or esteemed such by the people with whom we have to deal : and the effects of this appear to me to have been highly prejudicial in many ways ; as I think a survey of the general results at our presidencies, as well as elsewhere, will satisfy most candid observers.

"It has tended to segregate from the mass of their countrymen the eleves of our Schools and Colleges ; and these, finding that they have no longer ideas in common with those of their brethren who have not been similarly educated, but are rather contemned by a large portion of them, at the same time that they are conscious of being more favourably regarded by the members of the ruling nation, and more nearly assimilating to them in sentiments, have very generally evinced a disposition to regard the former with contempt, and to imitate the least commendable of the peculiarities of the latter ; a self-sufficient assumption of superiority taking the place of the humility which a mere entrance within the portals of the vast field of knowledge might be expected to produce. It has also greatly incapacitated these youths for the task of communicating to their countrymen the knowledge which they have themselves acquired, even if other circumstances favored the endeavour ; so that except to whatever extent circumstances may in any locality have given extension to the direct study of English, little or no progress has as yet been made towards inoculating the mass with the knowledge of the west ; and lastly it has entirely repelled from us, by wounding their self-esteem and pride of learning, those classes who possess, and who, unless their position be more strategetically stormed, I doubt not will yet long continue to possess, almost unbounded influence over the large majority of the nation"

"To a reader who is not aware of the relation—the still *existing* relation of the Hindu languages to their living and fostering parent the Sanskrit—the only parent to which they can look up for wholesome nourishment*, - it may seem

* "It is a great and mischievous mistake to regard the Sanskrit in India in a dead language, in the sense which that term generally suggests. What is meant by a dead language ? Nine men out of ten will reply at once that it is a language no longer spoken by the people as their mother tongue. This definition at once suggests to six men at least out of ten, the idea of a language, the cultivation of which, if desirable at all, is so mainly as a matter of intelligent curiosity. But a very little reflection will suffice to convince any one that of the languages which, in terms of the foregoing definition may be called dead by no means the whole fall under the description here suggested. For example, the Anglo-Saxon

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paradoxical when I assert that the fit preparation of a version of any scientific treatise in Hindí, Bengalí, Mahratta, Guzerati, Támil, Telugù, and Sanskrit, is easier than the preparation of the same set of versions without the Sanskrit one. A little reflection will show that there is nothing strange in this. What is the difficulty—the transcendent difficulty – in translating a European work into an Oriental language? It is the difficulty of determining the exact amount of correspondency between the different portions of the knowledge, on any subject, elaborated by the East and West. and embodied in their respective forms of speech. Different philosophic or scientific theories give rise to different forms of expression; and where this is disregarded or forgotten, we have the story of Babel repeated indefinitely. Now, this immense difference of cast, both in thought and expression, meets us in every Indian language which we try to make the vehicle of our knowledge; but if the work which it is wished to communicate to all India is once put fitly into Sanskrit, the task is well-nigh done. There is little more difficulty in turning the Sanskrit work into each and all of the vernaculars, when there are properly instructed pandits of all nations at hand, than in turning so many ingots of gold into guineas, sovereigns, and half sovereigns, when the mint is at your command. When a book has been first rendered into unexceptionable Sanskrit, the risk of error, under proper supervision, is at an end; whereas if translations are made into each language directly from the English, the risk of misconception perpetually recurs. A correct Sanskrit version is like the golden or platina rod deposited in the exchequer office, by which all the brass and wooden yard-measures in the country can be verified, or rectified. To obviate misconception it may be proper to add, that I wish the Sanskrit version to be regarded as the measure and criterion of the *sense*, not as the rigid exemplar of the *form* to be adhered to in the vernacular versions to which it shall supply the matter and the scientific terminology."

Dr. Ballantyne's pamphlet on translation, which is reprinted as an introduction to this volume, ought to be in the hands of every educationist.

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is no longer spoken by the people of England, and neither is the Latin. To call them both dead languages, however does not fairly imply that their claims to attention are equal. In respect of their influence upon the spoken language of the day, the Anglo-Saxon from which. either as a language or a literature, we have long since ceased to gain anything new, may be regarded as the deceased parent of the English; whilst the Latin, from which our language receives yearly accretions, and by whose literature the minds of each successive generation are moulded, acts the part of a living nurse though we may choose to hold it technically dead. But if the difference be great between these two which is hidden under the general name of 'dead language." much more momentous is the difference which can slip fallaciously out of sight when the same conveniently loose cloak of a generalization based on the non-essential throws its misty folds around the Sanskrit also. The Sanskrit to all intents and purposes of any consequence, is no more dead than our reader, who would be able to insure his life on his own terms if he could show that he had the slightest chance of surviving it."

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1857.

ART. I.—1. *Ina, and other Poems.* By MISS LESLIE. Hay and Co., Calcutta.

2. *Ex Eremo, Poems chiefly written in India.* By H. G. KEENE. Blackwood, Edinburgh.

3. *A Dream of a Star, and other Poems.* Calcutta.

OUR readers would not thank us, if we were to add to all that has been written in elucidation of the question, "what is poetry?" From the days of Aristotle to those of Leigh Hunt, few subjects of a kindred nature have given rise to speculations at once so profound and so beautiful; but we know of nothing so practically sensible, or which goes so directly to the heart of the matter, as a saying of Johnson's, in reply to the question of Boswell, "Sir, what is poetry?" "Why, sir, it is much easier to say what it is not. We all *know* what light is, but it is not easy to *tell* what it is." And, that, without being guided by any theory, men do *know* what poetry is, seems manifest from the manner in which true poetry is sooner or later recognised, and sifted from all counterfeits.

There is an universal appreciation of melody and rhyme. As by an instinct, all nations, even the rudest, shape their languages into poetic form. Like Pope, they "lisp in numbers;" even though the higher elements of poetry may be wanting. And this instinct is ever prepared to welcome him who will give it voice and shape. Hence the avidity with which even the uneducated adopt such songs and ballads as embody familiar incidents of love and war; and hence too, the readiness with which poets and their productions are welcomed.

But the glad reception accorded to poetry in its ordinary forms, is not the only proof that it is known—known in the

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sense of being appreciated. This appreciation is perhaps more strikingly seen in the preference that is given to good poetry over bad, or in other words to real poetry; for according to a strict application of poetic laws, bad poetry is not poetry at all. It usually has happened that a great poet has at once and for ever taken possession of his crown, as by a kind of right divine which none felt inclined even for a moment to dispute. Homer, Shakespeare and Spenser have never had their genius called in question. If it has occasionally happened otherwise, there have been reasons for it. Milton's earlier productions appear to have been received as they deserved; for who could question the genius which gave birth to the magnificent "Hymn on the nativity of Christ," to "Lycidas," "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso." If his "Paradise Lost" was not received by his cotemporaries, in a manner worthy of its merits, the cause is easily found in that intense prejudice and hate, with which the dominant party in the nation during the reign of Charles II., looked on everything which belonged to the Puritans. It was impossible for them to recognise any merit in aught that could emanate from the Secretary of Cromwell; albeit there was not perhaps in all England a man of loftier genius or nobler nature than that defamed, blind old man. But from the time when party spirit sufficiently subsided to allow men to judge impartially the works of their predecessors, there has been but one opinion about Milton as a poet. Wordsworth is the next great poet, whose merits were not at once recognised, save by a very few of his earliest cotemporaries. De Quincy tells us, that he had *two* enthusiastic admirers, himself and Professor Wilson! He reduces the number low enough; too low, indeed, for the demands of truth, we imagine; but it is certain, that his friends were few, and his decriers tolerably numerous. But for this, he had himself to blame; he seemed intent on shewing how easy it is to descend from simplicity to silliness. Not content to write such exquisite poems as "Ruth," "Laodamia," "the Power of Sound," and "Dion;" he was led, by pushing a dangerous theory too far, to put forth such productions as "Alice Fell," "The Idiot Boy," and "the Waggoner," as if to perplex the judgment of his readers, and keep in suspense his own reputation. Wordsworth now, we are inclined to think, holds his high position, not because of *all* that he has written, but in spite of one half of it; for the reputation of a writer is fixed much more by his best productions than by his worst.

The conclusion then to which we arrive, is this; that all poets, both small and great, will sooner or later receive their due at the hands of the community. The verdict may be delayed, but it will be a just one at last. Great poets are too few, and too dearly

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prized, to be allowed to perish; and we believe that not a single one has ever thus perished. If minor ones are forgotten, they can well be spared.

Such thoughts as we have now thrown out are of use to us in reflecting on the probable fate of cotemporary literature, and of still greater use to such writers as those whose poems we are now about to review. The volumes before us are the first publications of their respective authors, and to us they are of greater interest, since, with the exception of a small portion of Mr. Keene's volume, all their contents have been written in India. Their individual peculiarities render it necessary that we notice each one separately; but before doing so, they collectively suggest to us one or two observations.

The first has reference to their general characteristics, when compared with the style of poetry now most common in England. India has no school of literature; writers here, therefore, will take their models and receive their bias from the writers of our native land. Our readers need not be told, we hope, that the prevalent tone of poetic literature there is not worthy of imitation. It is what the *Edinburgh Review* happily designated of the "spasmodic" type, which being forced and unreal, must necessarily be short-lived. The three writers before us have happily avoided, to a very considerable extent, this unfortunate characteristic. Mr. Keene has done so entirely; but we cannot say quite so much for Miss Leslie, and the author of "A Dream of a Star." If the former has been influenced by any living writer, we suspect it has been Mrs. Browning; nor could she study a better living model, if, instead of freely and alone cultivating her own nature, she must have one.

Though these poems have almost all been written in India, they have but a very slight connexion with the land of their nativity; and singular enough, this remark chiefly applies to the two volumes which have been published in this country. Mr. Keene has evidently seen in Indian history and the incidents of oriental life, ample materials for the exercise of his poetic powers, whilst his own exile has suggested some of the most touching and beautiful sentiments to be found in his volume; sentiments which will find a response in the heart of every Englishman whose lot is cast in this land of the sun. We wish that the other two writers before us had derived more of their inspiration from the same sources. Surely in the history, the scenery, the social relations, and even in the superstitions of India, there are abundant materials for the poet to work upon. Not only might we suppose that writers would chiefly direct their attention to the land in which they live, especially if that land were one about which distant nations, through many ages, have fondly dreamed and ardently thought; but any writer,

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whether of fiction or of poetry, would have, in making Indian subjects his theme, the great advantage of working a mine hitherto comparatively neglected and overlooked. Ireland, Scotland, America, Italy, Germany, and the lands so pregnant with instruction to the philosophic historian, as well as of gorgeous recollections and imaginings to the poet, which, fifty years ago, formed the Ottoman Empire, have all in turn contributed rich materials to the suggestive minds of our English poets and romancers. India's time will surely come at last. As Campbell sang his funeral dirge over neglected Poland, as Rogers made us acquainted with sunny sensuous Italy, as Byron aroused attention in favour of degenerate Greece, as Whittier drew forth sympathy toward slaves, and excited wrath against their masters; so may we hope, that the labour of calling a yet deeper attention to India's wrongs and wants will not be left exclusively to statisticians, historians and political adventurers, but that some one or more of powerful genius, deeply brooding over the state of this land, will give forth to the world in "immortal verse" an account of its sufferings, its wants and its resources, which shall call forth English sympathy and energy, as, to this country, they have never been called before. Southey, in his "Curse of Kehama," has handled a purely Indian subject with marvellous accuracy and skill, and proved that even the huge and monstrous mythology of this country is rich in themes which might well engage the attention of a poet even of the highest order. Waiving the consideration of the capability of any of the writers before us, thus to arouse public attention, we are sorry we cannot say of them "they have done what they could." But we must proceed to a more detailed consideration of their respective merits. Two of the works before us will not demand so much of our time, since they were brought before the attention of our readers in the "Miscellaneous Notices" of this *Review* on their first appearance.

A "Dream of a Star" occupies nineteen pages of the pamphlet in which it appears; and we are bound to say, it should not have appeared at all. We find it quite beyond our power to give an intelligible account of it, simply because it is as devoid of incident as it is destitute of aim. All we know is, that it is intended to be about a brother and a sister, who, when children, wander about a good deal amongst flowers, churchyards and meadows, but not half so much as the author himself. Indeed, he wanders so much that he absolutely loses the poor children altogether, and at length, apparently conscious that, like the "Babes in the Wood," they are actually missing, exclaims:—

> "But where is he? that thoughtful boy!
> And where that ever present joy,
> His gentle sister?"—

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Where they are, he does not inform us, and we cannot discover. We think the sister dies at the dawn of womanhood, but the author leaves us to infer this rather than tells us so. If he intended the "Dream of a Star" to be an account of a lovely sister, prematurely snatched from an affectionate brother, he should have remembered that this alone is not sufficient to be the basis of a poem of any length; incident and purpose are demanded, and in this case we have them not. The discursiveness everywhere exhibited is excessive, and the writer resembles a child who wandering from its home, soon becomes lost amidst the mazes of a trackless forest. He preserves no sequence and connexion between the different parts of his poem. The lines are tolerably good, viewed separately; his choice of language is usually select, and there is a sylvan cast about his scenery, which not unfrequently reminds us of Keats; but there is no continuity, even in the thoughts and sentiments; it is like a piece of spar, the crystals of which jut out without any connexion the one with the other.

Such a poem as this should not have been published. It can bring no reputation to the author, nor can it minister enjoyment or instruction to the reader. We regret that we cannot pronounce a more favourable opinion on the literary production of one, evidently possessed of a mind deeply imbued with sentiments of a pure and healthful quality, and who writes, as all true poets do, because he feels deeply, and finds verse the most befitting form of utterance. But we have to judge of the intellectual character of this production, and thus viewing it, we pronounce that it is wanting in some of the essential qualities of a good narrative poem. Were it within our province to take account of the moral qualities of a writer of verses, we should willingly do so in this case, since it would then be our happiness to express a higher estimate of this small volume. It exhibits to us a heart at least which is the home of the social and domestic virtues, and very susceptible of all those influences which refine and elevate humanity.

The miscellaneous pieces are of higher merit. There is the same habit of running off from the subject into purposeless versification, the same want of thought, and not unfrequently a very prosaic style of expression. "The Missionaries in India" perhaps best illustrates these defects. The following lines to "Mnemosyne" are in the author's best style:—

> Memory! to gaze on thy land of shade,
> Chequer'd with flashes of sunny light,
> Is like looking back down a forest glade,
> Illumin'd by sunbeams few, yet bright.

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Joy, all so strangely with sadness blended,
Fond hopes fulfill'd which regret still brought,
Long-cherish'd schemes that in failure ended,
And yet such failure with pleasure fraught.

As the smooth mirror, the form depicting,
Gives back an image revers'd, though true,
So memory, on sorrows past reflecting,
May find them joys on a closer view.

"Ex Eremo" exhibits much more cultivated poetic power than the book we have just passed. Mr. Keene, we should infer, has here done his best, and the result is a volume, which will be read, not with enthusiasm, but with satisfaction, by most cultivated readers. There is little of fire, vigour and enthusiasm in his style; but whilst he never rises into the higher regions of poetry, he seldom falls into grave errors of composition, or below mediocrity. He is never sublime and seldom beautiful; but he is generally agreeable, and never fails to exhibit vigorous thought and devout sentiment. He may be found occasionally obscure, and, though usually a careful writer, now and then slovenly, whilst his transitions are sometimes too abrupt, and his exhibition of human feeling and passion is limited in its range; but those defects are combined with excellencies which we have no wish to overlook; indeed, we are inclined to give Mr. Keene a high place amongst our Indian minstrels.

Of the longest poem in the volume we shall say but little. It is the narrative of an adventurer who, at the commencement of Britain's sovereignty in the East, was led by the decay of his house to seek its restoration in India. It is a well told tale of bold adventure, and of baffled lust for gold. An air of naturalness and probability runs through the whole narrative, whilst the conclusion, though too abrupt, is finely conceived. Michael De Mas, after gaining and losing more than one fortune in India, and losing what is still more precious, his virtue and his honor, in his too ardent pursuit after wealth, leaves India with the wrecks of his fortune, that he may, to the eastward, make one more effort to gain the means of restoring the glory of his name, which however had been lost only for a season, for the family estate had been recovered by the fidelity of an old servant; but the heir could not be found:—

"There was a nine days' wonder; men inquired,
"Where was the man whose wealth, without an heir,
(So lost, so wonderfully won again.
But after his departure, by the faith
Of an old servant, thought to have been slain,)
Was fabulously splendid?" And some said,

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"There was a will; all he might have was left
To strangers"—"to a lady he had loved."
It was the year that filled the century
From Michael's birth, when he was seen again."

A band of adventurers in California find his remains :—

"Here, with the lumps of ore heaped high around,
They found a human skeleton; hard by,
A rusty cutlass, such as mariners use
Whereon was rudely graven, and half-effaced,
The words "Michael De Mas," and underneath,
"I die of want upon a bed of gold."

Another poem of some length is called "the Wanderer;" it has probably been suggested by Wordsworth's Excursion. It strikes us as being one of the least successful of Mr. Keene's efforts, for though it contains agreeable reflections and just sentiments, it is somewhat desultory and vague in its general outlines. The following extract from "Day Dreams" affords a very fair illustration of the prevailing character both of Mr. Keene's poetry and style of thought :—

"Where summer is, there 'tis fresh and fair,
For forest and field are gay,
When the sun looks down on tower and town,
That smile beneath his ray.
Upon the hills the morning breeze
Still whispers in the yellow broom,
The poplar throws a quivering shade,
The oak-tree sheds a broader gloom,
And in the hazel thicket hangs
The silence of a tomb.
But shades come o'er the face of day,
Tempering afresh the genial May,
The light air softly drops,
And nestles in the tall tree-heads,
And stirs the violets in the glades,
The spraylets in the copse.
In such an hour as this
The earth-impeded soul,
Entranced with nature's bliss,
Surmounts the bear-watched pole,
And the great space wherein the firm spheres roll;
Knows of a brighter sun,
Basks in his beams,
Sees crystal waters run,
And drinks their streams,
And spreads her wings and floats into the land of dreams."

But he gives us unfortunately lines that are less carefully wrought; take the following as a specimen :—

"In the long dawn of vernal day,
How often have I burst away,

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Fared gaily through the sleeping town,
And wandered to the woods alone.
The bee hummed in the eglantine,
And the breeze swayed the curls of the young woodbine,
The May scented the hedges along,
The lark was above like a star of song;
Through the hay-hung lanes we go
Over the style, across the meadow,
Where the swift streams whispering flow,
Where the black pools sleep in shadow,
Where the angler seeks his sport,
That Verdurer of nature's court,
Who never lets his occupation
Balk him of happy contemplation."

Some of the rhymes in this extract are unbearable, as "town," "alone;" "eglantine," "woodbine;" whilst the two last lines are very defective in versification and poetry; and the last but two is both fanciful and obscure. Other faults there are, but we have pointed out a sufficient number.

Whilst we are in the croaking strain, we may as well indulge our vein a little further. In a short poem suggested by the fine expression of Schiller, "Death cannot be an evil for it is universal,"—occurs the line—

"They own that Death is God."

The idea is as repulsive as it is false. The theology of Mr. Keene is equally defective when he says:—

"In His sight how little differ
Very bad and very good."

The word "long" in the following lines looks too much as if it had been introduced to make a rhyme; the inversion of language moreover is unpleasant:—

"The burden of the world's old song
Must have its share of truth,
That the most honoured life and long
Was happier in youth."

The least effective and satisfactory performance in the volume, we consider to be a short drama on "the Origin of Caste." There is an air of flippancy and levity about it which strikes us as being quite incompatible with the frightful evil whose rise it professes to relate. But it really does not explain to us, in any way that can be called satisfactory, how this curse of India arose. Satan would be ashamed of such a meagre contrivance as Mr. Keene attributes to him.

The most carefully conceived and best executed of the longer

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poems is, "The Twins; a Rosicrucian mystery." The story is a very complicated one, but it is full of deep interest, and the air of mystery and romance which is thrown over it, is made the more attractive because of the skill with which the natural and supernatural are combined. Albertus an Alchemist at length has his wish gratified by being told that he shall have two sons. The sylph who conveys to him this information, points him to two stars, the symbols of his children's destiny—

> — As he gazed
> Two stars shone forth, where clouds had been before;
> Yet not with equal lustre; one still waned
> And paled and flickered as the other burned
> And so they shone alternate. "See thy sons,"
> The sylph was saying—

The father rightly interpreted the sign—

> Albertus' brain was troubled, for he knew
> The saying of the air-born was not false,
> And that his children would be like those stars,
> Mysteriously united, all their lives,
> To hang dependent one upon the other,
> That when one erred, the other straight should mourn,
> When one did good, the other fall away;
> And fear there was, if one should die in peace,
> The other should receive extreme despair
> As his companion everlastingly.

In their chequered lives this alternation of good and evil occurs. As the one is visited with emotions of fraternal love, the other as surely is possessed with feelings of fratricidal hate. Their lives are ever in juxtaposition.

We have said enough to exhibit the prevailing qualities of "Ex Eremo," but notwithstanding its length we cannot refrain from extracting one of Mr. Keene's best poems. We hope the sentiments it unfolds are not rare amongst us:—

> As on her faithful Edward's breast Emilia's head reclined,
> He gazed on her with tenderness, while fear came o'er his mind;
> For he thought her perfect features showed a presage of decay;
> And "Oh, the lady of my love," he said, "she fades away!
> The sun of this wild land is bright, but deadly is his glare,
> And poison loads the gales and rains of all the livelong year.
> My labours, too, are fameless here—all joyless every feast—
> My soul is sick for freedom from this weary, weary East.
> O for the breeze so pure though chill, the sun, though weak, so kind,
> A crust of bread from day to day, with health of frame and mind,
> And the voices of our children never absent from our hearth,
> And gladness in the garden-plots, where bees and birds make mirth—
> And in the end the old churchyard, with two green mounds of earth."
> "Ah! not from you," the lady said, and her timid eyelash fell;
> "Oh! not from you those false weak words my own heart knows so well;

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We were not born for happiness in this stern world of toil,
Nor are we of the forest growth whose souls are in the soil:
Whatever land we start from, dear, the goal is still the same,
And he who steers for duty's light must never think of fame.
Our fates are but our motives, and (if this is any balm)
Think if an age of pleasure can be worth an hour of calm,
Of deep and settled peace, with which, before the day is done,
And the weary march is ended, we may watch the setting sun;—
So if duty be a burthen, 'twill be lighter borne by two,
And if you will struggle on, love, I will struggle here with you."
He kissed her ample brow, as sweet peace came o'er his breast
And let not any seek to know (I cannot tell) the rest—
If he lived to share with her he loved a few bright years at least,
Or one, or both, have left their bones to moulder in the East;
Or whether they enjoyed, or not, what worldly men call bliss,
'Twere vain to ask, and vain to tell: the moral is not this.

We come now to the last of the works before us. For more than one reason, Miss Leslie's poems have stronger claims on our notice as *Calcutta Reviewers* than the others we have noticed. She has lived, we believe, from her childhood in India. She has had no opportunity of observing nature, save as it is presented to us in Bengal; she is besides a young writer, and we may therefore expect from her apparent love of "the gentle art," that her first appearance as an authoress will not be her last. The publication in Calcutta of a good-sized volume of poetry, which really proves that the writer is endowed with the "gift divine" and which gives promise of yet further progress in excellence, is of importance in the history of Anglo-Indian literature. We are prepared therefore to bid Miss Leslie welcome, and whilst we recognise her merits, we wish not to hide her defects.

A reviewer's task is never so responsible as when he takes in hand the first productions of a young poet. He may kill, as the *Quarterly* did Keats; he may envenom, as the *Edinburgh* did Byron; or he may mislead, as a somewhat extravagant Scottish critic now living is said to have misled half a dozen of our young English poets. It is perfectly natural that young writers should wish to know what opinions are formed of their productions; these productions constitute in their estimation a standard by which their reputation is to be judged: to them judicious advice may be of essential service, whilst on the other hand, indiscriminate laudation may confirm them in error, or undue severity may crush and blight minds of great worth and power.

"Ina" is a dramatic narrative, occupying two-thirds of the volume before us. Its perusal at once suggests the enquiry, is ability to conceive a skilful and elaborate plan an essential attribute of a poet? We reply in the negative; at the same time let us add that no one will be a poet of the first order, unless to perfection of detail in the composition of poetry he unite the

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power of original design. Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser and Milton have based their fame on poems which display wonderful genius in the conception of them. Perhaps no equal number of fine lines and passages could be collected from any other four of our English poets as could be gathered from their writings; but yet it is not on these excellencies in detail that their fame rests, so much as on the great genius exhibited in the conception of their poems. The two conjoined lead to supreme excellence. But great poetic power may exist where there is no genius to conceive an original and elaborate plan. Horace, with all his exquisite beauty and taste, was, we believe, incapable of writing a tolerable epic, or a respectable play. No higher quality than great skill is exhibited in the outlines of any of Dryden's poems or plays. Tennyson, unquestionably the greatest poet of our day, has failed, as did Wordsworth, when he has attempted the dramatic and the narrative forms of composition. No one cares for "the Princess," or "Maud" as entire poems, but who does not delight in the minute excellencies they so profusely exhibit! Where original power exists in the conception of a great poem like the Paradise Lost, or a fine play like Othello, there will generally be found the genius requisite to work it out perfectly even in the minutest details. The greater power implies the lesser; but there may exist the ability to write perfect sonnets, lyrics and descriptive pieces, where there is no epic or dramatic power. When therefore a poem of any length comes before us, we adopt the most complete mode of investigation, if we test it both as a work of art and a poetical composition. Judging "Ina" then in the former aspect of it, we are bound to say, that it is found wanting; it is deficient in plot, incident and design. The reader is not borne onward to some clear and deep conclusion. At its close he is conscious of having had intercourse with some very agreeable and accomplished persons—who by the way are too much alike—with having read some fine lyrics, and had presented to his attention some beautiful imagery, but he has to think much before he can say what it is all about; and if at last he discovers a plan, he feels that it is deficient in moral earnestness and literary ingenuity. In fact, we suspect Miss Leslie of a species of literary vagrancy. She was absorbed in a passionate love of flowers, sunbeams, music-murmuring brooks "and all that sort of thing," so that, like the child in the story, who forgot the business on which he was sent in the ardour of his pursuit after a butterfly, she has been so intent on the separate details of her poem as to overlook design. She has strung her pearls on an ordinary thread, which is not sufficiently strong to bear their weight.

But let us examine "Ina" in detail. Being a dramatic

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narrative, it is easily separated into distinct parts. Suppose we take it then entirely to pieces,—we will unstring the necklace, and examine the various stones of which it is composed. Are they separately of any poetic value? Suppose they were put, with some degree of adaptation, into a volume of poetry with befitting titles—and we are not sure but Miss Leslie would act wisely if she were to do this, should she publish, as we hope she will, any other poems—would they be recognised as possessing some merit? We certainly think they would, and some of them merit of a high order. We would instance several of her lyrics, and two scenes—p. 161—suggested, we imagine, by the noble heroism of Florence Nightingale, the first of a lady in England, amidst the luxury and refinement which wealth can there purchase in such perfection as can be exhibited in no other land; the second of the "Lady Ermengarde," who moves like an angel amidst the sick and wounded, pining in an hospital on the banks of the Euxine. These are too long for quotation, but the following passages exhibit Miss Leslie's capability both of thinking and writing, nor would it be difficult to cite others equally good:—

"Life is like that fair Queen of Portugal,
Bright Inez of the beautiful, glad smile,
Whom after death her royal husband robed
In regal tire, and bound her brow with gold,
And made her sit upon a gorgeous throne,
And while most rich and lordly music swelled,
Caused his proud nobles to kneel down and kiss
The dead cold hand, stiff and impassible;
Her ears heard not the music's thrilling gush,
Her hand felt not the kisses of the lords,
Her eyes looked not upon her husband's face.
Thus in our love, we act toward this life,
Robe it in purple, kneel in reverence down
Before it throned upon a seat of gold;
And all the while it is a deathly thing
Meet only for the lightless sepulchre.

Life is a white and silver basket, void
Of fruits and flowers; man's earthly work it is
To gather all the sweetest flowers of Time,
And all its richest, ripest summer fruits,
And fill the basket ere his days are o'er,
Then shall it stand before his sovereign's face,
Lightened with splendour from the azure skies,
Struck over by Eternity's great light."

Take another extract on a different theme:—

"Ay, and young children scarce believingly
Shall hear of battle-fields where man met man
In deadly, inextinguishable strife,
Fort walls with ivy shall be mantled o'er,

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And birds shall build their small nests 'mid the leaves.
Cannon shall lie along the grass, and flowers
Shall twine around them in long, starry wreaths;
Ball-pyramids shall scatter, and each shot
Shall be encradled tenderly in moss,
'Mid cowslips and young purple violets.
O cease not, Lady, thy low voiced prayers,
For this morn's advent companied with joy,
And songs, and smiles, and glad thanksgiving words:
Surely it shall come though it tarry long."

There is fine appreciation exhibited in the following lines, as well as noble sentiment:—

"I thank Him daily for the wise, the brave,
The true, the loving and the beautiful,
With whom He glorifies and gladdens Life.
The earth is fair and rich with lustrousness,
The sweet reflection of God's holy smile
Yet lingers on blue sea, and rippling stream,
And lake surrounded by deep summer green,
Aye shining with a wondrous loveliness.
Each full-blown flower seems as if wrought in Heaven,
In presence of the splendoured sanctities,
And the sweet budding of the trees in spring
Might make glad flushes light a seraph's cheek.
But richer, rarer than each glorious thing
Which glows and glitters on this rounded earth,
Is man's great, deathless soul. Therefore the heart
Exulteth more at meeting of an heir
Of immortality, than at the sight
Of earth's most fair and beauty-lighted scenes,—
Fields flushed with roses on a summer's morn,—
White lilies floating on a dark, deep pool,—
A herd of red deer in a forest's gloom,—
Long, western shadows in a wooded park,—
Stars shining near a mountain's white-snowed peak,—
Palm-shaded islands in a sapphire sea,—
Pure springs encircled with green, mossy stones,—
And valleys among mountains rainbow-arched."

But perhaps Miss Leslie will be more fairly judged by the miscellaneous pieces prefixed to "Ina." Embodying as they do single incidents or special thoughts, she has not to contend with the difficulty of conceiving an elaborate plan, and her attention being fixed chiefly on the partial treatment of a simple subject, she is more at liberty to display her power. These miscellaneous pieces exhibit more diversified ability than the mere readers of "Ina" would expect. The descriptiveness of several passages in "the Death of Moses," the pathos of "Died at Sea," and "Tintoretto and his Daughter"—which we think one of the best of Miss Leslie's productions;—the quiet imaginativeness of "the Ruined house;" the war-like vigour of "Christmas night" and "the War-farewell," and the bold symbolism of "Eastern

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voices" give proof of genuine poetic power. We regret that all these pieces are too long to be extracted.

But we will enter somewhat more particularly into the characteristics exhibited in this volume. Its author's forte is evidently the descriptive. Had she possessed the power of narrating, we think she would have seized the opportunities of displaying it, which often occur in "Ina." Perhaps she may hereafter disclose, what she certainly has not yet exhibited, a power to pourtray individual character; experience and observation may do this and much more, but recording what we observe, it strikes us that Miss Leslie's mind runs strongly in the direction we have indicated, and we are the more assured of this from the marvellous instinct with which she can describe scenes with which she cannot be familiar, and of which we suspect she can know little by means of analogy and inference. Everywhere we meet with fine touches like the following:—

"Look, father, at my basket heaped with flowers,
And half-oped buds, and green leaves feathery,
I've sought for them in still and hidden nooks,
'Neath over-shadowing trees, in corners known
Only to little birds which on the mould
Have left faint traces of their small, red feet,
And from their leaf-enshrined nests have won
The sweetest treasures of this golden morn.
See these white wax-like buds, and spicy flowers,
Ringed as the royal tiger of the woods;
So purely are they fashioned, that the light
Of angel-fingers seems yet visible
In their surpassing beauty-moulded forms."

This volume exhibits great imaginativeness on the part of its author. She writes as if she often looked at objects not so much to see what they are in themselves, as to observe what they resemble, and how many analogies they can suggest. Hence it is that she is not content with one figure, but must have several: occasionally indeed she seems so intent on their multiplication, as to forget the idea which suggested them; the stalk of the tree is almost hidden beneath the rich foliage, and the golden blossoms which it supports. This love of imagery exhibits itself often in a delight in personification, thus:—

"Summer, with large and jetty eyes steals on,
Bearing upon her head a loose thick crown
Of open roses white and golden-hued
And tinged with pink, and crimson as the sky
After the gorgeous setting of the sun.

Evening, a maiden with a rosy flush
Upon her rounded cheeks, her golden hair
Falling about her in long glossy curls,
Her purple robe thrown round her in rich folds,
Comes up the west with a majestic tread.

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Morning brings with her a rich urn of gold,
Filled with clear dew-drops, which she scatters round
On flower and leaf, and her high brow is wreathed
With rosebuds washed in dew and glittering stems.

Twilight, a matron with a diadem
Of large, dim planets, and a countenance
Ethereal in its beauty, and a look
Of solemn tenderness in her grey eyes.

Night, with a black veil o'er her star-crown flung,
In mean disguise comes to the silent earth,
As to a foeman's camp a fearless queen:
Yet through the shrouding dark her jewels shine,
And men confess the present majesty."

More frequently it is seen in the creation of what are termed figures. Some of them are so fine that we cannot forego the pleasure of laying two or three of them before our readers:—

"O rich, rich gift of life, white marble block!
Why hast thou been entrusted to my hand?
I am too weak to hew grand statuary
For earth's bright golden halls, wherewith the souls
Of gazers-on may throb with spirit-joy.

Eternity is as the marriage-ring
Pure, bright, and golden, where with God unites
For ever more his ransomed to Himself.

Death comes unto us, as at midnight came
The angel to the guarded prison-house,
Where calmly the apostle doomed to death
Slept dreaming dreams of beauty, and he bids
Our clay chains drop adown, and with a touch
Flings wide the massy portals of the earth,
And leading our still wondering spirits out
Into the star-streets of the universe
Departs, and leaves us to seek out our own.

Oft-times I feel like to a little child,
Aboard some huge black ship upon the sea;
The vessel rocks, the billows dash and moan,
The sea-bird screams, around me dismally,
And I — I know not what the crash and stir,
The straining of the masts and cordage mean;
But terrified I sit me down and weep.

Occasionally the imagery is obscure, and now and then it is drawn from sources that are too familiarly known; but we should withhold from Miss Leslie her just meed, if we did not add that it is always such as a refined and cultivated taste will approve. A similar remark indeed will apply to the whole volume; it exhibits great purity of taste and of feeling. We may not always be able to approve of the mere language as an exhibition of rhythmic power, though usually it is harmonious and very

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musical, but the sentiments and the thoughts it clothes are never at variance with what a woman should think and feel. Would that the healthy moral tone and the purity of feeling here exhibited, were more prevalent amongst our existing English poets; Dobell, Smith, Gerald Massey, and James Bailey are more defective in this respect than they are even in Wordsworthian repose and Grecian chasteness and simplicity.

There are one or two points on which we will venture to give Miss Leslie a word of warning. We do this the more readily, because we fully recognize her merit, and believe that her faults are neither numerous nor ineradicable. Let her then, first of all, be careful in the use of adjectives. A poet, we are aware, can no more do without them than without flowers, stars and rhythm; but, like many other things, they are good or bad according as they are used; now if they are used too frequently, or inappropriately, they greatly weaken style. In our younger days, we had a fellow-student who could not express his approval of the most ordinary things without declaring that the loaf before him was superb, the coffee magnificent, and the tea glorious! Now if De Quincy is right—and no living writer has a deeper knowledge of the significance and fitness of words—in saying that he only knows one object on earth made by the hand of man which can appropriately be called sublime, then what an offence to good taste must that have been, of which we have just spoken! Had not its excess rendered it ridiculous, it would have grated on the ears with the offensiveness of fifty hackery wheels. We distinctly wish it to be understood that Miss Leslie is never guilty of the extreme inappropriateness to which we have alluded, but could she write the words "forehead" and "brow" without appending the adjectives "pale," or "white?" Does not the word "fingers," always suggest the other word, "tapering?" Such iterations and common places are by all means to be avoided.

A similar tendency to that we have just indicated, is seen in the very frequent combination of words, which occasionally weakens her lines, and sometimes violates the usage of the English language. Such as the following are open to one objection or the other, "large-souled," "stiff-jewelled," "Eden-land," "Soul-father," "gladly-guested," "sigh-companioned," "vale-lily," "fondness-full."

We think it more important still to caution Miss Leslie against too great a love of word-painting, lest it should weaken her inclination for originality of thought and conception. Words are often mistaken for thoughts, and by none so frequently as by young poets. It is a very natural and therefore a pardonable error; but yet it is an error. True poetry is found not so much

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in words as in ideas. Miss Leslie is sometimes beguiled from what she should say, by reflecting too much on the best manner in which she can say it; she is therefore occasionally too stiff and artificial, and her lines move onward, not with the free impulsiveness with which a child walks, but with the deliberateness of one who is obliged to pick his way, or who marches in some slow and stately procession. However, time will give her more thoughts, and experience will increase her power of varied expression. Her reading may have much to do with this attribute of her poetry. We suspect she has read much more extensively in the field of modern than of old English poetry. This is matter for regret. Our best recent poets have been the deepest students of the old masters of song, not of their contemporaries. They have discovered where the gold mines are. Any one conversant with Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Tennyson, cannot fail to perceive at whose feet they sat and learned,—learned, so far as genius admits of being taught. However much there may be that is admirable in the best modern poetry, we take it to be an important thing that a writer bring himself frequently into close converse with minds most diverse from his own, both in their forms of thought and of expression. The result is both instructive and invigorating.

We cannot close our remarks without a definite expression of our opinion. This volume contains indubitable proofs of considerable poetic power. It is full of promise for the future. She who can utter some of the fine and beautiful things here written, should continue to write. Its fair authoress has no small store of that wealth of language and imagery, and that enthusiasm in behalf of her noble art, of which true poets are made; may she live to fulfil the promise which her book justifies us in cherishing!

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ART. II.—1. *Report on the Jails of the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for* 1855-56.

2. *List of Jail Manufactures executed in the Prisons of Bengal and the North Western Provinces.* 1856.

3. *Report of the Committee on Prison Discipline, to the Governor General of India.* 1838.

THE elaborate and able report which stands last in our list of Prison Documents, may be said to have formed the groundwork of nearly all that has been accomplished, or attempted, in the reformation of Indian Jails. Occupying about four hundred folio pages, examining every detail and subject, from Transportation to Tobacco, and emanating from such men as Sir Edward Ryan, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Cameron, and Mr. Grant, this valuable State Paper is well deserving of notice by those who take any interest in the important questions of criminals, their punishment and reformation.

It is not our intention in the present paper to discuss any portion of the general subject, other than that relating to the employment of prisoners under sentence in the Jails of India. The recent exhibition of Jail manufactures in the Town Hall of Calcutta, has been the means of bringing this mode of employing the inmates of our prisons so prominently before the public, and the objects there exhibited attracted so much attention from some portions of the community, that it is thought preferable to treat our Jail industry apart from the larger question of "crime and its repression." We believe it to be in contemplation to hold a second Jail exhibition towards the close of the present year: this alone would induce us to treat the matter as a separate question, having a care to consider in what manner such a public collection of Prison Industry may be susceptible of improvement, and how most likely to conduce to the end in view.

Previous to the date of the Prison-Committee's Report, the only active occupation for the inmates of our Jails, with the exception of a few menial employments about the Prison, was road-work, either contiguous to, or at a distance from, the respective Jails, under Engineer officers. At that time, there were about thirteen thousand thus employed in Bengal alone, out of twenty-three thousand six hundred criminal prisoners. These prisoners worked in fetters, guarded by one Burkandaz to every five convicts, supervised by Duffadars and Jemadars. Women do not appear to have performed any description of labour; whilst in the great Jails of the three Presidency towns none of the prisoners were called upon to work.

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The report proceeded to shew that in the Bengal Presidency, there was, properly speaking, no system of in-door labor for male convicts, excepting for those sentenced to imprisonment for life. Of these, there were in 1838, one thousand and fifty-two committed for murder, attempt at murder, homicide, and gang-robberies with wounding and torture. The only labour exacted from these desperate characters, was spinning flax and jute-yarn for the manufacture of gunny bags, which seldom occupied the most indolent after mid-day, whilst the more active were engaged for a much shorter time. The productive result of this labour was not more than 2,500 rupees per annum. The life-prisoners in fact appear to have performed just as much work as suited them; the jailer having but little command over them, owing to their being congregated in one vast yard, and the few sepoys placed as a guard on them, having only unloaded muskets, a fact of which the prisoners were perfectly aware.

There were, however, even at that period, some few exceptional cases, where the Magistrates had, as mere experiments, put a certain number of prisoners to in-door labor. At Beerbhoom, a few were placed at cloth-weaving, with very questionable results as to profitableness. At Allahabad, sixty prisoners were employed in a similar manner without success. A small carpet manufacture had been attempted at Benares, but eventually abandoned. In like manner, the convicts of Gurruckpore, Hameerpore, and Meerut, were put to labor, but with somewhat better results.

The Committee reported that, so far from in-door labor being generally preferred by prisoners, they sought for work on the roads, with the knowledge that they could nearly always command intercourse with friends and relations by means of bribes to the guards, with the savings of their monthly allowance money. This however could only be done when they were employed under the civil authorities, for when transferred to the military, for work on the Grand Trunk Road, they were much more strictly kept and watched over.

"This system was commenced in the Lower Provinces on the '1st March, 1833, when every prisoner sentenced to labor, for 'whatever crime, whose unexpired period of imprisonment 'exceeded one year, was sent to Captain Thompson. But we 'believe that, except on the first occasion, none but those 'sentenced for murder, dacoity, highway robbery, burglary, 'theft, receiving stolen goods, forgery, perjury, arson, rape 'and other offences, for which the term of imprisonment has 'been five years or more, have been sent.

"By day, the prisoners in these road-gangs work in iron fetters, and at night, they sleep sometimes in huts, and sometimes in 'tents, secured in gangs,—secured by means of a long iron chain,

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'passed through a ring in each man's fetters, or between the legs 'above the fetters, and fastened at each end. The executive 'officer has power to handcuff refractory prisoners, or to put 'extra irons on them, to stop one-third of their allowance, or to 'flog them on the spot with a ratan.

"There is no doubt, the prisoners dislike working under the 'executive officers away from their districts. The removal from 'the neighbourhood of their friends is greatly disliked, for when 'on the roads in their own district, they are visited by them and 'receive money from them. The loss of this intercourse is parti-'cularly felt by prisoners in good circumstances."*

The exposure to weather, and the frequent unhealthiness of certain localities, where road-making had to be carried on, induced a much heavier rate of mortality amongst the out-of-door gangs under the military than elsewhere. In some instances, the losses from disease were excessively severe. The average mortality amongst the in-door prisoners, was at that date 7.28 per cent., whilst the road-gangs showed losses averaging 11.16 per cent. "In one gang employed under Captain Thompson, Ramghur 'division of the Trunk Road, the number of convicts who died 'whilst actually belonging to the gang, averaged for ten months, 'at the rate of 34.25 per cent. per annum. In one month, the 'deaths in that gang were ten per cent."†

This mortality does not appear to have arisen in any way from defective clothing, or bad or insufficient food. They had ample clothing, and more rations than they usually consumed. An analysis of the comparative cost of Jail prisoners, and gang convicts on the roads in Bengal, shews that whilst the former cost the State, Rs. 32-13-2 each, per annum, the charge for the latter was, Rs. 46-4-6 a head: the principal increase was under the heads of clothing, and guards, the amount of which in the latter instance, was double that for in-door prisoners. The keep of a prisoner in Jail, without labor, and therefore not needing nearly so much overlooking, is not more than Rs. 24-2 a year.

The Committee went into very elaborate details to shew that the State were absolute losers by employing convict labor on the roads, and that it would be preferable to feed the prisoners in idleness in Jail, and to employ hired laborers for the roads. "The 'extra cost of a convict, when he is put to work on the roads, 'is two rupees a month, whilst the work he does could be con-'tracted for everywhere at considerably less, in some places at 'two-thirds, and in some places, at one-half of that price."‡

* Report on Prison Discipline, 1838, page 47.

† Report on Prison Discipline, page 49.

‡ Report on Prison Discipline, page 57.

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In conclusion, the Committee reported their opinion, that the employment of convicts on the roads was the worst method of treatment that could be resorted to. Without any proper Jail Discipline, the Engineer officers, anxious to obtain as much work out of the prisoners as possible, fed them highly, gave many holidays, and presents, as well as other privileges inconsistent with prison regulations. In short, the better an executive officer discharged the duties of his own profession, the less fit he must be for a Jailor.

Upon this strong evidence, the Governor-General in Council decided that "the entire system of employing the convicts in 'road-gangs, or otherwise under Engineer or Executive Officers, 'at a distance from the Jails of their respective districts, should 'immediately be put an end to throughout the Presidencies."

The convicts transported beyond the seas from Bengal, were, in most cases, employed in road-making, or let out to private individuals as domestic servants. At Singapore, there were 901 Bengali convicts, of whom 857 were placed in road-gangs; the rest remained with private individuals, or, in some instances, were permitted to live free from any restraint, and to provide for themselves, somewhat on the Ticket-of-leave system. At Penang, there were 566 Bengal convicts, and at Malacca, 284, of whom very trifling use appears to have been made, whilst the discipline amongst them amounted to nothing. In the former settlement, a wealthy Bengali, transported for a heinous offence, was carrying on trade to a very considerable extent on his own account, and in his own name, as freely as any merchant could do. In the Tenasserim Provinces, the prisoners from Bengal were placed on the roads or at similar work, and employed from day-break until 4 P. M., with one hour allowed for breakfast, but otherwise with very lax discipline.

An analysis of the cost of keep and productive labor of these transported convicts, gives the following results:—

"At Singapore, their cost amounted to Rs. 3-12-4 per month, 'whilst the value of their labor was put down at Rs. 5-8-9. 'At Penang, the monthly cost was from Rs. 2-12 to Rs. 4, and 'the produce of their labor was said to be Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 3. At 'Malacca, the keep of the convicts amounted to Rs. 4 monthly, 'whilst their labor was estimated at Rs. 6. In the Tenas-'serim Provinces, their cost was Rs. 4-8, and their monthly 'work yielded Rs. 5. But these figures, or at any rate, the pro-'ductive side of the account, must be taken with some degree of 'caution, as they were supposed to be very roughly estimated."

The Report under notice is dated January, 1838. In October of the same year, an elaborate "minute" on the subject appeared, in which, amongst many other improvements suggested, the abandonment of road-gangs, at a distance from the respective

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Jails, was determined upon, and at once carried out; whilst an extension of in-door occupation, especially as regards manufactures, was ordered. The energy thrown into the subject by the Committee of that day, appears to a great extent to have died with their labors, and it was not until the year 1843, that any beginning was made with the regular introduction of manufactures into our Jails.

The Report for 1855-56, by the present Inspector of Jails for the Lower Provinces, gives evidence of new vitality infused into this department of the public service, by one who is able, and thoroughly resolved, to render the Jails of Bengal effective both as reformatories, and as places of punishment, with as little cost to the State as possible. The elaborate character of Dr. Mouat's first Report is a proof of what may be accomplished even in India by an indefatigable man. In his enquiries and suggestions of reform, he doubtless encountered prejudice in some, ignorance in others, especially amongst the inefficient subordinates; yet already he has accomplished several striking reforms, not the least note-worthy of which has been the prohibition of tobacco amongst the convicts. His labors must not be the less valued, that he has had to struggle against "a corrupt 'and inefficient subordinate agency, and a construction of pri-'sons, which, in many cases, invites escape, defies classification, 'renders penal servitude impossible, and unites every quality 'that is undesirable in a place of incarceration."*

Of the fifty-five Jails now under his supervision, from Assam to Arracan, Dr. Mouat contrived to inspect and report upon thirty-three during the first year of his tenure of office. The tabular returns in the Appendix give ample, and on the whole, accurate details as to the present working of those establishments. It could be wished, however, that regular periodical returns of the number of prisoners confined in the various Jails, were given, instead of the one statement of those incarcerated on the 30th April. This is acknowledged in the Report, for we are told that "the result of this imperfect plan is that the quarterly, 'half-yearly, and annual, returns, all differ in their results, and 'the discrepancies are so hopeless that I have in despair aban-'doned the attempt to reconcile them."

A daily return is recommended, by which monthly averages could be arrived at. He cordially agrees with our suggestion where the report says: "there is no mention in the enumeration 'of the number of recommitments, nor is any information fur-'nished as to the causes of crime, its increase or diminution in 'particular districts, the number of previous imprisonments the 'criminals have undergone, or any other circumstances to show

* Report on Jails of the Lower Provinces, 1855-56. Page 19.

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'the effects of imprisonment on crime, and how far the punish-
'ments inflicted are efficacious or otherwise, either as regards the
'criminal himself, or the class from which he comes. All those
'particulars might be easily afforded, without inflicting much
'additional trouble on Magistrates, by abolishing all unnecessary
'multiplication of returns, and by substituting for them one com-
'plete set of monthly records furnished to a single central office,
'and these collated with the extreme care and attention neces-
'sary, to render criminal statistics of any value."

Without some well devised and honestly worked plan of statistics, as regards the lives of former prisoners, the effects of Jail discipline, and especially of Jail industry, cannot be ascertained. It is so far satisfactory to know that the health of the convicts is not needlessly sacrificed, and that their cost is greatly reduced by placing them to occupations in-doors instead of on the roads, but as regards the after-effect of their industrial prison teaching, we are, under the present system, in most complete ignorance. We are anxious to know whether the various new or improved branches of manufacture, taught them during their imprisonment, are in their after-career made a means of obtaining an honest livelihood, or if the teaching be scattered to the winds, and they return to their former evil habits. This is certainly one of the most essential points to ascertain, and until we are enlightened on the subject of recommitments, we shall continue to be groping in the dark.

On the 30th April, 1855, there were in the various prisons under Dr. Mouat, 18,788 males and 568 females: of these, 1,146 were "life prisoners." The number of those sentenced to labor, was 16,048, of whom 3,367 were employed on roads, 6,076 engaged in manufactures, 3,595 otherwise occupied, and 3,005 inefficients for age or other causes. The principal employments under the head of manufactures, consist of gunny and cloth-weaving, paper-working and brick-making.

The gross financial results of the year were as follows:—

Value of articles sold in the bazar	Rs.	1,65,999	2	4
Ditto consumed for public purposes	„	36,666	8	0
Ditto in Store at the end of the year	„	49,599	4	2¼
Total	Rs.	2,52,264	14	6¼
Deducting from this, the value of articles in Store at the end of the year 1854-55	„	52,041	8	3¼
The earnings of the year will have been	Rs.	2,00,223	6	2¼
From which deducting the cost of raw materials and sundry charges, there would be a nett profit of	Rs.	90,859	2	1
Against that of the previous year	Rs.	81,163	1	3

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The table accompanying shews, at a glance, the progressive increase in the produce of Jail industry, since the first systematic introduction of in-door manufacture in the year 1843:—

Years.	Jails in which in-door labor was enforced.	Nett profits of the year.
1843—44	35	Rs. 17,113
1844—45	35	35,943
1845—46	40	42,529
1846—47	43	48,325
1847—48	46	46,477
1848—49	42	53,877
1849—50	45	68,810
1850—51	47	78,285
1851—52	50	84,036
1852—53	50	88,186
1853—54	48	93,503
1854—55	49	95,163
1855—56	49	1,11,582

It must be observed here, that this statement includes the working of the Calcutta House of Correction, the receipts from which were excluded from the return previously analysed.

The earnings of the several Jails vary considerably: the difference arising from the better system pursued in some establishments, as well as from the more advantageous locality of their positions, in regard to the value of labor in the market.

The four Jails indicated below, stand at the head of the list in this respect, shewing against each name, the yearly earning of a single prisoner:—

Hooghly,	Earnings per prisoner	.....Rs.	53	0	0
Alipore,	ditto	..... „	27	0	0
Jessore,	ditto	..... „	26	0	0
Nuddea,	ditto	..... „	22	0	0

Whilst far below these in the long list we find:

Monghyr	.....Rs.	12	0	0
Patna	..... „	8	0	0

And this result was in spite of the superior quality of the article produced by them, so that it is, clearly, not the actual money value of the manufacture which yields the largest amount of profit. Some Jails, from their unfavorable position, do not realise above one rupee per prisoner; and for this, there would appear to be no remedy at present.

It appears that the total cost of each convict in the different

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Jails, ranges from Rs. 30-3-3 per annum to Rs. 96-12-3, the bulk of them being between Rs. 34 and Rs. 44. Here again we must not place all this difference to the credit of economical management, though it does happen that the best managed Jails are those which cost least. A good deal of the extra costliness of many at the bottom of the list in the matter of expenditure, arises, beyond a doubt, from the dearness of the particular district, and not from the defective management of the establishment. The first result of the working of the year under review, is that the average annual cost of all the nineteen thousand prisoners confined in the fifty-five Jails of the Lower Provinces, amounts to Rs. 42-10-7, including all fixed and extra charges, whilst the average earning per man for the same period, was Rs. 5-11-10.

The four establishments already instanced, as shewing the highest returns in their manufacturing products, will be found as regard their cost and earnings, to stand thus :—

	For least cost.	*For greatest earnings.*
Alipore	2	2
Hooghly	3	1
Jessore	4	3
Nuddeah	1	4

In many of the Jails, the introduction of manufactures has been too recent to yield any favorable result, and in some of them, we find that the cost has slightly exceeded the value in the market of the articles produced. Time will however put all this right.

In the latter part of last year, an exhibition of articles of Jail manufacture was held in the Town Hall of Calcutta. It lasted for many days, and was attended by great numbers of all classes of the community. This was the first exhibition of the kind in British India. The articles shewn were such as are ordinarily made in the Jails, and not specially manufactured for the purpose; so that the exhibition may be said to have fairly enough represented the actual working proficiency of each Jail. Many of the articles shewn were not of a nature to interest Europeans, yet they were probably the most suitable manufactures for the districts in which they were produced, where the population is entirely native, and the cost of transporting a superior produce to Calcutta or elsewhere would doubtless have proved it a ruinous proceeding.

The exhibited articles comprised cloths of various descriptions in use amongst the native population of the various districts, table-covers, towelling, dusters, carpets, durrees, blankets, horse-clothing, saddlery, gunny bags, thread, tape, twine, paper, bamboo and rattan articles, carpentry, iron-work, bricks and tiles, pottery, shoes, oil, &c. &c.

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Of the above, many were of such a nature as scarcely to call for any notice from us. There were again other manufactures so good as to deserve especial mention. Whilst we can say nothing in commendation of the paper produced at the Jails, nor feel able to speak in especial terms of their gamlahs, thilias, bathing stools, roasting hooks or iron hinges, we can afford to pause and examine with much interest and pleasure, the door mats, baskets, blankets, towelling, cotton cloths, thread, gunny bags, and carpets.

It is quite possible that some of the articles most deserving of praise, are the least remunerative to the Jails; but this, although an element in the entire calculation, is after all not of primary importance. There can be no doubt, but that, as far as excellence in quality is concerned, a large number of the articles produced afford a good example to the non-convict workman. Whether the free work-people may find it to their advantage to imitate the excellence of the superior Jail manufactures, is a question that can only be solved by time. Probably in the more remote districts, the cost of the additional labor bestowed, would scarcely meet with a corresponding value, but this could hardly be the case in localities within reach of populous neighbourhoods, where quality has become of some moment in most articles of popular demand.

The articles which most especially attracted the attention of consumers of the commercial class, were the various gunny bags, which were as superior in every respect to the ordinary production of the village looms, as could well be imagined. Indeed they have long been known as the Jail bags of Bengal, and, under that name, are known in foreign markets, for their great strength and durability. We understood that on the first few days of the exhibition, more contracts were offered for this description of gunny bags, than could be taken by the Jails producing them, than could be executed during the current year. It would appear advisable that this branch of manufacture should be commenced in other Jails, whenever they were not at so great a distance from the market, as to render the transit charges on the bags too heavy. There seems to be no limit to the consumption of these articles in a trade which is yearly restricted only by the impossibility of enabling the supply to keep pace with the demand.

There can be no reasonable doubt as to the success of this introductory exhibition of Jail manufactures. Others will follow yearly, and the public will not only be thus enabled to mark the progress in the industry and skill of our convicts, but able to supply some of their wants to an extent, and with goods of a quality, which in this non-progressing country it would be elsewhere

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impossible to do. Having thus considered this portion of the subject, we would desire to turn our attention to other points; but before offering the suggestions we have to make, we would say a few words upon the subject of the convicts themselves, their offences, and the degrees of punishment and probation called for in their several cases. It is necessary that we do this before giving our opinion as to the quality and degree of labor, which we think, should be exacted from them.

In considering this part of our subject, there are four results to be kept in view, viz:—the proper amount of punishment to be inflicted on each prisoner for the offence committed by him: —the example to be made with a view of deterring from future offences in others:—the reformatory training of the convicts;— and lastly, the saving of some portion of our Jail outlay, by the labor of the prisoners. Of the latter object, we do not intend to say much, because we believe it of far less moment than any of the others, and too much regard to it might weaken the effect of the larger question. We must of course omit from this portion of our remarks, the life-prisoners, whose crimes and punishment do not bring them under the same considerations.

For our present purpose, we may safely and properly divide the whole of the remaining convicts into two great divisions, those who have committed simple misdemeanors, and those who have been found guilty of serious offences. According to our pre-conceived ideas on crimes and punishments, as gathered in Europe, and more especially in England, we should have been tempted to apply the ordinarily accepted rules to these cases, and to have said with all confidence in our western judgment, that the misdemeanors might be amply recompensed, and offended society satisfied by the lightest occupation, whilst the perpetrators of the heavier offences against our laws, should be placed at gang-work on the roads, at brick-making, or other heavy and laborious tasks proportionate to the serious nature of their offences.

In this we should have fallen into error. The state of native society, the habits of the natives, and the predisposing causes to crime amongst them, all differ most materially from the state of things in European countries. It is to be regretted that we possess so little in the shape of criminal statistics for any part of India. The labors of the Statist, at all times valuable, can hardly be over-estimated when brought to bear upon crime and its repression. In this country, too, where social defects and evils have such a widely different character from those in the west, we the more stand in need of correct data to guide us in our proceedings.

The Government will do well to lose no time in putting them-

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selves in possession of as ample a supply of statistics, bearing on crime and criminals, as it may be possible to obtain with the means at their command. We, however, are already in a position to shew that like effects do not spring from like causes in the East and West. Without entering upon any minute details as to the many descriptions of crimes and offences committed in this country by the natives of the land, we will content ourselves with considering them all as classed under the two principal heads to which we have already alluded, viz: crimes and misdemeanors.

In the Appendix* to the Prison Discipline Report of 1838, may be found a very ably-penned communication from the Magistrate of Shahabad to the Officiating Judge of the Court of Circuit for the Division of Arrah, upon the subject of criminals and their treatment in Jail. The remarks therein are so entirely to the purpose of this article, and appear to be written by one so thoroughly conversant with the subject, that we prefer giving the official opinion on the classification of criminals, and the consideration their cases require, in the words employed in the paper.

"I assume it," says the Magistrate of Shahabad, "as an axiom, 'that almost all persons convicted of misdemeanors, are landed 'proprietors or agriculturists; and that all those convicted of 'burglary, theft and the higher offences, or connivances at the 'same, are invariably tradesmen, and mechanics, or persons of the 'lowest castes, such as *domes* and *gwallas*, who can be taught any 'trade without violence to their religious prejudices. It will be 'seen that, as far as regards this Zillah, I am justified in the 'assumption, for out of sixty-five, (the total number sentenced to 'private labor, when I last made the calculation) there was only 'one tradesman, the greater proportion being brahmins, rajpoots 'and persons of the superior classes. This proportion is not 'accidental. It arises out of the nature of things, and will 'always continue in the same ratio. Affray is the only prevalent 'species of misdemeanor. The industrious and well-disposed 'tradesman has neither interest nor leisure to assist in the commission of this offence, while to him, of opposite habits and 'disposition, felony is a more lucrative source of transgression. 'The same observation applies to persons of the lower orders 'above specified. They have little or no interest in the soil, the 'fertile parent of affrays. In cases of misdemeanor, the reformation of the offender is not the object. His general character 'may be excellent. The chief, and perhaps the only object in 'such cases, is to deter him by punishment from a repetition of

* Appendix, No. 31.

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'the offence. The persons whose reformation of character is 'principally desirable, are those who are guilty of felonies, among 'which theft and robbery are the most prominent. But this re- 'formation can only be effected by infusing into such persons a 'habit of industry; and to ensure this, an active and vigilant 'superintendence over their labors is requisite. They are too easy 'in their circumstances to work for the sake of the compensation; 'and the terms of their imprisonment are comparatively too short 'to make it worth their while to work out their liberation. The 'other description of offenders have, on the contrary, every in- 'ducement to prove themselves worthy of indulgences held out, 'and many of them would, I am convinced, manifest the dis- 'position, if they had the opportunity, to display their industry; 'considering therefore private task-work as the best method of 'stimulating industry,—and industry to be essentially necessary to 'reformation,—and reformation to be only or chiefly requisite in 'the cases of persons convicted of felonies and the more serious 'offences, I am of opinion, that private labor ought to be includ- 'ed generally in the sentences of thieves and robbers."

The official report goes on to advocate, on the same grounds, that, as far as a public example is concerned, prisoners of a superior grade convicted of misdemeanors, should be placed to work in public on roads or some such occupation, where their employment would act in a salutary manner by impressing the minds of rich and poor, that offended justice is no respecter of persons; whilst to place the poor wretch who committed an offence of a higher character under the extreme pressure of destitution and hunger, in the like position, would not only be without effect on himself, but also on others, who would be rather tempted to pity the poor creature, whilst he would be in no degree reformed by this mode of punishment.

As regards the influence which the employment of the convict during confinement, may have on his after-conduct and occupation, the same authority is equally clear and emphatic:—

"Proceeding on the principle which I have assumed, and 'which I hold to be incontrovertible, that persons guilty of 'thefts, burglaries, and the higher offences, are, generally speak- 'ing, either tradesmen and mechanics, or *domes, gwallas, do- 'sauds, pusbans*, and other persons of low caste, who have no 'prescribed occupation, and who can exercise any handicraft 'without detriment to their religious persuasion; and that those 'convicted of misdemeanors are agriculturists and persons of 'the superior classes; the inference I think must follow, that as 'to the question of inculcating habits of industry to be available 'to the prisoner on his release from confinement, the object 'must be in a great measure defeated by the restrictions pre-

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'scribed by the Nizamut Adawlut; for, by employing the first 'description of offender on the roads, he loses his familiarity 'with his own proper art in which he has been educated, and 'acquires no other which can be serviceable to him afterwards; 'while, by employing the second description in manufactures, 'no ultimate benefit will accrue to the individual; for it is 'obvious, that he will not continue an occupation through choice, 'which he was driven into by compulsion, and to which his 'nature is averse. Thus neither class would be benefitted by 'employment which they would relinquish the moment they 'were at liberty to do so: those who had been accustomed to any 'particular trade or manufacture, would be positively injured by 'a long discontinuance from the exercise of their skill; while 'those of the inferior classes, to whom no handicraft had been 'familiar, would leave the Jail with their morals probably unim-'proved, and in a state of total incapacity to provide an honest 'livelihood for themselves and families; their future support 'depending mainly on their own exertions, from the unwilling-'ness notoriously displayed by the respectable part of the com-'munity, to take into service persons who have been punished 'for theft and similar offences. Had they been taught while in 'confinement the simple art of making baskets even, they 'might easily have secured an honest and independent livelihood. 'Those of the highest tribes, on the other hand, who have been 'compelled to engage in manufactures which form the occupa-'tion of the inferior classes, will return to their families with a 'reputation blemished from no fault of their own; and with a 'stigma annexed to their characters which no plea of want of 'free agency can wholly remove. To degrade a man in the 'estimation of others, and consequently in his own, is not the 'most likely mode of making him a virtuous member of the 'community. In every light in which I can view the subject, 'to insure honest industry after liberation, it appears to me that 'misdemeanors should generally be punished with public, and 'thefts and similar offences, with private labor."

Whether criminal statistics of the present day would bear out the statement contained in the Report of 1838, as to the classes chiefly committing crimes and misdemeanors, may be left an open question; though we cannot avoid the belief that a considerable number of those convicted of the more serious offences, are in some districts of the agricultural class. An inundation, or a long continued want of rain, will sometimes so blight the prospects of the poorer class of ryots, that absolute destitution not unfrequently drives them to the commission of offences other than mere misdemeanors.

But be this as it may, we are agreed in the maintenance of

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the great principle contended for in the Official Paper quoted from above. Whether regarded as a means of reformation and occupation in after life, or as a source of present remuneration in aid of their cost to the state, the employment of prisoners should be such as we have indicated, as much as possible in conformity with their previous occupations, as well as of a nature likely to be adopted by them in their after-career. Although it would be highly desirable that we possessed data, as to the after-career of liberated prisoners, in order to judge of the *moral* effect of their punishment, we need no statistics to assure us that an agricultural laborer put to weaving, or carpentering, or smith-work whilst incarcerated, will not follow any such occupation on his return, however skilful he may become in his forced calling; but will, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, prefer his own *caste* profession, poorly though it may remunerate him, and uncertain though it may be.

Equally certain are we that the petty trader, or dealer, or artificer, who may be put to agricultural, or any description of out-door or field work, would not take to it under almost any inducement when liberated, but would prefer having recourse to the calling in which he had been brought up from his early days. The well-known character of the natives of this country leads us to this belief, a conviction which scarcely requires proof in tabulated returns.

It follows then as a natural consequence of this conclusion, that we are wasting time and flinging behind us our opportunities for good, in teaching a ryot to make gunny bags or table-covers, bathing-stools or frying-pans; and that the sooner we put him to something more just, prudent and profitable in a moral and economical point of view, than making roads or pounding soorkie, the better for humanity, the better for the State. Every native reclaimed from the chances of a re-commission of his offences, is an honest man gained to the community. Somebody once said that the worst use we can put a man to, is to hang him: we turn him to but little better use, when we herd him with others in a limited space, in close contact with the worst criminals, to exasperate and worry him with some hateful occupation, when perhaps the poor wretch committed the offence for which he suffers under the pressure of extreme want.

Whilst we are quite of opinion, with the writer of the document just quoted, as regards the work to be exacted from non-agricultural offenders, and those who may have been guilty of affrays, tumults, &c., we would advocate the use of some agricultural labour for ryot offenders against the laws, whose offences were thought of a serious character. In all industrial occupation

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within or without our Jails, let the teaching be of an improving, an elevating character. Every new idea you can instil into the mind of the poorest ryot, every improved process you can introduce amongst the most abject class of toilers on the soil, at the loom or at the forge, will prove the germ of after good; the spring for some future stream of thought, polluted and unsightly at its source, but as it flows onwards becoming purified and wholesome.

We are in the habit of complaining that the Hindus are impregnable to new processes, and hopelessly attached to the ancient systems of their country. Let us then introduce improvements, when the power of doing so is in our hands, by the instrumentality of convicts. The native is given to doubt the value of any new method; it is most difficult to persuade him, that time, and trouble and outlay on some time-honored system, will yield sure and ample returns. If we can but demonstrate the truth of our new theory by practical illustration, we shall generally succeed in overcoming all the opposition. The reason why so little has been done in India in the way of improving agricultural or other processes, has been that no persons were to be found willing to incur the first experimental outlay. Let those experiments be made by means of Jail labor in the vicinity of our Jails, and at the cost of Jail funds. Let the State bear the brunt of it in the first instance, for, in the long run, the State will be the great gainer.

If we are not greatly mistaken, Dr. Mouat has already made some proposal of this kind to the Government. Most cordially do we back the suggestion. Let it be tried by all means. Every novelty is at first regarded in the light of a vexatious innovation. We remember when the "Road Ordinance" was introduced into Ceylon, compelling every man to give six days' labor, or the equivalent in money, towards the construction of new roads, the opposition to it was most violent. But the Government were firm; and at the end of the first year, so sensible had the natives become of the benefit derived from the law, that in many districts, they volunteered ten and twelve days' labor!

We can see no practical objection to the formation of small model farms attached to some of our Jails, where circumstances will allow of its being done without incurring too heavy an outlay for guards. Can we for a moment doubt the ultimate value to the country of improvements in the preparation of the soil, in the system of rotation of crops, in the agricultural implements employed, in the application of manures, in the better cultivation and preparation for the market of such plants as hemp, flax and jute? Let these or some of them be put in practice on

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the Jail industrial farms, by means of forced prison labor, and we shall soon find the free laborer imitating the processes, and reaping some of the advantages, of the penal establishments.

The task which private enterprise fails to take in hand, by reason of a defective state of society, or from some other cause, may well be undertaken by the State. Our opinion of Jail labor has ever been that it should, so far as practicable, be made the pioneer of progress. Those who have outraged society by crimes or offences, are surely called upon to render reparation by some bold and forward work on behalf of that same society. The early convicts of Great Britain planted new colonies in the islands of the south: they pioneered the way for armies of free settlers, and laid the foundation for great and happy states. In doing that they rendered back the price of their great offences. We would say in this present time, do yet the same. Let the imperial convicts go forth to other lands, and repeat the self-same process. Here in India, let it be done in smaller things. Instead of founding empires, let our felon population lay the foundation of a better system of industry. It needs but the order to go forth to have it done. In the present Inspector of Jails, we have a man in every way fitted for the task, one who adds the *will* to the power of doing good service. Let it be set about in no niggard spirit, but with large and practical views. Let an ample support be given to the toiler, with full and effective assistance.

We are far from expecting complete success to attend at once upon such an experiment. Many difficulties will be found in the way: many disappointments will be met with. It is simply a question of patience and time. Dr. Mouat has before him a great and noble task, and he will do well to let no ordinary discouragements turn him aside. We can conceive no loftier work in this world of ours, than that of "turning the hearts 'of the disobedient," of reclaiming to society its lost children. "An honest man is the noblest work of God," and surely he who becomes the human instrument of recovering honest men from amongst the lost ones, can desire no better task. There have been noble spirits engaged in this work before. It is something to toil in the same field as Howard and Fry! It is something to feel that whilst others are engaged in struggles with the material things of the world, the toiler in Jails is overcoming the hearts and minds of men.

This work of mercy is one of England's noblest tasks: its fruits will live for ever. When the classic New-Zealander takes his stand on Westminster Bridge, and looks down on the hoary ruins of her capital, he shall think of her great mission with warm affection. The Hindus of those unborn days, in

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speaking of her eastern rule, shall dwell but lightly on some things, but name her works of charity and mercy with child-like reverence. They shall say the Saxon race which come from o'er the seas a thousand years ago, ruled our forefathers with an iron rule, yet tempered might with mercy. The memory of their victories has passed away: not so the good they did. Our children in their earliest books are taught to know the men who, armed with the strength of giants, used it like angels.

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ART. III.—*A visit to India, China and Japan, in the year* 1853. By BAYARD TAYLOR. Putnam and Co., New York.

WE owe an apology to the accomplished author of this work, for having so long neglected to notice it. We have repeatedly intended to call the attention of our readers to it, but have been unable till now. The work is one which deserves a kindly reception from English residents in India, and which will afford many an hour of pleasant and instructive reading. It is written in a very lively tone, contains vivid descriptions of scenes through which the writer passed, and exhibits that peculiar phase of Indian life and Indian celebrities, in which all persons of educated taste must feel an interest.

The author, Mr. Bayard Taylor, has been employed for many years as one of the correspondents of the *New York Tribune*. His pleasant and lively sketches of all sorts of scenes, places, and events within the United States and Mexico, have done much to increase the popularity, and extend the circulation, of that influential journal. Of the same school with Douglas Jerrold and Albert Smith, his warm imagination enlivens every subject that his pen describes, and sets off even the dull details of the routine of political life. Mr. Taylor is one of the most extensive travellers of modern times, and his pen has been specially employed in describing the countries he has visited. Having exhausted Mexico and the States, he set out in August, 1851, for an extended tour in the old world. He visited the greater part of Europe, passed through Constantinople, Asia Minor and Palestine; ascended the Nile to Abyssinia, and then examined the remains of Moorish supremacy in Spain. Thence he turned his face to the distant east; embarking from Gibraltar, he travelled the overland route to Aden and Bombay; crossed the country by Indore to Agra, ascended the Himalaya to Landour, and visited Lucknow, Allahabad and Benares. Embarking once more at Calcutta, he went by steamer to Hong-Kong and Shanghai, joined the American expedition to Japan and Loochoo; and having paid a passing visit to the grave of Napoleon on his return home, finally landed on the Eastern Quays of New York, after an absence of two years and four months. Few men have traversed so many of the most interesting countries of the world; fewer still have visited them in so short a time; and few have been so ready to describe intelligently the scenes which so rapidly passed before their eyes.

In visiting India, he came merely as an intelligent traveller, to see the great objects for which the country has been celebrated. He came not to study our military supremacy and the

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character of our civil rule; or to shew how a handful of Europeans have hitherto held sway over so many millions of orientals. He did not come as a philosopher, to enquire into the ancient systems of knowledge; or as a linguist, to examine the languages and history of Hindostan; nor did he purpose as a Christian to trace out the fruits of idolatry and superstition, and contrive plans for the successful introduction of a revealed faith. He came simply as a scholar, who had read of the magnificence of India, to behold its glorious mountains, its boundless plains, its tropical vegetation, its fertile abundance of flowers, fruits and food for man. He came to see some of its strange races, to traverse scenes rendered famous by noble deeds, and to examine for himself some of those wondrous buildings which have come down to us as the relics of by-gone ages.

Having had such an end in view, and being distinguished by the lively fancy with which his sketches are adorned, and the freedom and fluency with which he throws them off, it will at once be surmised that our author has produced a work possessing no great depth. Throughout his pages, we are told what the eye saw, what the ear heard, what the heart felt. We are not bored by heavy scholarship, nor improved by profound reflections, nor enlightened by compilations from others' books, nor led astray by a pretence of deep acquaintance with ancient history or modern researches. The work therefore belongs to that popular class of travels which deal with the heart more than with the head, and which, when directed to the lands more interesting to Christian people than all others, caused all eyes to turn towards Eliot Warburton, and which, exhibited still more distinctly by Mr. Kinglake, have made the name of *Eothen* immortal.

The peculiar phase of Indian scenery and Indian life, which Mr. Taylor describes, is well worth looking at. In India all intelligent men work hard; harder we believe than men in similar situations do in England. Overcome by heat and weariness, residents here are little given to sight-seeing. Men are anxious to make money, and be off to enjoy it in a more grateful clime, almost declining altogether the recreations and rational pleasures which they might find even in this land of exile. There are hundreds of residents in India, who do not in the least appreciate the country where their lot is cast. Hundreds of persons come and reside for years in our presidency towns, absorbed in business of varied kinds, and having secured the end for which they came, turn their faces homeward, without an effort to make a journey into the interior, to see some of the numerous wonders with which the land is filled. Unhappily we have very few, if any, books that can be regarded as complete guides to these wonders.

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Heber's travels, one of the best in former times, is now much out of date. The routes he describes are unfrequented, and his modes of travelling have become obsolete. A work therefore like that of our author, which describes in a lively and most readable manner, the objects which an experienced traveller thought most worthy of observation only three or four years ago, cannot be without interest to those who wish to take advantage of a brief holiday, and to see, with their own eyes, on a large scale, the India of the present day.

The more thoroughly this country is examined, and compared with other lands peopled by orientals, the more clearly will it be seen, what a splendid heritage has been bestowed by its conquest on the English Crown, and what a glorious work has to be performed in elevating it to its proper place among the nations. Not only has it excellencies peculiar to itself, but in all that it shares in common with other eastern lands, few can surpass the position which it takes up. We need not refer here to its many races, especially the warlike tribes of Upper India; nor to its many valuable products, especially its finest fabrics, in jewellery, shawls, and silk, that rival even western skill. Even in the features of its landscapes, the structure of its cities, and in its monuments of ancient grandeur, it falls not a whit behind the position occupied by other portions of the eastern world. Its boundless plains, laden with crops of rice, and wheat, and mustard, are far more extensive, and not less fertile, than those of Rumelia and Egypt. The icy capes and mountains of Siberia cannot be compared with the higher range of the Himalaya, whose proud monarchs rear their heads to the blue heaven in silent grandeur, crowned with eternal snow. The wide-spread valleys of Cashmere and the Dhoon are not less lovely than that of Samarkand, or even than the far-famed vale of Tempe itself. Benares, Delhi and Lucknow will well compare with Cairo or Constantinople. The strange arches of Orissa, and the towers of the temples at Purí and Konarák, find no parallel, but in the Cyclopean walls of the Peloponnesus, and in the Treasury of Mycenæ. The Alhambra is proud among palaces; but our author declares it to be far surpassed by the palaces of Akbar and Shah Jehan. The tombs of the Mamelukes are numbered among the celebrities of Cairo; but they are more than equalled by those of kings, priests and nobles, scattered widely round the cities of Agra and Delhi. The Church of St. Sophia and the mosque of Suleiman are the pride of Constantinople; but amongst all Mahommedan buildings, whether mosques or mausoleums, nothing can come up to the exquisite beauty and wondrous grandeur of the Taj Mahál. These things appear plain to travellers, who, from personal experience, are able to compare the scenery and the

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monuments of one land with those of another far distant. In spite of present disorders, we hope that the day will soon come, when the best portions of India will be rendered easily accessible; and when all will be able to take advantage of even brief hours of leisure, in examining those features both of the country and of its monuments, which it is most desirable to know.

Our traveller commences his account of India, by an excellent description of Aden, its western portal. He thence passed to Bombay, where he landed, December 27, 1853. He thus describes his state of mind, as he drew near the desired haven :—

"I have rarely approached any country with a keener interest. Scarce Vasco de Gama himself, after weathering the Cape of Storms, could have watched for the shores of India with more excited anticipation. That vision of gorgeous Ind, the Empress far away in the empurpled East, throned on the best grandeurs of History, and canopied by sublime tradition, was about to be confirmed, or displaced for ever. Near at hand, close behind the blue sea-horizon, lay that which would either heighten the fascination of her name, or make it thenceforth but an empty sound to the ear of Fancy."

Having remained but a few days in Bombay, Mr. Taylor says very little about the city, the fort, and the society of the place. His chief visits were paid to some Parsi friends, at whose house he beheld a *nautch;* and to the well-known caves in the island of Elephanta. He thus describes the colossal heads for which the caves are celebrated, and gives what we conceive to be an original explanation of the model from which the capitals of the pillars in the subterranean temples were first formed :—

"The Portuguese, in their zeal for destroying heathen idols, planted cannon before the entrance of the cave, and destroyed many of the columns and sculptured panels, but the faces of the colossal Trinity have escaped mutilation.

"This, the *Trimurti*, is a grand and imposing piece of sculpture, not unworthy of the best period of Egyptian art. It reminded me of the colossal figures at Aboo-Simbel, though with less of serene grace and beauty. It is a triple bust, and with the richly-adorned mitres that crown the heads, rises to the height of twelve feet. The central head, which fronts the entrance, is that of Brahma, the Creator, whose large, calm features, are settled in the repose of conscious power, as if creation were to him merely an action of the will, and not an effort. On his right hand is Vishnu, the Preserver, represented in profile. His features are soft and feminine, full of mildness and benignity, and are almost Grecian in their outlines, except the under lip, which is remarkably thick and full. The hair falls in ordered ringlets from under a cap, something between a helmet and a mitre. The right arm, which is much mutilated, is lifted to the shoulder, and from the half-closed hand droops a lotus-blossom. The

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third member of the Trinity, the terrible Shiva, the Destroyer, is on the left of Brahma, and, like Vishnu, his head is turned so as to present the profile. His features are totally different from the other two. His forehead is stern ridged at the eyebrows; his nose strongly aquiline, and his lips slightly parted, so as to show his teeth set, with an expression of fierce cruelty and malignity. A cobra twists around his arm and hand, which grasps the snake by the neck and holds it on high, with hood expanded, ready to strike the deadly blow.

"Nothing astonished me more, in this remarkable group, than the distinct individuality of each head. With the exception of the thick under lip, which is common to all three, the faces are those of different races. Brahma approaches the Egyptian, and Vishnu the Grecian type, while Shiva is not unlike the Mephistopheles of the modern German school. * * * *

"The columns supporting the roof were unlike any others I had seen. The lower part is square, resting on a plinth, but at about half the height it becomes circular and fluted—or rather filleted, the compartments having a plane and not a concave surface. The capital is a flattened sphere, of nearly double the diameter of the shaft, having a narrow disc, with fluted edges, between it and the architrave. I knew these columns must have some type in Nature, and puzzled myself to find it. On visiting one of the smaller temples on the eastern side of the island, the resemblance flashed upon me at once—it was the poppy-head. The globular capital, and its low, fluted crown, are copied almost without change from the plant, and these two symbols—the poppy and the lotus—with the closed eyelids and placid faces of the colossal guardians, give the whole temple an air of mystic and enchanted repose. One involuntarily walks through its dim and hushed aisles with a softer step, and speaks, if he must speak, in an undertone."

Our author's general view of Pagan religions is expressed in the following extract:—

"There is something in every form of religion worthy of general respect; and he who does not feel this, can neither understand nor appreciate the Art which sprang from the ancient Faiths. Our teachers of religion speak with sincere and very just horror and contempt of all forms of idolatry; yet, under pain of their anathemas, I dare assert, that he who can revile Osiris and Amun-Re, is unworthy to behold the wonders of Thebes. The Christian need not necessarily be an iconoclast: nay more, his very faith, in its perfect charity, and its boundless love, obliges him to respect the shrines where the mighty peoples of the ancient world have bowed and worshipped. Besides, there is truth, however dim and eclipsed, behind all these outward symbols. Even the naked and savage Dinkas of Central Africa worship trees; and so do I. The Parsees worship the sun, as the greatest visible manifestation of the Deity; and I assure you, I have felt very much inclined to do the same, when He and I

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were alone in the Desert. But let not the reader, therefore, or because I respect the feeling of worship, when expressed in other forms than my own, think me a Pagan."

Against the doctrines laid down in this extract, we object on many grounds. We had thought that the views expressed in Pope's 'Universal Prayer' had been long since exploded among men of sense, from being so perfectly inconsistent with each other. In studying the religions of the world, regard must be paid, not merely to the fact of men's worship, but also to its objects. Amongst men all objects of knowledge are known by the qualities and characters with which they are invested. The ancient Jove, the goddess Aphrodite, the Hindu Mahadeo, Krishna, and Kàli, the Gods of the Khonds, the devils feared by the Shánars and Yezidees, have each and all distinctive attributes, by which they are separated from all other objects of knowledge or of faith, and by which they are specially known to their worshippers. How can they be representatives of the one true God, with whose real attributes theirs have scarcely any thing in common? Those that worship them cannot be said to worship Him. The difference is not merely one of name. It is an essential difference of persons, because it is a difference of fundamental attributes. Religious worship, to be acceptable, must be paid to the right person, who, so far as he is known, must at least be known correctly. How can he be worshipped rightly, where his true attributes are unknown? Again, the worship even of the works of God is idolatry: idolatry is folly; —and idolatry is strictly forbidden. There is a great difference between paying homage to the work, and indulging in that admiration, which at once calls to mind the Creator with thankful joy, and revels in his works with filial delight. Mr. Taylor would do the former, as the Parsees do. The patriarch Job however condemned what he approves. He says:—

> "If I beheld the sun when it shined;
> Or the moon walking in brightness,
> And my heart hath been secretly enticed,
> Or my mouth hath kissed my hand;
> Then I should have denied the God that is above."

In addition to these views of worship in general, we object strongly to Mr. Taylor's account of the Hindu religious system. Its earliest form, as made known to us in the Vedas, especially in their Upanishads, is by no means a "consistent monotheism." It is an avowed pantheism, taught in the clearest and most express terms, with transmigration and even idolatry accompanying it. The present number of Gods received by the Hindus, is not 33 millions, but 330 millions: and we have never seen

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any book of authority which declares that, of these, "three millions are evil and the rest good," thus "strikingly acknowledging the beneficence of the ruling Deity." It is again quite a mistake to suppose that the more intellectual of the professors of Hinduism understand it as a system of monotheism. Everywhere the intelligent Hindus are either idolators or pantheists. The only exceptions are those who have received an English education; but who too generally, afraid to act up to their convictions, maintain outwardly at least, all the forms and ceremonies enjoined by Puranic idolatry.

Our traveller having spent a week in Bombay, prepared for a journey to Agra direct. The road by Indore, along which the telegraph has since been erected, is even to this day, but little used by European travellers, beyond Nassik. The country is to a great extent covered with jungle, and is but thinly populated. Very little is known of its character; and as Mr. Taylor has described his progress in a very vivid and picturesque manner, we shall give several extracts from his journal. We consider the narrative of his journey over this part of India, one of the most interesting portions of his book. The only mode of conveyance that was at all available for a road so little used, was a banghy-cart, a mere box on wheels; without cover above, and without springs below. Though it cost him considerable suffering, Mr. Taylor accomplished the journey in safety. After crossing the islands of Bombay and Salsette, he traversed the plain lying between the western Ghauts and the sea, and then began to ascend into the hills:—

"Khurdee lies at the base of the Ghauts, and our road now plunged into a wild, hilly region, covered with jungle. The road was broad, but very rough, and so steep that nothing but the emigrant trail over the Sierra Nevada could equal it. At the worst descents, my conductor called upon the aid of half a dozen bullock-drivers, who seized the shafts and pushed backward with all their force. Our progress was still further hindered by the endless throng of bullocks which we met. They were laden with bags of rice and of grain, and bales of cotton, and on their way downward to the coast. Between Khurdee and Kussara, a distance of twelve miles, we must have passed from fifteen to twenty thousand of them. * * * *

"We were nearly four hours in making the twelve miles over the pass of Rudtoondee, and then came down upon Kussara, a little village situated in a dell at the foot of the Tull Ghaut. The highest parapet of the range was now above us, and the final ascent to the table-land commenced. The physical formation of this part of India very much resembles that of the Western Coast of Mexico. The summit level is nearly uniform, but instead of presenting a mural front, it thrusts out projecting spurs or headlands, and is cloven by deep gorges. Sharp peaks rise here and there from the general level, formed of

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abrupt but gradually diminishing terraces, crowned by domes or towers of naked rock. At a distance, they bear an extraordinary resemblance to works of art, and what is very striking, to the ancient temples of the Hindus. Is this an accidental resemblance, or did not the old races in reality get their forms of architecture directly from Nature? It is certainly a striking coincidence that all the hills in the Nubian Desert should be pyramids, and all the peaks of the Indian Ghauts pagodas. The word *ghaut* means a flight of steps, as the Ghauts are a succession of terraces descending from the table-land to the sea; and every principal Hindu temple is approached by a ghaut. The formation of the summits is a characteristic of Indian scenery. Tennyson, who, I believe, has never been in India, describes in two lines the most peculiar aspects of the country:

> "And over *hills with peaky tops engrailed,*
> *And many a tract of palm and rice,*
> The throne of Indian Cama slowly sailed,
> A summer fanned with spice."

"There is a splendid artificial road leading up the Tull Ghaut. As a piece of engineering, it will vie with some of the best roads in Europe. The grade is so slight that we drove all the way on a fast trot; and the windings around the sides of the gorge gave me grand views of the lower terraces of the Ghauts. At the top, we entered on the great table-land of Central India. It was an open, undulating region, much better cultivated than any I had yet seen, and crossed, at intervals of twenty to thirty miles, by high ranges of hills. The air was drier and purer than below, and the setting sun shone broad and warm over tracts of wheat and sugar-cane. We rolled along merrily, through the twilight and into the darkness again, and towards nine o'clock came to the large town and military station of Nassick. * * * *

"All the rest of the night we travelled slowly along, through a rolling country, and about nine next morning reached Chandore, only forty-five miles from Nassick. Chandore is a walled town, situated in a hollow at the foot of the Chandore Ghaut. It boasts several Hindu temples of dark stone, but none of them remarkable for size or beauty. The grotesque idols, their faces smeared with red paint, were visible through the open door. * * * *

"We crossed the Chandore Ghaut by a wild pass, half way up which stands a pagoda, so old and black that it might properly belong to the Yezidees or Devil-Worshippers. Beyond the Ghaut we came upon a waste, hilly region, entirely covered with thorny jungle.

"All this part of India reminded me strongly of the table-land of Mexico. There are the same broad, sweeping plains, gashed by deep ravines and gullies; the same barren chains of hills, and the same fertile dips of lowland, rich in corn and cane. I passed through more than one landscape, where, if I had been brought blindfold and asked to guess where I was, I should have declared at once: "This is Mexico." Substitute the words *nulla* for "arroyo," (gully,) *ghaut* for

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"sierra," and *jungle* for "chapparal," and you change a description of the Mexican into that of the Indian table-land. I must admit, however, that, in general, Mexican scenery is on a broader and grander scale than here. * * * *

"The resemblance to Mexico, however, does not extend to the towns and population, which are rather those of Egypt. The Indian native is darker than the Egyptian Fellah, and has a more acute and lively face, but in his habits and manners he has much in common with the latter. He has the same natural quickness of intellect, the same capacity for deception, the same curious mixture of impudence and abject servility, and the same disregard of clothing."

After passing the military station of Malligaum, and meeting with a hospitable welcome at Doolia, where he obtained a night's rest, our traveller met with a series of accidents in troublesome horses and broken axles. Advancing slowly, he at last approached the valley of the Nerbudda, and crossed that well-known stream :—

"Soon after leaving Palasnehr, the road crossed the Sindwah Ghaut, a range of hills about six miles in breadth and covered with jungle. Beyond them opened the valley of the Nerbudda ; the Vindhya Mountains, on the opposite side, though fifty miles distant, were dimly visible. Between lay a wild waste of jungle, almost uninhabited, a reservoir of deadly malaria, and a paradise for panthers and tigers. * * * *

"About Sindwah the jungle is close, composed of thick clumps of shrubbery and small trees, with here and there a magnificent banyan or peepul tree towering over it. In the valley of the Nerbudda, there are many banyans, and some of great size. Few trees present grander masses of foliage than this. Instead of a low roof of boughs, resting on its pillared trunks, as I had supposed, it sends up great limbs to the height of a hundred, or even a hundred and fifty feet, and the new trunks are often dropped from boughs thirty feet high. They hang like parcels of roots from the ends of the boughs, and when broken off and prevented from reaching the earth, continue to increase and become woody like the trunk. I have seen a tree on which huge half-trunks, that had never reached the earth, hung from the branches like the fragments of shattered pillars, hanging from the roof of an Egyptian rock-temple. The leaves of the banyan are large, glossy and dark-green, and in the winter the foliage is studded with buds of a bright purple color. The only other large trees that I remarked, were the sycamore (peepul) and the tamarind. The acacia and mimosa are occasionally met with, and the date and brab palms thrive in the valleys. The tamarind frequently rivals the banyan in size, while its foliage is wonderfully graceful and delicate. * * * *

"The people made many observations, but all availed nothing, till at last one of them rose and beckoned me to follow him. We went down to the Nerbudda, which is a beautiful river, a third of a mile wide, crossed the ferry, and behold ! there stood a new cart, and there lay a new driver, asleep in the sun !

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"The road was tolerable, I could now sit without holding on, and thus the journey became pleasant again. The valley of the Nerbudda is very rich and fertile, the soil resembling the black loam of Egypt. We passed many fields of flax, covered with blue and white flowers: wheat, cotton, tobacco and poppies, besides small patches of sugar-cane. All seemed to thrive equally well. But a small proportion of the soil is cultivated, and it is no exaggeration to say, that the valley might be made to support a hundredfold its present population. We now approached the picturesque Vindhya Mountains, one of the summits of which was crowned with a white building—the tomb of a Moslem Saint, as well as I could understand the driver. The road passes the mountains, at a place formerly called Ghara, but now Kintrey's Ghaut, in honor of the engineer. It is, indeed, admirably planned, though somewhat out of repair. The summit, which separates the waters of the two sides of India, overlooks a waste and bleak country. Soon after descending the northern side, we crossed the head-waters of the Chumbul, the largest affluent of the Jumna. At eight o'clock I reached the military station of Mhow, within fourteen miles of Indore, and was so well satisfied that I allowed the driver to stop for the night.

"Mhow is a handsome station, the officers' bungalows, surrounded with small gardens, being scattered over an extent of two miles. It stands on a dry plain, 2,000 feet above the sea, and is considered a very healthy place of residence."

The first half of his journey was completed at Indore, which he thus describes. The description has acquired new interest from the events which have recently taken place within the walls of that city:—

"Indore is a town of about 60,000 inhabitants, having been much increased within a few years by the tyranny of the Begum of Oodjein, a holy old city about eighty miles distant, many of the inhabitants of which have emigrated to the former place. Portions of Indore are well built, reminding me somewhat of Konia, and other places in the interior of Asia Minor. The houses are generally of wood, two stories high, the upper story projecting and resting on pillars, so as to form a verandah below. The pillars and the heavy cornice above them are of dark wood, and very elaborately carved. In the centre of the town is the Rajah's palace, fronting a small square. It is a quadrangle of about four hundred feet to a side, the portion over the main gateway rising to the height of eighty or ninety feet, and visible for many miles around. The architecture is Saracenic, though not of a pure style. The gateway, however, and the balconies over it, are very elegant; and the main court, surrounded by fifty pillars of dark wood, connected by ornate horse-shoe arches, has a fine effect. The outer walls are covered with pictures of elephants, horses, tigers, Englishmen and natives, drawn and colored withthe most complete disregard of nature."

Safely arrived in Agra, our author, under the guidance of a

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countryman, one of the American Missionaries, visited of course the whole of the lions of that city. They are so well-known that little need be said of them here, though he has described them well. The fort with its lofty sandstone walls; the palace of Akbar, covering a large space of ground, and including numerous objects of special interest; the arsenal, with all its array of bristling cannon, its hall of trophies, and the Somnath Gates; the Moti Musjid, so exquisitely beautiful, and yet so severely simple; the Jumma Musjid; the narrow bazar leading from the fort, with its carved verandahs, overhanging balconies and beautiful Saracenic arches, reminding one of Cairo; the tomb of Akbar at Secundra; the Secundra Mission Press in the great tomb of Munni Bégum; the great jail and its indefatigable superintendent Dr. Walker; the tomb of Ettimaud-Daola, the father of Nourmahál; the Rambágh; and above all, the Taj,—taken together, form an assemblage of objects, each valuable in itself, of which any city might be proud, and which few cities in India can excel. Only Delhi can—perhaps we should rather say, *could*—afford a comparison. The following is Mr. Taylor's description of the palace:—

"Beyond the arsenal, and in that part of the fort overlooking the Jumna, is the monarch's palace, still in a tolerable state of preservation. Without a ground-plan it would be difficult to describe in detail its many courts, its separate masses of buildings and its detached pavilions—which combine to form a labyrinth, so full of dazzling architectural effects, that it is almost impossible to keep the clue. On entering the outer courts, I was at once reminded of the Alhambra. Here were the same elegant Moorish arches, with their tapering bases of open filigree work resting on slender double shafts—a style so light, airy and beautiful, that it seems fit only for a palace of fairies. Akbar's palace is far more complete than the Alhambra. No part has been utterly destroyed, and the marks of injury by time and battle, are comparatively slight. Here a cannon-ball has burst its way through the marble screen of the Sultana's pavilion; there an inlaid blossom of cornelian, with leaves of blood-stone, has been wantonly dug out of its marble bed; the fountains are dry, the polished tank in the "Bath of Mirrors" is empty, the halls are untenanted—but this is all. No chamber, no window or staircase is wanting, and we are able to re-people the palace with the household of the great Emperor, and to trace out the daily routine of his duties and pleasures.

"The substructions of the palace are of red sandstone, but nearly the whole of its corridors, chambers and pavilions are of white marble, wrought with the most exquisite elaboration of ornament. The pavilions overhanging the river are inlaid, within and without, in the rich style of Florentine mosaic. They are precious caskets of marble, glittering all over with jasper, agate, cornelian, blood-stone and

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lapis-lazuli, and topped with golden domes. Balustrades of marble, wrought in open patterns of such rich design that they resemble fringes of lace when seen from below, extend along the edge of the battlements. The Jumna washes the walls, seventy feet below, and from the balconies attached to the *zenana*, or women's apartments, there are beautiful views of the gardens and palm-groves on the opposite bank, and that wonder of India, the Taj, shining like a palace of ivory and crystal, about a mile down the stream."

No visiter to the north-west of India can fail to be struck by the immense number and variety of the mosques. They are all constructed on the same plan, and differ in beauty according to the size, and the proportion of the different parts. In general, the mosque consists of a hall on the west side of a square court. It is roofed with three domes; and at each of the western corners is a lofty minaret. The court is open in the centre, and has an open verandah on the other three sides, the entrance being on the East. These mosques are ornamented in many ways. In some cases, as at Muttra, they are covered with enamel, patterns being drawn all over them in different shades of green and blue. One or two of the royal mosques have gilded domes. One of the noblest in appearance is the Jumma Musjid at Delhi. It stands near the centre of the city, upon a lofty platform, and is approached on three sides by immense flights of steps. The view from the top of the minarets is one of the most striking sights to be obtained in Upper India. But amongst all the mosques, whether small or large, the palm of beauty must be conceded to the Motee Musjid, in the fort at Agra. Most travellers will agree with our author in the opinion which he passes on it:—

"Before leaving the fort, I visited the Motee Musjid, or Pearl Mosque, as it is poetically and justly termed. It is, in truth, the pearl of all mosques, of small dimensions, but absolutely perfect in style and proportions. It is lifted on a lofty sandstone platform, and from without, nothing can be seen but its three domes of white marble with their gilded spires. In all distant views of the fort these domes are seen, like silvery bubbles which have rested a moment on its walls, and which the next breeze will sweep away. Ascending a long flight of steps, a heavy door was opened for me, and I stood in the court-yard of the mosque. Here nothing was to be seen but the quadrangle of white marble, with the mosque on its western side, and the pure blue of the sky overhead. The three domes crown a deep corridor, open toward the court, and divided into three aisles by a triple row of the most exquisitely proportioned Saracenic arches. The Motee Musjid can be compared to no other edifice that I have ever seen. To my eye it is a perfect type of its class. While its architecture is the purest Saracenic, which

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some suppose cannot exist without ornament, it shows the severe simplicity of Doric art. It has, in fact, nothing which can properly be termed ornament. It is a sanctuary so pure and stainless, revealing so exalted a spirit of worship, that I felt humbled, as a Christian, to think that our nobler religion has so rarely inspired its architects to surpass this temple to God and Mohammed."

There is one place a few miles from Agra, which is almost unknown, whether in or out of India: but which contains some of the finest monuments to be found in the whole country. This is Futtehpore-Sikri, a small town, near which Akbar built himself a palace. To this beautiful spot he used to retire from Agra, as the English Court retire to Windsor or Osborne. The buildings are in admirable preservation. We cannot refrain from giving Mr. Taylor's description:—

"A low range of red sandstone hills appeared in the west, with here and there a crumbling ruin on the crest. The extremity of this range, about four miles distant, was covered with a mass of walls, terraces and spires, crowned with a majestic portal, which rose high above them, gleaming against the sky with a soft red lustre, as the sun shone full upon it. As I approached nearer, I found that this part of the hill was surrounded by a lofty wall of red sandstone, with a machicolated or notched parapet, and a spacious gate, through which my road ran. It is almost entire, and upwards of six miles in circuit, enclosing a portion of the plain on both sides of the hill. Driving through the deserted gateway, I was amazed at the piles of ruins which met my eye. Here was a narrow hill, nearly a mile and a half in length, and averaging a hundred feet in height, almost entirely covered with the remains of palaces, mosques and public buildings, in some places nearly as perfect as when first erected, in others little else than shapeless masses of hewn stones. Innumerable pavilions, resting on open arches, cupolas and turrets, shot up from this picturesque confusion; but the great portal, of which I have already spoken, dominated over all, colossal as one of the pylons of Karnak. The series of arched terraces, rising one above another up the sides of the hill, gave the place an air of barbaric grandeur, such as we imagine Babylon to have possessed, and of which there are traces in Martin's pictures. But here there was nothing sombre or stern; the bright red sandstone of the buildings, illumined here and there by a gilded spire, was bathed in a flood of sunshine, and stood, so shadowless as almost to lack perspective, against a cloudless sky. * * * *

"The buildings of the palace cover the crest of the hill, having superb views on both sides, over many a league of the fruitful plain. There is quite a labyrinth of courts, pavilions, small palaces, gateways, tanks, fountains and terraces, and I found it difficult to obtain a clear idea of their arrangement. Most of the buildings are so well preserved that a trifling expense would make them habitable. For a scholar or poet I can conceive of no more delightful residence. Adjoin-

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ing the palace of the Christian woman, stands the *Panch-Mahal* (Five Palaces), consisting of five square platforms, resting on richly carved pillars, and rising one above another in a pyramidal form, to a considerable height. Mr. Sherer supposes it to have been a sleeping place for the servants connected with the palace. Beyond it is a court-yard, paved with large slabs of sandstone, and containing a colossal *pachisi*-board, such as I have described in speaking of the Palace at Agra. In one corner of the court-yard is a labyrinthine building, of singular design, wherein the ladies of the Emperor's *zenana* were accustomed to play hide-and-seek. A little further is a sort of chapel, two stories high, and crowned with several cupolas. On entering, however, I found that there was but one story, extending to the dome, with a single pillar in the centre, rising to the height of the upper windows. This pillar has an immense capital of the richest sculpture, three times its diameter, with four stone causeways leading to the four corners of the chapel, where there are small platforms of the shape of a quadrant. Tradition says that this building was used by Akbar as a place for discussing matters of science or religion, himself occupying the capital of the central pillar, while his chief men were seated in the four corners.

"In this same court is a pavilion, consisting of a pyramidal canopy of elaborately carved stone, resting on four pillars, which have a cornice of peculiar design, representing a serpent. This pavilion approaches as near the Hindu style of building, as is possible, without violating the architecture of the palace, which is a massive kind of Saracenic. It was the station of a Guru, or Hindu Saint, whom Akbar, probably from motives of policy, kept near him. The palace of the Sultana of Constantinople is one mass of the most laborious sculpture. There is scarcely a square inch of blank stone in the building. But the same remark would apply to almost the whole of the palace, as well as to that of Beer-Bul. It is a wilderness of sculpture, where invention seems to have been taxed to the utmost to produce new combinations of ornament. Every thing is carved in a sandstone so fine and compact, that, except where injured by man, it appears nearly as sharp as when first chiselled. The amount of labor bestowed on Futtehpore throws the stucco filigrees of the Alhambra quite into the shade. It is unlike any thing that I have ever seen. And yet the very name of this splendid collection of ruins, which cannot be surpassed anywhere, outside of Egypt, was unknown to me, before reaching India!"

The following is the account of the tomb of Sheikh Chishti, Akbar's great friend and adviser, through whose prayers it is said, a son was born to him, the future Jehangir:—

"By this time it was two hours past noon, and I still had the famous Durgah to see. We therefore retraced our steps, and ascended to the highest part of the hill, where the tomb rises like a huge square fortress, overtopping the palace of Akbar himself. We

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mounted a long flight of steps, and entered a quadrangle so spacious, so symmetrical, so wonderful in its decorations, that I was filled with amazement. Fancy a paved court-yard, 428 feet in length by 406 in breadth, surrounded with a pillared corridor fifty feet high; one of the noblest gateways in the world, 120 feet high; a triple-domed mosque on one side; a large tank and fountain in the centre, and opposite the great portal, the mother-of-pearl and marble tomb of the Shekh, a miniature palace, gleaming like crystal, with its gilded domes, its ivory pillars, and its wreaths of wonderous, flower-like ornaments, inwrought in marble filigree. The court, with its immense gate, seemed an enchanted fortress, solely erected to guard the precious structure within. * * * *

"We are allowed to enter the inner corridor which surrounds the Shekh's tomb, and to look in, but not to cross the threshold. The tomb, as well as a canopy six feet high, which covers it, is made of mother-of-pearl. The floor is of jasper, and the walls of white marble, inlaid with cornelian. A cloth of silk and gold was spread over it like a pall, and upon this were wreaths of fresh and withered flowers. The screens of marble surrounding the building are the most beautiful in India. They are single thin slabs, about eight feet square, and wrought into such intricate open patterns that you would say they had been woven in a loom. The mosque, which is of older date than the tomb, is very elegant, resembling somewhat the Hall of the Abencerrages in the Alhambra, except that it is much larger, and of white marble, instead of stucco. Bushàrat-Ali informed me that the Durgah was erected in one year, from the wealth left by the Shekh Selim-Chishti at his death, and that it cost thirty-seven lacs of rupees—£1,750,000."

A writer so accomplished as Mr. Taylor, who had seen the finest specimens of Saracenic art in Turkey, Egypt and Spain, could not fail highly to appreciate the wonderful excellence of that noblest of monuments, the Taj of Shah Jehan. Writing however apparently in haste,—writing from memory, and at a distance, he has not given us so shining a description as the Taj deserves, or as he himself was capable of writing. He has fallen too into the not uncommon mistake of confounding the Queen of Shah Jehan, with the Nourmahál of Lalla Rookh. Nourmahál, "the light of the Harem," was the daughter of an Affghan noble, and became the wife of Jehangir, the son of Akbar. Before he became emperor, and took the title of Jehangir, "Lord of the world," the son of Akbar had been called Selim, which was his personal name; and in Lalla Rookh, Moore has retained this name as the one by which he was best known in his family circle. Jehangir and Nourmahál have nothing whatever to do with the Taj; they both lie buried at Lahore. Neither of them is worthy to be connected with a structure so renowned. Jehangir was morose, superstitious and cruel. Nourmahál, in spite of

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the halo of poetic beauty thrown around her in Lalla Rookh, was spoiled by prosperity, was a proud, ambitious, intriguing woman, and gave her husband and his kingdom endless trouble. Taj Begum was the niece of Nourmahál, and was married, by the latter's address, to one of the younger sons of Jehangir, the favourite of his grandfather, Akbar. This son ascended the throne on Jehangir's death, and took the title of Shah Jehan. His attachment to his gentle and loving consort was intense; when she died, he was inconsolable, and it was in honour of her memory that he built the finest monument the world ever saw, and called it by her name:—

"I am aware of the difficulty of giving an intelligible picture of a building, which has no counterpart in Europe, or even in the East. The mosques and palaces of Constantinople, the domed tent of Omar at Jerusalem, and the structures of the Saracens and Memlooks at Cairo, have nothing in common with it. The remains of Moorish art in Spain approach nearest to its spirit, but are only the scattered limbs, the torso, of which the Taj is the perfect type. It occupies that place in Saracenic art which, during my visit to Constantinople, I mistakenly gave to the Solymanye Mosque, and which, in respect to Grecian art, is represented by the Parthenon. If there were nothing else in India, this alone would repay the journey. * * * *

"The gate to the garden of the Taj is not so large as that of Akbar's tomb, but quite as beautiful in design. Passing under the open demi-vault, whose arch hangs high above you, an avenue of dark Italian cypresses appears before you. Down its centre sparkles a long row of fountains, each casting up a single slender jet. On both sides, the palm, the banyan, and the feathery bamboo mingle their foliage; the song of birds meets your ear, and the odor of roses and lemon-flowers sweetens the air. Down such a vista, and over such a foreground, rises the Taj. * * * *

"The material is of the purest white marble, little inferior to that of Carrara. It shines so dazzlingly in the sun, that you can scarcely look at it near at hand, except in the morning and evening. Every part—even the basement, the dome, and the upper galleries of the minarets—is inlaid with ornamental designs in marble of different colors, principally a pale brown, and a bluish violet variety. Great as are the dimensions of the Taj, it is as laboriously finished as one of those Chinese caskets of ivory and ebony, which are now so common in Europe. Bishop Heber truly said: "The Pathans designed like Titans, and finished like jewellers." * * * *

"The Taj truly is, as I have already said, a poem. It is not only a pure architectural type, but also a creation which satisfies the imagination, because its characteristic is beauty. Did you ever build a Castle in the Air? Here is one, brought down to earth, and fixed for the wonder of ages; yet so light it seems, so airy, and, when seen from a distance, so like a fabric of mist and sunbeams, with its great dome soaring up, a silvery bubble, about

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to burst in the sun, that, even after you have touched it, and climbed to its summit, you almost doubt its reality. The four minarets which surround it are perfect—no other epithet will describe them."

Our author's acquaintance with the Mohammedan monuments of other lands, has led him naturally to enter on a subject on which few writers have yet spoken; viz. the relation of Saracenic art in India to the same art in Egypt, Spain and Western Asia. Little indeed is known upon the subject, beyond the small circle of scholars who, like Mr. Fergusson, take an enthusiastic interest in every thing which can illustrate the science of architecture. The materials for exhibiting both the progress of the art in India, and its connection with Mohammedan art elsewhere, are abundant, and will, by the aid of photography, be rendered more generally available. Mr. Taylor thus speaks on the subject:—

"We in America hear so little of these things, and even the accounts we get from English travellers are generally so confused and unsatisfactory, that the reader must pardon me, if in attempting the description, I lose myself in details. I thought the Alcazar of Seville and the Alhambra of Granada had already presented me with the purest types of Saracenic architecture, but I was mistaken. I found, in India, conceptions of Art far nobler, and embodiments far more successful. There is a Saracenic, as distinctly as there is a Greek and Gothic school of Art—not the inferior, but the equal of these. * * * *

"In comparing these masterpieces of architecture with the Moorish remains in Spain, which resemble them most nearly, I have been struck with the singular fact, that while, at the central seats of the Moslem Empire, art reached but a comparative degree of development, here, in India, and there, on the opposite and most distant frontiers, it attained a rapid and splendid culmination. The capitals of the Caliphs and the Sultans—Bagdad, Cairo, Damascus, and Constantinople—stand far below Agra and Delhi, Granada and Seville, in point of architecture, notwithstanding the latter cities have but few and scattered remains. It is not improbable that the Moorish architects, after the fall of Granada, gradually made their way to the eastward, and that their art was thus brought to India—or, at least, that they modified and improved the art then existing. The conquest of India by Baber, (grandson of Tamerlane and grandfather of Akbar) is almost coeval with the expulsion of the Moors from Granada."

Of the Jain architecture, with its singular domes and tall towers, so simply raised, so beautifully ornamented, and bearing such a close resemblance in structure to the Pelasgian remains of Mycenæ and Etruria, our author has not spoken. He came across but one specimen of it, in the elaborately carved cloisters near the Kuttub at Delhi, which were appropriated by the

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earliest Pathan sovereigns for their magnificent mosque at that place. Neither has he noticed the special features of the Buddhist remains in various parts of India, especially the immense 'topes' or tumuli at Bhilsa and Sárnáth. It is scarcely possible to appreciate the early state of the arts in India, without knowing something of these interesting relics; and the reader who would push his enquiries in detail, will find an admirable guide in *Fergusson's Illustrated Handbook of architecture*, published two years ago. It is only in respect to Saracenic architecture in India, which he compares to similar architecture in Egypt and Spain, that he has made the observations quoted above. They are scarcely sufficient however to give a clear and complete view of the subject, or to enable the scholar on a visit to the North-west, to appreciate the true value of the ruins by which he is surrounded. We shall therefore add here a few observations.

Saracenic art, at length so complete and so beautiful in its own distinctive forms, started at first from other and older styles. In Egypt and in Spain, it took up the Roman forms of building which had hitherto prevailed. In Syria, and subsequently in Turkey, it adopted the Byzantine style, which it found in the Christian churches with which those countries were filled. In Persia, the Sassanian element appears in the oldest remains that are now found. But in India the Tartar conquerors adopted the Hindu style, especially the Jain, and mingled it with the Sassanian forms which they had found prevalent in Central Asia, the first seat of their conquests. All these various forms were seized and appropriated to the peculiar demands of Mohammedan worship. In the mosques, a covered space was required for prayer, the chief wall of which, ornamented by one or more niches, as *Keblahs*, should be placed towards Mecca. In front of this was placed an open court, with a verandah on one or more of its three sides. On the roof was placed a dome; and on the west, where the call to prayers was made by the human voice, minarets soon sprang up to make the *muezzin* more effective. This kind of arrangement seems to have prevailed everywhere in respect to mosques; though modified as to details. In regard to palaces and tombs, the Musalman style in different countries displays much wider differences, evidently derived from the habits and manners of the country, or people by whom they were erected. In this way there sprang up various branches of Saracenic art, the history and developments of which will well repay attentive examination. But as communication increased between the different countries of the Mohammedan world, the differences were to a considerable extent softened down, the foreign elements

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disappeared, and the whole became fused into a style bearing the distinctive peculiarities of the Saracenic alone.

From the first there were adopted in the Saracenic style two or three elements, of which it has made special use. These are the dome, the pointed arch, minaret towers, and open arcades. The dome seems to have been a most ancient invention, being found among the remains both of the Pelasgians and the Jains. The Romans built domes upon drum-shaped buildings, and formed them of voussoirs, or sections of arches, such as are now adopted everywhere, strengthening the walls of their buildings (as of the Pantheon at Rome) by buttresses, and similar contrivances to counteract the immense lateral thrust. In the east, however, domes were everywhere built of level rings gradually contracted in width, just as English boys build oyster-shell grottoes: and naturally became more pointed, than if built, like round arches, in true segments of a circle. The pointed arches seem to have become specially popular throughout the east: and in Hindustan especially alternate only with the flat stone architraves, so common in the choultries of southern India. The open courts sprang from the necessity of tempering the heat, by abundance of air, and broad cool shade: promoted especially by fountains of water, bubbling over paved stone floors.

In Hindustan, the Mohammedan rule was from the first distinguished by one peculiarity. The Pathans and Moguls were a tomb-building race, and have expended upon their tombs all their resources both of money and of skill. The mosques and palaces they have left behind, are comparatively few; but their tombs form an almost unbroken series, stretching from the times of Shahab-ud-din down to the present day. They display in continuous series the massive strength of the Pathan age, the graceful form and gorgeous finish of the best Mogul times, and the tawdry ornament which began to creep in with the first symptoms of Mogul decay. It is in them, therefore, that the peculiarities of the Indian form of Saracenic architecture most conspicuously appear.

The oldest buildings are the mosques and tombs near the Kuttub Minar at Delhi; the black mosque of Feroze at old Delhi; the mosques at Juanpore and Mandoo. All are characterized by that appearance of massive strength, by which the Pathan and Turk sovereigns were distinguished. The mosques all contain a considerable amount of Hindu architecture, and were built by Hindu architects. Besides the flattened dome, springing straight from its foundation, and the handsome arched way which forms the entrance to the building, the mosque at the Kuttub, and the mosque at Juanpore, have each an arcade built on the Hindu plan, and in the former case of Hindu materials. There seems

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little doubt, that the very pillars, architraves and roofs of Jain temples, were taken down and re-built into the verandahs round the courts of mosques; and that in some cases, Jain buildings were taken as they stood, and merely altered by the removal of the centre pillars, and the walling in of the outside, in order to suit the demands and conditions of Mohammedan worship. In rare cases tombs also are found, consisting of a small Hindu pillared hall, supporting a dome instead of the usual flat roof. The Pathan mosques exhibit also another element, brought from Central Asia, and first found among the few monuments left by the Sassanian Kings of Persia. In building a round dome upon a square room, it is necessary to find some support for that portion of the dome, which crosses the corners. The Romans provided heavy buttresses rising from the ground: but in the Sassanian monuments, the corners are filled high up the walls by pendentives or brackets formed of arches, grouped together in the most ingenious way. Brackets of this kind, identical in shape with those of the Sassanian kings, are found in the small mosque near the Kuttub, the oldest of its class now found in Upper India. With such elements, combined in the grandest and most massive forms, Saracenic art was first introduced into India.

With the Mogul emperors, came in a higher degree of size and magnificence in ornament. The tomb of Humayun at old Delhi, the most prominent in that city of tombs which lies to the south of the fortress of Feroze, stands out at once in contrast to the small and contracted mausoleums, by which it is surrounded. It occupies the centre of a large garden, having a massive gateway in each of its four walls. It is a large building, raised on a platform, is two stories in height, has small chambers in each of its four corners, and the central octagonal hall is covered with an immense dome. Smaller domes or kiosks cluster round the chief dome, covered with a green enamel which has preserved its colour to this day. The building is of red sandstone; having the bands around its chief entrances, inlaid with white marble. It is a striking monument, having considerable pretensions to beauty, and forms the starting point of a new era in tomb-building. The tomb of Akbar at Secundra, just out of Agra, is formed on the same model, but is in every way of larger size and more elaborate finish. Its garden is larger, its pavements wider, the gateways are higher, more massive, more elaborately inlaid with the white marble mosaics. The tomb itself is an immense building, with a lofty entrance, deep recesses on its lower story, numerous cupolas and kiosks, covered with green enamel on the upper story—and rising even to a third story: but without the usual dome. The third story is now entirely

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white marble, erected in the chastest style, and is said to have been substituted by Shah Jehan for the story of red sandstone, which his grandfather had originally placed above the tomb. Though somewhat straggling, and dull, from the material of which it is chiefly composed, and though deficient in height as compared with its immense breadth, and the space over which it is spread, it is still one of the noblest monuments of the Mogul empire to be found in Upper India. The palaces of Akbar again are not in Saracenic style at all. Considering only the inner palace at Agra to be his, and the outer palace, harem and reception halls, as the work of Shah Jehan, the visitor will at once perceive that the style is purely Hindu: the pillars of the two halls are carved in Hindu fashion, are surmounted by the usual stone brackets with their pendent knobs, and are surmounted by the stone architrave which supports the roof. There are no domes, no pointed arches; every thing is Hindu: and a counterpart of this palace can be found in a now deserted temple, built by Akbar's Hindu minister, in the sacred city of Brindabun. The mosque, palace, and other buildings, erected by Akbar at Futtehpore-Sikri, are, as we have seen, most interesting examples of the Saracenic style, as practised in his time.

The tomb of Ettima-ud-Dowlah, the minister of Jehangir, on the north side of the Jumna at Agra, exhibits a further advance in the progress of this architecture. The red sandstone, with its flowers and wreaths of white marble inlaid, is confined to the gateways. The garden is small, neatly laid out, and planted amongst other trees with the sombre cypress. The tomb is built entirely of white marble, with towers at the four corners. All the windows are filled with arabesque tracery of various forms, and the whole building is profusely covered, within and without, with Florentine mosaics, of wreaths and flowers, formed of bloodstones, jaspers and cornelians, inlaid into the marble. This style, in which the chief buildings were erected of the richest materials, and profusely inlaid, with the greatest taste, with these beautiful Florentine mosaics, is seen in its noblest and most perfect form in the Taj. It is seen also less perfectly in the palaces erected by Shah Jehan both in Agra and Delhi. The reception rooms, inlaid with mosiacs both on the walls and in the floor, the marble pavilions overlooking the river, the stately halls with the open arcade, on the side of which sat the king on his marble throne, distinguished the former. The noble hall, with its simple and elegant pillars, the edges, flutings and pedestals of which, with the panels of the roof, were covered with gold, while in the centre blazed the peacock throne, must have made the most gorgeous reception room for the courtiers and tributaries of a mighty monarch, which the world ever saw. The

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mosques of Shah Jehan also exhibit the finest forms of the buildings erected for Mohammedan worship. From the Jumma musjid of Delhi, on its lofty platform, with its vast bulbous domes, and tall massive minarets looking down upon the city, oft doomed to destruction, from the little garden-mosque in the palace with its gilded domes; to the Moti musjid at Agra, with its stern simplicity, its exquisite purity, its silent eloquent grandeur, Saracenic architecture in India finds its finest specimens of the purest and most finished type. All culminated in the profusion of wealth and exquisite taste poured upon his princely erections, by the most magnificent king that ever ruled in India. From his time every thing fell away. The power of the empire began to decay, and with it died out rapidly the taste, the elegance, the finish by which these works of Saracen art had hitherto been distinguished. The next reign, that of Aurungzebe, produced nothing better than the mosque at Benares, and that which he erected in the heart of Muttra, with its coarse style, rough materials, and tawdry enamel of green and blue. In central and southern India few Musalman monuments remain beyond the mosque at Beejapore with its noble dome, and the well-known tombs of Hyder and his family in the Lal Bagh of Seringapatam. In Upper India, in the present day, the new Imambaras at Hooghly and Lucknow alone strive to emulate the glories of the past. But with their profuse decorations, their images of flying horses, their innumerable wall-shades, purple, green and yellow, and their green glass tigers, it can scarcely be expected that they will attain to that position which was secured by the mighty magnificence of the kings long dead.

Our limited space prevents us from following Mr. Taylor closely, during his subsequent travels in Upper India, the numerous monuments of which he describes in his best style. After visiting Delhi, in which he greatly admired the wonderful group of ancient monuments around the Kuttub Minar, he set out for Roorkhee, intending to pay a brief visit to the Himalayas. Here he first caught sight of the goal whither he was bound: and thus describes their extraordinary appearance:—

"It was about eight in the morning: an atmosphere of crystal, and not a cloud in the sky. Yet something white and shining glimmered through the loose foliage of some trees on my right hand. My heart came into my mouth with the sudden bound it gave, when, after plunging through the trees like one mad, tumbling into a ditch on the other side, and scrambling up a great pile of dirt, I saw the Himalayas before me! Unobscured by a single cloud or a speck of vapor, there stood revealed the whole mountain region, from the low range of the Siwalik Hills, about twenty miles distant, to the loftiest pinnacles of eternal snow, which look down on China and Thibet.

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The highest range, though much more than a hundred miles distant, as the crow flies, rose as far into the sky as the Alps at forty miles, and with every glacier and chasm and spire of untrodden snow as clearly defined. Their true magnitude, therefore, was not fully apparent, because the eye refused to credit the intervening distance. But the exquisite loveliness of the shadows painted by the morning on those enormous wastes of snow, and the bold yet beautiful outlines of the topmost cones, soaring to a region of perpetual silence and death, far surpassed any distant view of the Alps or any other mountain chain I ever saw. As seen from Roorkhee, the Himalayas present the appearance of three distinct ranges. The first, the Siwalik Hills, are not more than two thousand feet in height; the second, or Sub-Himalayas, rise to eight or nine thousand, while the loftiest peaks of the snowy range, visible from this point, are 25,000 feet above the sea. Far in the north-west was the Chore, an isolated peak, which is almost precisely the height of Mont Blanc, but seemed a very pigmy in comparison with the white cones beyond it. * * * *

"I was most struck with their exquisite beauty of form and colouring. The faintest pink of the sea-shell slept upon the steeps of snow, and their tremendous gulfs and chasms were filled with pale-blue shadows, so delicately pencilled that I can only compare them to the finest painting on ivory. When I reflected that each of those gentle touches of blue was a tremendous gorge, "where darkness dwells all day;" that each break in the harmonious flow of the outline on the sky—like the break in a cadence of music, making it sweeter for the pause—was a frightful precipice, thousands of feet in depth and inaccessible to human foot, I was overpowered by the awful sublimity of the picture. But when their color grew rosy and lambent in the sunset, I could think of nothing but the divine beauty which beamed through them, and wonder whether they resembled the mountains which we shall see in the glorified landscapes of the future world."

In the following passage, our author describes the range on a much nearer view, when standing on the highest peak of Landour, in the garden of the American Mission:—

"The view from this point best repaid me for my journey to the hills. The mound on which we stood was conical, and only twenty feet in diameter at the summit. The sides of the mountain fell away so suddenly that it had the effect of a tower, or of looking from the mast-head of a vessel. In fact, it might be called the "main truck" of the Sub-Himalayas. The sharp comb, or ridge, of which it is the crowning point, has a direction of north-west to south-east (parallel to the great Himalayan range,) dividing the panorama into two hemispheres, of very different character. To the north, I looked into the wild heart of the Himalayas—a wilderness of barren peaks, a vast jumble of red mountains, divided by tremendous clefts and ravines, of that dark indigo hue which you sometimes see on the edge of a thunder-cloud—but in the back-ground, tower-

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ing far, far above them, rose the mighty pinnacles of the Gungootree, the Jumnootre, the Budreenath, and the Kylas, the heaven of Indra, where the Great God, Mahadeo, still sits on his throne, inaccessible to mortal foot. I was fifty miles nearer these mountains than at Roorkhee, where I first beheld them, and with the additional advantage of being mounted on a footstool, equal to one-third of their height. They still stood immeasurably above me, so cold and clear, and white, that, without knowledge to the contrary, I should have said that they were not more than twenty miles distant. Yet, as the crow flies, a line of *seventy* miles would scarce have reached their summits!

"Though not the highest of the Himalayas, these summits form the great central group of the chain, and contain the cisterns whence spring the rivers of India, Thibet and Burmah. The snows of their southern slopes feed the Jumna and Ganges; of their northern, the Sutlej, the Indus and the Brahmapootra. Around this group cling the traditions of the Hindu Mythology. Thence came the first parents of the race; there appeared the first land after the deluge. And upon the lofty table-lands of Central Asia, whereon those peaks look down, was probably the birth-place of the great Caucasian family, from which the Hindoos and ourselves alike are descended. Far to the north-west, where the Altay, the Hindoo Koosh (or Indian Caucasus), and the Himalayas, join their sublime ranges, there is a table-land higher than Popocatapetl, called, in the picturesque language of the Tartars, the "Roof of the World." Under the eaves of that roof, on the table-land of Pamir, if we may trust Asiatic tradition, dwelt the parents of our race. I fancied myself standing on the cone of Gungootree, and looking down upon it. The vast physical features of this part of the world are in themselves so imposing, that we are but too ready to give them the advantage of any myth which invests them with a grand human interest."

The Siwalik hills form a lengthy range running parallel to the Himalaya for many miles, and enclosing between the two ranges the lovely valley of the Dehra Dhoon. The Ganges descends the Himalaya and crosses the Dhoon: it then bursts through—what in Mexico would be called—a *Canyon* of the Siwalik hills, and pours into the vast plain of Upper Hindustan. In the gorge through which it bursts, stands in most singular position the celebrated town of Hurdwar. Our author thus describes it:—

"Hurdwar is one of the most curious cities in India. It lies on the western bank of the Ganges, exactly in the gorge formed by the Siwalik Hills. There is but one principal street, running parallel to the water, and crossed by others so steep as to resemble staircases. Broad stone ghauts descend to the river, to allow the pilgrims facility of bathing. Between them, upon platforms of masonry of various heights, are temples to the Hindoo gods, principally to Ganesh and Shiva. * * * *

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"The temples are from twenty to fifty feet high—none, I think, of greater altitude—and generally built of grey sandstone. There is great similarity in their design, which is a massive square shrine, surmounted by a four-sided or circular spire, curving gradually to a point, so that the outline of each side resembles a parabola. All parts of the building are covered with grotesque but elaborate ornaments, and many of the spires are composed of a mass of smaller ones, overlapping each other like scales, so that at a distance they resemble slender pine-apples, of colossal size. There are fifty or sixty temples in and about the city, some of them being perched on the summit of cliffs rising above it. Most of them are white-washed, and have a new and glaring appearance; but there are others, enclosed in large courtyards, which are very black and venerable, and seem to be regarded with more than usual reverence. I could see lamps burning before the idols, in the gloomy interiors, but was not allowed to enter. There is a great annual *mela*, or fair, held at Hurdwar, which is sometimes attended by a million and a half of persons. I believe there are never less than five or six hundred thousand present. The natives flock from all parts of Hindostan and Bengal, from the Deccan, the Punjab, from Cashmere, Affghanistan, Tartary and Thibet, some as religious devotees, some as worldly tradesmen. For miles around the place it is one immense encampment, and all the races, faces, costumes, customs and languages of the East, from Persia to Siam, from Ceylon to Siberia, are represented. Buying and selling, praying and bathing, commercial fleecing and holy hair-cutting, and all kinds of religious and secular swindling, are in full operation; and Hurdwar, which is at other times a very quiet, lonely, half-deserted, out-of-the-way nook, is then a metropolis, rivalling London in its tumult. Some of the missionaries usually attend on such occasions, in the hope of snatching brands from the burning, but the fires are generally so hot that they do little more than scorch their fingers for their pains."

Here is a pleasant sketch of the grand trunk road, between Meerut and Mynpoory:—

"The night of leaving Meerut, I again passed Allyghur, much to my regret, for I desired to see the famous pillar of Coel. Morning dawned on the plains of Hindostan. There is almost as little variety in the aspect of these immense plains as in that of the open sea. The same fields of wheat, poppies, grain and mustard alternate with the same mango or tamarind groves; the Hindoo temples by the roadside are the same dreary architectural deformities, and the villages you pass, the same collections of mud walls, thatched roofs and bamboo verandahs, tenanted by the same family of hideous fakeers, naked children, ugly women (who try to persuade you that they are beautiful, by hiding their faces), and beggars in every stage of deformity. But I noticed, as I proceeded southward, spacious caravanserais, built of burnt brick, though ruined and half deserted;

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richer groves of tamarind and brab palm; and the minarets and pagodas of large towns which the road skirted, but did not enter. I stopped at the bungalow of Etah for breakfast, which was ready in an hour. The bungalows on this road are much superior to those in other parts of India. The floors are carpeted, and there are mattrasses and pillows on the charpoys. The rooms have a neat, home-like air, and are truly oases in that vast wilderness—for such India still is, except where the European hand has left its trace. The day passed away like other days on the plains. It was warm during the mid-hours, and the road was very dusty, in spite of the recent rains. It is a magnificent highway, and would not suffer by comparison with any in Europe. The amount of travel is so great, that from sunrise until sunset, I beheld an almost unbroken procession of natives of all descriptions, from the Affghan and Sikh, to the Goorkha of the hills, and the Mahratta of the Deccan, with tattoos (as the little country ponies are called), camels, elephants, Persian steeds, buffaloes, palanquins, dhoolies, hackrees, bullock trains, and the *garrees* of luxurious travellers like myself. I can, however, feel neither the same interest in, nor respect for, the natives of India, as for the Arab races of Africa and Syria. The lower castes are too servile, too vilely the slaves of a degrading superstition, and too much given to cheating and lying. One cannot use familiarity towards them, without encouraging them to impertinence. How different from my humble companions of the Nubian Desert!"

Amongst other celebrities, Mr. Taylor of course visited Lucknow, of which he gives a full description. He passed through the most striking portion of it, two or three times. The following is his view of the city as seen from the iron bridge:—

"The street I had chosen led me to a bridge over the river Goomtee, which here flows eastward, and skirts the northern side of the city. The word *Goomtee* means literally, "The Twister," on account of the sinuous course of the river. Looking westward from the centre of the bridge, there is a beautiful view of the city. Further up the river, which flowed with a gentle current between grassy and shaded banks, was an ancient stone bridge, with lofty pointed arches. The left bank rose gradually from the water, forming a long hill, which was crowned with palaces and mosques, stretching away into the distance, where a crowd of fainter minarets told of splendors beyond. The coup d'œil resembled that of Constantinople, from the bridge across the Golden Horn, and was more imposing, more picturesque and truly Oriental, than that of any other city in India. The right bank was level, and so embowered in foliage that only a few domes and towers were visible above the sea of sycamores, banyans, tamarind, acacia, neem and palm-trees. I loitered on the bridge so long, enjoying the refreshing exhilaration of such a prospect, that I am afraid the dignity of the great English race, in my person, was much lessened in the eyes of the natives.

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"The picture, so full of Eastern pomp and glitter, enhanced by the luxuriance of Nature, was made complete by the character of the human life that animated it. Here were not merely menials, in scanty clothing, or sepoys undergoing daily pillory in tight coats and preposterous stocks, but scores of emirs, cadis, writers, and the like, attired in silken raiment and splendidly turbaned, continually passing to and fro, with servants running before them, dividing the crowds for the passage of their elephants. The country-people were pouring into the city by thousands, laden with their produce, and the bazaars of fruit and vegetables, which seemed interminable, were constantly thronged."

He thus describes the new Imambarra of Azuf-ud-Dowlah, to which we have already referred, as one of the recent specimens of Saracenic architecture:—

"On the left was the gate of the Imambarra, or tomb of Azuf-ud-Dowlah, one of the former Nawabs of Oude, and here the carriage drew up. I alighted, and entered a quadrangle surrounded by the same dazzling white architecture, with gilded domes blazing against the intense blue of the sky. The enclosed space was a garden, in which stood two beautiful mausoleums of marble. Several feeble fountains played among the flowers, and there was a long pool in the midst, with a bridge over it, and grotesque wooden figures of sepoys of the size of life, standing guard at each end. Scattered about the garden were also several copies in plaster of classical statues, and one in marble of Actæon and his hounds. Although Lucknow is a thoroughly Moslem city, most of the inhabitants, as well as the royal family, belong to the sect of Sheeahs—the descendants of the partisans of Ali—who do not scruple to make pictures or models of living things. This is a cause of great annoyance and sorrow to the Sonnees, or orthodox Mussulmen, who hold it to be a sin in the sight of God. The idea originated, no doubt, in the iconoclastic zeal of the Prophet and his immediate successors.

"On ascending the marble steps leading to the edifice at the bottom of the garden, I imagined for a moment that I beheld a manufactory of chandeliers. Through the open marble arches nothing else was at first visible. The whole building was hung with them—immense pyramids of silver, gold, prismatic crystals and colored glass—and where they were too heavy to be hung, they rose in radiant piles from the floor. In the midst of them were temples of silver filigree, eight or ten feet high, and studded with cornelians, agates and emeralds. These were the tombs. The place was a singular jumble of precious objects. There were ancient banners of the Nawabs of Oude, heavy with sentences from the Koran, embroidered in gold; gigantic hands of silver, covered with talismanic words; sacred shields, studded with the names of God; swords of Khorassan steel, lances and halberds; the turbans of renowned commanders; the trappings of the white horse of Nasr-ed-Deen, mounted on a wooden effigy; and several pulpits of peculiar sanctity. I had some difficulty in making out a

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sort of centaur, with a human head, eyes of agate, a horse's body of silver, and a peacock's tail, but was solemnly informed that it was a correct representation of the beast Borak, on which the Prophet made his journey to Paradise. The bridle was held by two dumpy angels, also of silver, and on each side stood a tiger about five feet long and made of transparent blue glass. These, I was told, came from Japan."

There is one subject upon which we must take decided exception to the views which Mr. Taylor expresses at various parts of his travels. At several stations, both in India and China, he met with American missionaries, and saw a little of their Missionary labours. He mentions these missions on eight occasions, and though he praises the conscientiousness of the men, he always speaks of their labours in disparaging terms. The following passage describes his visit, with Mr. Hall of the Benares college, to the well-known Mission of the Church Missionary Society at Sigra, on the north-west side of the city of Benares :—

"After visiting Mr. Reid, the Commissioner of the District, Mr. Hall accompanied me to the mission establishment of the English Church. Here there is a small village of native Christians, whom I could not but compassionate. Cut off for ever from intercourse with their friends, denounced as unclean and accursed, they showed their isolation by a quiet, patient demeanor, as if they passively sustained their new faith, instead of actively rejoicing in it. There was, however, a visible improvement in their households—greater cleanliness and order; and the faces of the women, I could not but notice, showed that the teachings of the missionaries had not been lost upon them. I wish I could have more faith in the sincerity of these converts; but the fact that there is a material gain, no matter how slight, in becoming Christian, throws a doubt upon the verity of their spiritual regeneration. If lacking employment, they are put in the way of obtaining it; if destitute, their wants are relieved; and when gathered into communities, as here, they are furnished with dwellings rent-free. While I cheerfully testify to the zeal and faithfulness of those who labor in the cause, I must confess that I have not yet witnessed any results which satisfy me that the vast expenditure of money, talent and life in missionary enterprises, has been adequately repaid."

Christian missions are carried on both in India and China upon such an extensive scale, that they cannot fail to attract notice. In India alone £200,000 are annually spent upon them: they are vast public property, supported by numerous public bodies in Europe and America. Nothing can be more proper, nothing can be more beneficial, than that they should constantly be watched, by those who support them. No one will object to the most

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careful enquiry and examination of their proceedings on the part of intelligent visiters, whether local residents or passing travellers. In India at least one fact is undeniable, that those laymen who know missions best, are their best supporters. But in the case of our author, no such enquiry was once made. He visited, he saw; and was everywhere determined not to believe. He makes no charges; he presents no rational arguments against the missions he saw; he makes no objections; he offers no explanations, derived from the magnitude of the work, the greatness of the obstacles with which it meets, or the character of the object at which it aims. He mentions none of the reasons, so plain to every eye, which render missions an arduous task. He simply sneers at them, as in his description of Hurdwar; or hammers away with the same assertions of unbelief in their utility, reiterated and repeated again and again. These things with sensible men will do no harm. They simply prove the intensity of his prejudices; they show that his mind had arrived at a foregone conclusion; that he was determined to believe that missions are useless and expensive; and that nothing should convince him to the contrary. Nothing else will account for the extraordinary statements in the paragraph above quoted, that the native Christians of Sigra are subdued and depressed outcasts, and that still they make a profit in becoming Christians!

No one who makes an honest and complete enquiry, can fail to discover the exact position which missions occupy in India. The managers of missionary societies have published, and continue to publish, much illustrative of this very point. From their annual reports may be compiled, not only a faithful account of the course which missions have taken; not only a record of their increase or decay, the casualties they have suffered, the hindrances they have met with, or the success they have attained; but all the circumstances under which these things have occurred, and the causes by which they are influenced, are described in detail. Missionaries know well some things by which mere observers and chance visiters are continually puzzled and misled. For instance, the opponents of missions do not discriminate between people and places as they should do. They set down all native Christians as mercenaries or as hypocrites; they assert of all places that missions are unsuccessful and have few converts. But the real truth in these matters is well known to those who make enquiry. The different districts of India are not all alike; and missionary literature not only recognises the fact, that in some stations the progress of conversion has been exceedingly slow, but indicates most clearly the causes from which the delay springs. In these works nothing is more fully recognised than

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the fact that immense differences exist in the knowledge, the social customs, the religious traditions of the various tribes which people India. They acknowledge plainly that caste, and a bigotted attachment to the shastras, have been great barriers to Christianity in the North-west Provinces; while simple manners, an open disposition, and unusual social freedom, have much facilitated its progress among the Shanars and the Karens. Again, none know the discouragements of missions so well as those who are best acquainted with the mission system. The assertion often made that only the bright side of things is communicated home, and that in England, fictitious success, and the hiding of difficulties, make every thing appear *couleur de rose*, is a great mistake. An attentive reader of missionary literature will find stories of lamentable apostacies, of disappointed hopes, of mercenary enquiries, of difficulties among native Christians, of failure among native catechists, all causes of grief to the missionary,—as well as stories of the incidents which give him joy. Mr. Taylor, like many other objectors to missions, praises missionaries as faithful, laborious and earnest men; let the view which such men give of their work be carefully studied and fully appreciated; the objectors will then find their cause fall utterly to the ground.

With the concluding sentence of the verdict passed by Mr. Taylor on the Benares and other missions, we, of course, disagree entirely. We might shelter missions under the consideration that Mr. Taylor has seen so very little of missionary operations, as to make it perfectly true, that what he saw did not correspond to the vast expenditure of money and talent, laid out on three hundred places which he did not see; and thus that the statement he makes, is literally true. But we refer rather to the obvious meaning of the sentence, that in his opinion immense sums of money have been expended on missions in India, and that taking all the results together, they do not correspond to the outlay. Of course, Mr. Taylor has no right to make such an assertion, having neither seen nor read enough concerning the wide-spread operations of missions, to be able to form such an opinion on just grounds. In all he says, it is his prejudices and prepossessions that appear, and foregone conclusions take the place of the results of enquiry.

The truth of the statement we question *in toto*. Far from being fruitless, the labours carried on in connection with Christian missions, have produced an immense amount of good to the country generally, in the direct purpose which they have in view. We shall not attempt to prove this now. The pages of this *Review* have, in years gone by, given frequent evidence of the beneficial results of missionary efforts: and those who wish for

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fuller information can easily find it on every hand. At the same time, we ask, why should missions be specially singled out as unsuccessful. Who in India have been completely successful in their schemes, subduing all obstacles, and securing the desired triumph? Has the Government been successful in drawing to itself the affections of its subjects, and securing the willing obedience of even the oldest provinces under its rule? Has it cured the mighty public evils which have prevailed for centuries? Has it been able to establish courts of real justice, to banish perjury, and appoint uncorrupt officials among its lower officers? Has it formed a faithful and vigilant police: a faithful army, a contented, prosperous peasantry? All the Governors and high officials of the land lament the contrary. Has education been successful? Has it reached the masses; has it really enlightened the few that have sought its blessings? Have its results been commensurate with the money, time and talent expended upon it? Have planters been successful in making their cultivation popular with the peasantry, while profitable to themselves? Have our merchants taught honesty in all their dealings with native traders, and been able to secure it? In all these cases, the deficiencies of the people have presented great obstacles to progress: how much more may difficulties be pleaded in the case of missions, which go to the very root of the soul's motives and principles of action. Time and effort have failed perfectly to cure numbers of the surface-evils exhibited by native society in India. Much less have they removed far deeper social maladies. Is it wonderful then that Christian missions, which deal with the deepest maladies and disorders of all, should require more time and more effort still before their full fruits can naturally be looked for? Government, in aiming at its objects, employs thousands of European agents: the Christian church sends but four hundred into the whole of India.

We would draw special attention to one statement of Mr. Taylor's, which merits the most serious consideration at the present time:—

"There is one feature of English society in India, however, which I cannot notice without feeling disgusted and indignant. I allude to the contemptuous manner in which the natives, even those of the best and most intelligent classes, are almost invariably spoken of and treated. Social equality, except in some rare instances, is utterly out of the question. The tone adopted towards the lower classes is one of lordly arrogance; towards the rich and enlightened, one of condescension and patronage. I have heard the term "niggers" applied to the whole race by those high in office; with the lower orders of the English it is the designation in general use. And this,

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too, towards those of our own Caucasian blood, where there is no instinct of race to excuse their unjust prejudice. Why is it that the virtue of Exeter Hall and Stafford House can tolerate this fact without a blush, yet condemn, with pharisaic zeal, the social inequality of the negro and the white races in America?"

We fear there is too much ground for this indignant remonstrance. But neither Exeter Hall nor Stafford House approve of the treatment which the American stranger so justly censures. The friends of Exeter Hall are those with whom native servants find kind friends and sweet words. They do blush at the haughty and proud demeanour of their countrymen, and have frequently protested against it; not like Mr. Taylor on ethnological grounds, but because it is as unchristian as it is unkind.

On quitting India, Mr. Taylor turned his face towards China, and spent a considerable time at the various ports open for English and American trade. In his journal appear many items of information concerning the manners of the Chinese, which we have not seen noticed elsewhere. He is everywhere, when such prejudices as those to which we have just alluded do not interpose, the same careful observer, photographing the various scenes of interest which passed before his view: but to this work he confines himself. We shall only quote an extract or two descriptive of Shanghai and its neighbourhood. In the following passage, he gives us a picture of the banks of the Woosung, the river on which Shanghai is situated:—

"The country on both sides of the river is a dead level of rich alluvial soil, devoted principally to the culture of rice and wheat. The cultivation was as thorough and patient as any I had seen, every square foot being turned to some useful account. Even the sides of the dykes erected to check inundations were covered with vegetables. These boundless levels are thickly studded with villages and detached houses, all of which are surrounded with fruit-trees. I noticed also occasionally groves of willow and bamboo. The country, far and wide, is dotted with little mounds of earth—the graves of former generations. They are scattered over the fields and gardens in a most remarkable manner, to the great detriment of the cultivators. In some places the coffins of the poor, who cannot afford to purchase a resting-place, are simply deposited upon the ground, and covered with canvass. The dwellings, but for their peaked roofs, bore some resemblance to the cottages of the Irish peasantry. They were mostly of wood, plastered and whitewashed, and had an appearance of tolerable comfort. The people, who came out to stare in wonder at the great steamer as she passed, were dressed uniformly in black or dark blue. Numerous creeks and canals extended from the river into the plains, but I did not notice a single highway.

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The landscape was rich, picturesque and animated, and fully corresponded with what I had heard of the dense population and careful agriculture of China. I was struck with the general resemblance between the Woosung and the lower Mississippi, and the same thing was noticed by others on board."

After residing for a month at Shanghai, during the numerous panics which prevailed there, after the victorious insurgents had taken Nankin, our author gives the following account of the appearance and arrangement of the city:—

"We now enter an outer street, leading to the northern gate of the city. It is narrow, paved with rough stones, and carpeted with a deposit of soft mud. The houses on either hand are of wood, two stories high, and have a dark, decaying air. The lower stories are shops, open to the street, within which the pig-tailed merchants sit behind their counter, and look at us out of the corners of their crooked eyes, as we go by. The streets are filled with a crowd of porters, water-carriers, and other classes of the labouring population, and also during the past week or two, with the families and property of thousands of the inhabitants, who are flying into the country, in anticipation of war. At the corners of the streets are stands for the sale of fruit and vegetables, the cheaper varieties of which can be had in portions valued at a single *cash*—the fifteenth part of a cent. A bridge of granite slabs crosses the little stream of which I have already spoken, and after one or two turnings we find ourselves at the city gate. It is simply a low stone arch, through a wall ten feet thick, leading into a sort of bastion for defence, with an inner gate. Within the space is a guard-house, where we see some antiquated instruments, resembling pikes and halberds, leaning against the wall, but no soldiers. A manifesto issued by the Taou-tai—probably some lying report of a victory over the rebels—is pasted against the inner gate, and there is a crowd before it, spelling out its black and vermilion hieroglyphics.

"Turning to the left, we advance for a short distance along the inside of the wall, which is of brick, about twenty feet thick, with a notched parapet. Carefully avoiding the heaps of filth, and the still more repulsive beggars that line the path, we reach a large, blank building, about two hundred feet square. This is a pawnbroker's shop—for the Chinese are civilized enough for that—and well worth a visit. The front entrance admits us into the office, where the manager and his attendants are busily employed behind a high counter, and a crowd of applicants fills the space in front. We apply for permission to inspect the establishment, which is cheerfully granted; a side-door is opened, and we enter a long range of store-houses, filled to the ceiling with every article of a Chinese household or costume, each piece being folded up separately, numbered and labelled. One room is appropriated wholly to the records, or books registering the articles deposited. There are chambers containing thousands of pewter candlesticks; court-yards piled with braziers; spacious lofts, stuffed to

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the ceiling with the cotton gowns and petticoat-pantaloons of the poorer classes, and chests, trunks, boxes and other cabinet-ware in bewildering quantities. At a rough estimate, I should say that there are at least 30,000 costumes; when we asked the attendant the number, he shrugged his shoulders and said: "Who could count them?" There are three or four other establishments, of nearly similar magnitude, in the city. They are regulated by the Government, and are said to be conducted in a fair and liberal spirit. * * * *

"We now take a street which strikes into the heart of the city, and set out for the famous "Tea Gardens." The pavement is of rough stones, slippery with mud, and on one side of the street is a ditch filled with black, stagnant slime, from which arises the foulest smell. Porters, carrying buckets of offal, brush past us; public *cloácæ* stand open at the corners, and the clothes and persons of the unwashed laborers and beggars distil a reeking compound of still more disagreeable exhalations. Coleridge says of Cologne:

> "I counted two and seventy stenches,
> All well defined—and several stinks;"

but Shanghai, in its horrid foulness, would be flattered by such a description. I never go within its walls but with a shudder, and the taint of its contaminating atmosphere seems to hang about me like a garment long after I have left them. Even in the country, which now rejoices in the opening spring, all the freshness of the season is destroyed by the rank ammoniated odors arising from pits of noisome manure, sunk in the fields. Having mentioned these things, I shall not refer to them again; but if the reader would have a correct description of Shanghai, they cannot be wholly ignored.

"It requires some care to avoid contact with the beggars who throng the streets, and we would almost as willingly touch a man smitten with leprosy, or one dying of the plague. They take their stations in front of the shops, and supplicate with a loud, whining voice, until the occupant purchases their departure by some trifling alms; for they are protected by the law in their avocation, and no man dare drive them forcibly from his door. As we approach the central part of the city, the streets become more showy and a trifle cleaner. The shops are large and well arranged, and bright red signs, covered with golden inscriptions, swing vertically from the eaves. All the richest shops, however, are closed at present, and not a piece of the celebrated silks of Soo-Chow, the richest in China, is to be found in the city. The manufactures, in jade-stone, carved bamboo, and the furniture of Ningpo, inlaid with ivory and boxwood, are still to be had in profusion, but they are more curious than elegant. Indeed, I have seen no article of Chinese workmanship which could positively be called beautiful, unless it was fashioned after a European model. Industry, perseverance, and a wonderful faculty of imitation belong to these people; but they are utterly destitute of original taste."

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With our author the Chinese find no favour, either as to their taste or their morality. He gives a severe sketch of both :—

"They are broad-shouldered and deep-chested, but the hips and loins are clumsily moulded, and the legs have a coarse, clubby character. We should never expect to see such figures assume the fine, free attitudes of ancient sculpture. But here, as every where, the body is the expression of the spiritual nature. There is no sense of what we understand by Art—Grace, Harmony, Proportion—in the Chinese nature, and therefore we look in vain for any physical expression of it. De Quincey, who probably never saw a Chinaman, saw this fact with the clairvoyant eye of genius, when he said: 'If I were condemned to live among the Chinese, I should go mad.' This is a strong expression, but I do not hesitate to adopt it. * * * *

"The great aim of the Chinese florist is to produce something as much unlike nature as possible, and thus this blossom, which, for aught I know, may be pure white, or yellow, in its native state, is changed into a sickly, mongrel color, as if it were afflicted with a vegetable jaundice, or leprosy. There was a crowd of enthusiastic admirers around each of the ugliest specimens, and I was told that one plant, which was absolutely loathsome and repulsive in its appearance, was valued at three hundred dollars. The only taste which the Chinese exhibit to any degree, is a love of the monstrous. That sentiment of harmony, which throbbed like a musical rhythm through the life of the Greeks, never looked out of their oblique eyes. Their music is a dreadful discord; their language is composed of nasals and consonants; they admire whatever is distorted or unnatural, and the wider its divergence from its original beauty or symmetry, the greater is their delight.

"This mental idiosyncrasy includes a moral one, of similar character. It is my deliberate opinion that the Chinese are, morally, the most debased people on the face of the earth. Forms of vice which in other countries are barely named, are in China so common, that they excite no comment among the natives. They constitute the surface-level, and below them there are deeps on deeps of depravity so shocking and horrible, that their character cannot even be hinted. There are some dark shadows in human nature, which we naturally shrink from penetrating, and I made no attempt to collect information of this kind; but there was enough in the things which I could not avoid seeing and hearing—which are brought almost daily to the notice of every foreign resident—to inspire me with a powerful aversion to the Chinese race. Their touch is pollution, and, harsh as the opinion may seem, justice to our own race demands that they should not be allowed to settle on our soil. Science may have lost something, but mankind has gained, by the exclusive policy which has governed China during the past centuries."

The chief object of Mr. Taylor's visit to China was that he might, if practicable, procure an appointment in connection

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with the American expedition to Japan: and thus share in all the novelties expected from the proposed visit. Through the kindness of Commodore Perry, he was appointed a "master's mate" in his flag-ship, the *Susquehanna:* the office, though nominally a naval one, being reserved for the more scientific or literary members of the mission. The three other "master's mates" in the expedition were an artist, a photographer, and a telegraphist. No other supernumeraries were allowed. The expedition consisted of the large steam frigates the *Susquehanna* and *Mississippi*, with the *Saratoga* and *Plymouth* sloops; the whole being under the orders of Commodore Perry as envoy extraordinary to the Government of Japan. The official account of the expedition has just been published, and all its proceedings are fully detailed. Mr. Taylor speaks but little of the political matters in which he was mixed up, and confines himself rather to pleasant sketches of the localities he visited. Here is a picture of the island of Great Loo-Choo:—

"The island is one of the most beautiful in the world, and contains a greater variety of scenery than I have ever seen within the same extent of territory. The valleys and hill-sides are cultivated with a care and assiduity, which puts even Chinese agriculture to shame; the hills are crowned with picturesque groves of the Loo-Choo pine, a tree which the artist would prize much more highly than the lumberman; the villages are embowered with arching lanes of bamboo, the tops of which interlace and form avenues of perfect shade; while, from the deep indentations of both shores, the road along the spinal ridge of the island commands the most delightful prospects of bays and green headlands, on either side. In the sheltered valleys, the clusters of sago-palm and banana trees give the landscape the character of the Tropics: on the hills, the forests of pine recall the scenery of the Temperate Zone. The northern part of the island abounds with marshy thickets and hills overgrown with dense woodland, infested with wild boars, but the southern portion is one vast garden.

"The villages all charmed us by the great taste and neatness displayed in their construction. In the largest of them there were buildings called *cung-quas*, erected for the accommodation of the agents of the Government, on their official journeys through the island. They were neat wooden dwellings, with tiled roofs, the floors covered with soft matting, and the walls fitted with sliding screens, so that the whole house could be thrown open, or divided into rooms, at pleasure. They were surrounded with gardens, enclosed by trim hedges, and were always placed in situations where they commanded the view of a pleasant landscape. These buildings were appropriated to our use, and when, after a hard day's tramp, we had hoisted our flag on the roof, and stretched ourselves out to rest on the soft matting, we would not have exchanged places with the old Viceroy himself."

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Mr. Taylor thus describes the singular feast with which the Regent of Loo-Choo honoured the American Commodore and his party :—

"Four tables were set in the central apartment, and three in each of the wings, and already covered with a profuse collation. Immediately on entering we were requested to seat ourselves. The Commodore, with Commanders Buchanan and Adams, took the highest table on the right hand, and the Regent and his associates the one opposite on the left. At each corner of the tables lay a pair of chop-sticks. In the centre stood an earthen pot filled with sackee, surrounded with four acorn-cups, four large cups of coarse china, with clumsy spoons of the same material, and four tea-cups. From this centre radiated a collection of dishes of very different shapes and sizes, and still more different contents. There were nineteen on the table at which I sat, but I can only enumerate a few of them: eggs, dyed crimson and sliced; fish made into rolls and boiled in fat; cold pieces of baked fish; slices of hog's liver; sugar candy; cucumbers; mustard; salted radish tops; curds made of bean flour; fragments of fried lean pork, and several nondescripts, the composition of which it was impossible to tell.

"The repast began with cups of tea, which were handed around, followed by tiny cups of sackee, which was of much superior quality to any we had yet tasted on the island. It was old and mellow, with a sharp, sweet, unctuous flavor, somewhat like French *liqueur*. Small bamboo sticks, sharpened at one end, were then presented to us. We at first imagined them to be tooth-picks, but soon found that they were designed to stick in the balls of meat and dough, which floated in the cups of soup, constituting the first course. Six or eight cups of different kinds of soup followed, and the attendants, meanwhile, assiduously filled up the little cups of sackee. We had a handsome, bright-eyed youth as our Ganymede, and the smile with which he pressed us to eat and drink, was irresistible. The abundance of soup reminded me of a Chinese repast. Of the twelve courses —the number appropriated to a royal dinner—which were served to us, eight were soups, and many of them so similar in composition as not to be distinguished by a palate unpractised in Loo-Choo delicacies. The other four were—gingerbread; a salad made of bean-sprouts and tender onion-tops; a basket of what appeared to be a dark-red fruit, about the size of a peach, but proved to be balls, composed of a thin rind of unbaked dough, covering a sugary pulp; and a delicious mixture of beaten eggs, and the aromatic, fibrous roots of the ginger-plant. The gingerbread had a true home flavor, and was not to be despised. The officers did their best to do honor to the repast, but owing to the number of dishes, could do little more than taste the courses as they were served up. Although we left at the end of the twelfth course, we were told that twelve more were in readiness to follow."

From Loo-Choo, Commodore Perry paid a brief visit to the

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Bonin Islands, which were taken possession of by Captain Beechey in the name of Great Britain. Though a fine group of islands, they have scarcely any inhabitants, except a few run-a way sailors. The following extract shews that a good stroke of business could be executed even on such a lonely spot :—

" Commodore Perry saw at once the advantages of Port Lloyd as a station for steamers, whenever a line shall be established between China and California. It is not only the most eligible, but perhaps the only spot in the Pacific, west of the Sandwich Islands, which promises to be of real advantage for such a purpose. It is about 3,300 miles from the latter place, and 1,100 from Shanghai, and almost on the direct line between the two points. If the Sandwich Islands are to be included in the proposed route (as is most probable,) Peel Island is even preferable to a port in Japan, which, on the other hand, would be most convenient for a direct northern line from Oregon. The Commodore, on the day after our arrival, obtained from Mr. Savory the title to a tract of land, on the northern side of the bay, near its head. It has a front of 1,000 yards on the water, and extends across the island to a small bight on the northern side, which he named Pleasant Bay. The location is admirably adapted for a coaling station for steamers, since a pier fifty feet long would strike water deep enough to float the largest vessel. The soil of Peel Island is the richest vegetable mould, and might be made to produce abundant supplies, while its mountain streams furnish a never-failing source of excellent water."

The expedition saw nothing of Japan, but the shores of the vast Bay of Yedo, which they boldly entered, and subsequently surveyed, almost as far in as the suburbs of the city itself. By an admirable display of courtesy and firmness, Commodore Perry succeeded in maintaining his position, so boldly taken up in the neighbourhood of the Japanese court, and in securing the proper delivery of his official letters. We shall quote only the following account of the singular silent interview in which this duty was accomplished :—

" Yezaimon and the interpreters preceded us, in order to show the way. The distance from the jetty to the door of the building was so short, that little opportunity was given me for noticing minutely the appearance of the Japanese, or the order of their array. The building into which the Commodore and suite were ushered was small, and appeared to have been erected in haste. The timbers were of pine wood, and numbered, as if they had been brought from some other place. The first apartment, which was about forty feet square, was of canvas, with an awning of the same, of a white ground, with the imperial arms emblazoned on it in places. The floor was covered with white cotton cloth, with a pathway of red felt, or some similar substance, leading across the room to a raised inner apartment, which

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was wholly carpeted with it. This apartment, the front of which was entirely open, so that it corresponded precisely to the *diwan* in Turkish houses, was hung with fine cloth, containing the Imperial arms, in white, on a ground of violet. On the right hand was a row of arm-chairs, sufficient in number for the Commodore and his staff, while on the opposite side sat the prince who had been appointed to receive the President's letter, with another official of similar rank. Their names were given by the interpreter as "TODA IDZU-NO-KAMI," Toda, prince of Idzu, and "IDO IWAMI-NO-KAMI," Ido, prince of Iwami. The prince of Idzu was a man of about fifty, with mild, regular features, an ample brow, and an intelligent, reflective expression. He was dressed with great richness, in heavy robes of silken tissue, wrought into elaborate ornaments with gold and silver thread. The Prince of Iwami was at least fifteen years older, and dressed with nearly equal splendor. His face was wrinkled with age, and exhibited neither the intelligence nor the benignity of his associate. They both rose and bowed gravely as the Commodore entered, but immediately resumed their seats, and remained as silent and passive as statues during the interview.

"At the head of the room was a large scarlet-lacquered box, with brazen feet, beside which Yezaimon and the interpreter, Tatsonoske, knelt. The latter then asked whether the letters were ready to be delivered, stating that the prince was ready to receive them. The boxes were brought in, opened, so that the writing and the heavy golden seals were displayed, and placed upon the scarlet chest. The prince of Iwami then handed to the interpreter, who gave it to the Commodore, an official receipt, in Japanese, and at the same time the interpreter added a Dutch translation. The Commodore remarked that he would sail in a few days for Loo-Choo and Canton, and if the Japanese Government wished to send any dispatches to those places he would be happy to take them. Without making any direct reply, the interpreter asked: "When will you come again?" The Commodore answered, "As I suppose it will take some time to deliberate upon the letter of the President, I shall not wait now, but will return in a few months to receive the answer." He also spoke of the revolution in China, and the interpreter asked the cause of it, without translating the communication to the prince. He then inquired when the ships would return again, to which the Commodore replied that they would probably be there in April or May. "All four of them?" he asked. "All of them," answered the Commodore, "and probably more. This is but a portion of the squadron." No further conversation took place. The letters having been formally delivered and received, the Commodore took his leave, while the two princes, who had fulfilled to the letter their instructions not to speak, rose and remained standing until he had retired from their presence."

The result of the expedition is matter of history. A treaty of commerce was finally concluded between the American and

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Japanese, in which two ports in Japan, and one in Loo-Choo, were opened for American vessels. The Russians, however, following the example set by the American expedition, have since secured, in name at least, far more extensive privileges. After the first visit of the squadron to Japan, our author returned to China, and thence sailed for New York, there to add to his contributions to literature, one of the most pleasant and readable books of travels, descriptive of these distant portions of the eastern world.

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ART. IV.—*Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa.* A Amsterdam. 1719.

WHILE the main duty of the *Reviewer* is to observe passing events, and to subject to impartial criticism the doings and the writings of his cotemporaries, we know no good reason why he should abstain from an occasional retrospective glance; why he should not, without usurping the province of the historian, attempt to derive from the history of the past some of the lessons that it is fitted to afford for the guidance of the present, and, more important still, the hopes that it may hold out as regards the future. In accordance with this view of the nature of our functions, we purpose now to indulge in a little antiquarian research, and to lay before our readers a picture of the Inquisition of Goa, as it was at the end of the seventeenth century. The subject is one of great interest in itself, when viewed merely with the eyes of enlightened curiosity, as presenting a very peculiar aspect of that many-sided object, the human heart and mind; but doubly interesting to us in India, as exhibiting a particular phase of that problem, on whose evolution we are all looking with so intense anxiety, as to the influence of European example and European institutions on the native races of this land. We have no intention to record the *history* of the Inquisition, but merely to present a sketch of its *action*; and with this view we take as our guide the little volume whose title we have placed at the head of our article.

It is a small volume of 202 pages, 18mo. Its author was a M. Dellon, a Frenchman, who came to India about 1670, and settled at Daman, as a Medical practitioner. Having rendered himself obnoxious to one or two men of influence, he was accused before the Sacred Office of holding and expressing heretical sentiments. After two years' confinement at Goa, and repeated appearances before the august tribunal of the Inquisition, he at last regained his liberty; and although he had been required to take a solemn oath, that he should not disclose the secrets of his prison-house, he published the volume before us some years after his return to France. It is satisfactory to find that his sufferings had not so far broken his spirit as to render him incapable of that language of compliment and *persiflage*, which is so characteristic of a Frenchman. He commences his dedication to a Mademoiselle Du Cambout de Coislin, in the following strain: "It would be unreasonable in me to complain 'of the rigours of the Inquisition, and of the ill-treatment that 'I have experienced at the hands of its ministers, since by sup-

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'plying the materials for this work, they have procured for me the 'advantage of dedicating it to you!!"

We are not going to examine the casuistry by which our author justifies his breach of the enforced oath; nor yet to revise his estimate of the profit and loss in his account current with the Inquisitors, in which, as we have just seen, he acknowledges himself their debtor to a large balance, inasmuch as the evils he bore at their hands were more than counterbalanced by the pleasure of dedicating his book to the young lady aforenamed. What alone we have to do with, is the fidelity of our author's narrative; and on this point we have very strong corroborative testimony furnished us by Dr. Claudius Buchanan in his Christian Researches.

When Dr. Buchanan visited Goa, he became the guest of one Josephus à Doloribus, "one of the Inquisitors of the Holy Office, 'the second member of that august tribunal in rank, but the 'first and most active agent in the business of the depart-'ment." To him Dr. Buchanan shewed Dellon's book, and received his admission of the general accuracy of its statements. As this is a matter of the last importance, it will be well to extract the passage at length:—

"I had thought for some days, of putting Dellon's book into the Inquisitor's hands; for if I could get him to advert to the facts stated in that book, I should be able to learn, by comparison, the exact state of the Inquisition at the present time. In the evening he came in, as usual, to pass an hour in my apartment. After some conversation I took the pen in my hand to write a few notes in my Journal: and, as if to amuse him, while I was writing, I took up Dellon's book, which was lying with some others on the table, and handing it across to him, asked him whether he had ever seen it. It was in the French Language, which he understood well. 'Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa,' pronounced he, with a slow articulate voice. He had never seen it before, and began to read with eagerness. He had not proceeded far, before he betrayed evident symptoms of uneasiness. He turned hastily to the middle of the book, and then to the end, and then ran over the table of contents at the beginning, as if to ascertain the full extent of the evil. He then composed himself to read, while I continued to write. He turned over the pages with rapidity, and when he came to a certain place, he exclaimed, in the broad Italian accent, 'Mendacium, Mendacium.' I requested he would mark those passages which were untrue, and we should discuss them afterwards, for that I had other books on the subject. 'Other books,' said he, and he looked with an enquiring eye on those on the table. He continued reading till it was time to retire to rest, and then begged to take the book with him.' * * * *

"After breakfast we resumed the subject of the Inquisition. The Inquisitor admitted that Dellon's descriptions of the dungeons, of the torture, of the mode of trial, and of the Auto da Fè were, in

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general, just; but he said the writer judged untruly of the motives of the Inquisitors, and very uncharitably of the character of the Holy Church; and I admitted that, under the pressure of his peculiar suffering, this might possibly be the case. The Inquisitor was now anxious to know to what extent Dellon's book had been circulated in Europe. I told him that Picart had published to the world extracts from it, in his celebrated work called 'Religious Ceremonies,' together with plates of the system of torture and burnings at the Auto da Fè. I added that it was now generally believed in Europe, that these enormities no longer existed, and that the Inquisition itself had been totally suppressed; but that I was concerned to find that this was not the case. He now began a grave narration to shew that the Inquisition had undergone a change in some respects, and that its terrors were mitigated."

The Inquisitor thus admitted the truthfulness of Dellon's statements as regards facts; and this is all that is of any concern to us. It is only as a relater of facts that we are going to make any use of him. As *Reviewers*, it is our part to form our judgment independently as to the motives by which the parties may have been actuated. We now proceed to give a brief abstract of M. Dellon's narrative.

He left France as an adventurer, and landed at Daman. Here he seems to have established himself as a physician, and, according to his own account, to have been the means of effecting several extraordinary cures. Having formed a friendship, which he declares was of the most innocent kind, with a lady, of whom the Governor of Daman and a priest, the Secretary of the Holy Office, were both enamoured, these men out of jealousy resolved on his destruction; and although he assures us that he was conscientiously a strict Romanist, yet his French ideas were so much laxer than those prevalent in that locality, that they found no difficulty in making up an accusation against him. He mentions five instances in which he had thus laid himself open to attack.

The first was in a conversation with a priest, in which he seems to have expressed some doubts as to the efficacy of a particular form of baptism. The second was in refusing to kiss the pictures on the lids of alms-boxes, when presented to him by the begging-friars and others; the third instance was in stating that while the images of saints ought to be honored, only that of Jesus Christ ought to be worshipped, and that even in this latter case, the adoration should not be referred to the image, but to the Saviour represented by the image—and the fourth was in denouncing the folly of one who spoke of the necessity of covering over a crucifix before the perpetration of sin. "What, (said I) do you think that we can

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'thus hide ourselves from the sight of God? Do you think 'with those debauched women among you, who believe that, 'having once locked up their rosaries and their reliquaries, 'they may give themselves up, without fear of blame, to all 'sorts of excess? Come, Sir, entertain loftier sentiments of the 'Divinity, and do not think that a bit of cloth can conceal 'our sins from the eyes of God, who sees clearly the most 'secret thoughts of our hearts. Besides, *what is this crucifix,* '*but a piece of ivory?*" But the fifth and most flagrant of his crimes, he states thus:—

"Being in an assembly, where they were talking of human justice, I said that it ought far rather to be called injustice; that men, judging only according to appearances, which are often deceitful, are liable to err greatly in their judgments, and that, as God alone knows things as they are, he alone can be, or ought to be called, truly just. One of those who heard me interposed, and said that, generally speaking, what I had said was true; but still that this distinction ought to be made, that though in France there were no real justice to be found, they had this advantage over us, that among them there was a tribunal whose decisions were neither less just, nor less infallible, than those of Jesus Christ. Then, knowing well that he alluded to the Inquisition, "think you, (said I) that the Inquisitors are not men, and subject to human passions, as well as other judges?" "Speak not thus," answered this zealous defender of the Holy Office; "if the Inquisitors are infallible while on the tribunal, it is because the Holy Spirit always directs their decisions." I could not any longer endure a discourse which seemed to me so unreasonable, and to prove to him by an example that the Inquisitors were very different from what he said, I related the story of Father Ephraim de Nevers,* Capuchin and Missionary Apostolic in the Indies, who, as is related by M. de la Boulaye le Goux, in his travels, was brought before the Inquisition purely through envy, about seventeen years ago, and kept in confinement, and maltreated for a long time. I concluded by saying, that I had no doubt, but that this good father was more virtuous and more enlightened than those who shut him up in a narrow cell, without permitting him even to see his breviary. I added that I considered it a blessed thing for France never to have admitted this severe tribunal, and a blessed thing for myself not to be subject to its jurisdiction."

Not so fast, good Monsieur Dellon. The gentlemen of the Holy Office did not recognize "the inalienable birth-right" of a Frenchman. You were now within their territory, and they had a "Black Act" ready to grasp you within the arms of their

* Of this Father Ephraim, we find a pretty full account in Tavernier, p. 85, of the English translation, folio edition, 1678.—Ed. C. R.

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paternal jurisdiction. We return to the narrative. Having learned in some way that charges had been brought against him, our author went to his friend the Commissary, told him the whole story, and asked his advice as to the line of conduct that he should pursue in future. The Commissary gave him good advice, which may be all summed up in the worldly-wise maxim, to do, while at Rome, as Rome does. This advice might perhaps, be given sincerely; but the Governor and the priest, of whom we spoke, rivals though they were, having made common cause against M. Dellon, urged the Commissary to proceed to violent measures. He therefore reported to Goa what had been confided to him by our author, and received orders to arrest him. The account of his apprehension is touching, and it is simply told:—

"It was on the 24th of August, 1673, when I was returning from the house of a lady of great merit, the Senora Donna Francisca Pereira, the wife of one of the first gentlemen of the town, Manoel Peixote de Gama. This lady was about sixty years of age. She considered herself indebted to me for saving the lives of her eldest daughter and her grand-daughter; and in fact, I had had the happiness to be of service to them. The daughter had fallen sick while her mother was from home; and the imprudence of a Pandit or Indian Doctor had reduced her to the last extremity, when I was called. I undertook the treatment of the case, and she recovered. The mother on her return was in raptures at the recovery of her dear daughter. Her grand-daughter, who was even more dear to her, fell sick also, and more dangerously than her aunt had been. Yet I was not sent for at first, to see this young patient; and they had recourse to me only when they saw that she was in a desperate state. I found her in a very violent fever, and though she was on the point of falling into frenzy, the Indian Doctor, far from thinking of bleeding her, had covered her head with pepper. This I had removed, and having taken charge of the case, I succeeded; and the patient, in a few days, was restored to perfect health. From that time this lady, penetrated with gratitude, loaded me with presents, and desiring that I should lodge near her, she had given me a house opposite to her own. It was on the very day of which I speak, that she had given me this house; and I was coming out from the house of this generous lady, to return at night to my lodging, when the criminal judge of the town, called in Portuguese the *Ouvidor do crime*, came in front of me, and ordered me to follow him to the prison, whither I was conducted; nor was I told by whose order I was apprehended, until after I was actually made fast."

When arrested by the criminal judge, M. Dellon thought that he had no more to do than to apply to his friend, the Governor, in order to be set at liberty. When told that his arrest

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was at the instance of the Holy Office, and that the Governor had no right to interfere, he bethought him of his friend, the Commissary; but he had gone that day to Goa. Then he had recourse to the reflexion that the Holy Office was not only just, but that it inclined ever to the side of mercy, especially towards those who voluntarily confessed their faults, as he had done of his own accord to the Commissary.

The bitterest stanza, in one of the keenest satires ever written, represents the arch-enemy of mankind as joyfully taking a hint from an unreformed English prison for the improvement of his places of torment.

> He passed by Cold-bath-fields,
> Says the devil, this pleases me well;
> And he took out his note book, and wrote a hint,
> For improving his prisons in hell.*

How he would have delighted in the sight of the prison of Daman! Without sarcasm and in bitter earnest, it must be said that such scenes, in which man treats his fellow-men—made in the image and after the likeness of the great God—as base carrion, that it is such scenes as these that make devils laugh with joy, and call down at last the indignation of a long-suffering God on a guilty land. As nothing but the hope of curing evils justifies the exhibition of that which is filthy, we gladly draw a veil over the disgusting details.

Here however his friends came to see him, and kept up his spirits. His *friend*, the Governor, came and assured him of his readiness to do all in his power to help him; and his *friend*, the black priest, came to the grating and shed crocodiles' tears. His friend Donna Francisca did not content herself with false words and hypocritical tears. It would not have been suitable for her to come to him, but here is what she did:—

"The charitable care that the generous Donna Francisca took of me during all the time that I continued a prisoner at Daman, rendered my captivity a little more tolerable. This illustrious lady did not content herself with sending me what was necessary for me: but I received from her every day enough of food for four persons. She prepared my food herself, and always sent one of her grandsons along with the slave who brought it to me, for fear that any one might bribe her servants, or the jailer, to poison me; and as she could not come herself to comfort me in my prison, she took care that her husband, her children, or her son-in-law should come every day."

* This quotation was made from memory, and, as we see by subsequent reference to the original, made incorrectly; but we let it stand as it is, not because we think that our unintentional alteration is an improvement, but because it makes it more appropriate to the matter in hand.

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A good, motherly, likeable old lady was Donna Francisca; and well was it for our author to have such a friend. How much he was indebted to her, will appear from the following extract, in continuation of the preceding :—

"It was not so with the other prisoners. There being no subsistence allowed them at Daman, the Magistrates provided for them from the charity of any one who might please to help them; and as there were but two persons in the town who regularly gave them food twice a week, the most part of the prisoners, getting nothing on the other days, were reduced to so pitiable a condition, that the sight of them contributed not a little to lessen my sense of my own sufferings. I gave all that I could spare from my own allowance; but there were wretches in the other apartment, separated from me only by a wall, who were pressed with hunger, to the point of subsisting on their own excrements. I learned on this occasion that some years before, about fifty Malabar Corsairs being taken and shut up in this prison, the horrible hunger that they suffered drove more than forty of them to strangle themselves with their turbans.

"The extremity to which my poor fellow-prisoners were reduced, so excited my compassion, that I wrote to the Governor, and the principal persons of the town, who afterwards had the goodness to send relief to those miserable victims of the Sacred Office."

Of course, we do not regard hunger as the only evil that can fall to the lot of man; but we have little sympathy with those who represent it as a trifling evil. It is all very well for young poets and young lovers to talk lightly of such matters; and perhaps, after all, for a man who has had a good breakfast in the morning, and a mutton chop and a glass (or two) of sherry for tiffin, it is not so mighty an evil to have but a scanty dinner. But we know from experience that it is not a small matter to have half rations for days and weeks together; and we can tell all such as may doubt this assertion, that their doubts will probably be removed, if ever it be their fortune to be constrained to make the experiment.

It will be remembered that our author's arrest took place on the 24th of August, 1673. If he had been sent at once to Goa, he might have been tried, and got out of prison, three months after, at the *Auto da Fè* in December; but this would not have suited the plans of his friends, the Governor and the black priest; and *their* friend, the Commissary, kept him at Daman until this was over. It was therefore not until the first day of the following year, that he was sent to Goa, heavily ironed. He landed there on the 14th, and on the 16th was brought into the august presence of the Grand Inquisitor, his irons having been first taken off. Here his bearing, we must confess, was not particularly dignified. He threw himself on his knees before his judge, wept

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bitterly, and declared his willingness to make a full confession. The judge quietly told him to compose himself, that there was no occasion for any such haste, and that he had at that moment more pressing business than his to attend to. He then rang a silver bell, which brought in the Alcaide, to whose care he was committed. This functionary, after searching him, conducted him into a cell ten feet square, and there left him. His treatment here was not intolerable, except as regarded the strictness and the solitude of his confinement. His diet was meagre indeed, but not insufficient. But no books, or means of employment or relaxation, were allowed to him, or to any of the prisoners of the Inquisition. Even priests were not allowed the use of a breviary, or any other book.

The mode of examination in the Courts of the Inquisition has become proverbial; but probably many use the phrase "Inquisitorial proceedings," who have but a vague idea of the course of procedure which gave rise to it. M. Dellon enables us to throw some light on the subject.

Any person accused before the Holy Office, could not be convicted, unless his guilt were established by the testimony of no fewer than seven witnesses. Now this promised fairly. But how was the promise kept? These witnesses were never brought face to face with the accused. He never learned their names, or the substance of the testimony that they gave against him. They might be, for aught he knew, existent or non-existent; and we confess that we are not charitable enough to suppose that the latter might not frequently be the case. When the accused was brought before the Court, no indictment was laid against him. He was asked if he knew of any offence that he had committed. If he could remember any instance in which he had offended against the laws, and if he made a full confession of his offence, then his confession was compared with the depositions that had been made regarding him, and the process ended; but if his confession related to another matter altogether, or if it did not cover the full ground occupied by the depositions, he was sent back to his solitary cell, to bethink himself in preparation for another examination. This might go on for an indefinite period at the discretion of the Inquisitors; and when they despaired of being able to make the accusation and the confession coincide, they had recourse to torture of the intensest kind. When a prisoner acknowledged the crime of which he had been accused, he was required to name the persons that he supposed might be the witnesses against him. He probably named many before the actual seven occurred to him; and thus valuable hints were given to the Inquisitors. The persons named must have had more or less complicity with the crime of the person accus-

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ed, and the knowledge of this fact might be turned to good account, if it should betide that those persons themselves should fall into "difficulties." Thus could a net be gradually stretched round any member of the community, a net whose cords were less visible than the threads of the gossamer, but stronger than the cable, or say stronger than even the strength of pure innocence could break through. Such, in brief, were "inquisitorial proceedings."

And such were the proceedings to which our author was subjected. We have already said that the Inquisitor, having a constitutional or professional aversion to what is in common language called "a scene," cut short the first audience, and sent away our author, in charge of the Alcaide. Having great confidence in the goodness of his cause, he was anxious for a hearing, and, after repeated solicitations, his request was granted, and he was again brought before the Inquisitor on the 31st of January, 1674. He again threw himself on his knees, but was peremptorily ordered to be seated. He was required to take an oath that he would speak the truth, and that he would reveal nothing of what should occur. He was then asked, if he knew the cause of his arrest, and if he was willing to "make a clean breast of it." He related what we have already stated as to the remarks he had made, on the subject of baptism, and of images, but said nothing of what he had advanced as to the fallibility of the Inquisition, because, he assures us, he forgot all about it. He was then asked if he had no more to confess, and having replied in the negative, he was exhorted, in the name of Jesus Christ, to complete his self-accusation, "that he 'might experience the goodness and mercy which are shewn 'by this tribunal towards those who evince true repentance 'of their crimes by a sincere and voluntary confession." His deposition, and the exhortation of the judge, having been taken down by the secretary, were then read over to him. He signed them, and was led off to his cell.

At his second appearance, which took place on the 15th February, he added nothing to his former confession; but apparently to test the sincerity of his catholicity, he was ordered to kneel down, and repeat the *Pater*, the *Ave Maria*, the *Credo*, the commandments of God and of the Church, and the *Salve Regina*. He was then exhorted as before, and remanded to his cell.

We have seen that, from the first, our author did not shew more than an average amount of "pluck," in breasting the tide of calamity; but from this time his spirit broke down completely:—

"On my return from this second audience, I abandoned myself

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wholly to grief, seeing that there were required of me things which seemed to me impossible, since my memory suggested nothing of what I was required to confess. I attempted then to starve myself to death. I took indeed the provisions that were brought to me, because I could not refuse them without subjecting myself to be caned by the guards, who are very careful to observe, when they get back the plates, whether the prisoners have eaten enough to maintain them. But my despair found means to deceive them. I passed whole days without eating any thing, and in order that they might not notice it, I threw into the basin a part of what had been brought me."

This fasting and mortification, however, though suicidally intended, produced, in our author's estimation, a blessed result. It led him to reflexion on his past conduct, and to prayers addressed to the blessed virgin. In answer to these prayers, as he seems to represent it, the conversation in which he had maligned the holy office, by denying their infallibility, and even asserting that they had erred in a particular instance, was brought to his recollection. And now the morning of hope once more chased the night of despair from his mind. This then was what the reverend Inquisitor meant, when he urged him to make further and fuller confessions. He had but to add this to his confessions, and be free! But alas, hope told a flattering tale. It was not until the 16th of March, that he was able to obtain another hearing. He told his tale, and was informed that this was not what he had been accused of. His deposition this time was not even written down; and he was once more sent to his cell. His condition now was clearly a bad one. His heart sickened, and his reason reeled under the influence of hope deferred. He did not again dare directly violate "the canon of the Almighty 'gainst self-slaughter," yet he could not support the life which he was doomed to lead; and so he hit upon a rather ingenious compromise. We must detail it at length:—

"I feigned to be sick and to have fever. Immediately a Pandit, or native doctor, was brought, who from the throbbing of my pulse through excitement, did not doubt that it was a real fever. He ordered bleeding, which was repeated five times in as many days, and as my intention in submitting to this remedy was very different from that of the doctor, who was laboring to restore my health, while I only desired to end my sad and miserable life, as soon as the people were withdrawn, and my door was shut, I untied the bandage, and let the blood run long enough to fill a cup containing at least eighteen ounces. I repeated this process as often as I was bled; and as I took almost no nourishment, it is not difficult to judge that I was reduced to extreme weakness."

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When the work of depletion was nearly accomplished, the jailor reported the matter to the Inquisitor, who directed that a Confessor should be brought to him. He did not dare die without confession; and therefore he consented. But he did not dare confess without revealing the course that he had been pursuing. The revelation made, the confessor gave him good counsel; and he promised, and sincerely, not any more to attempt suicide, but to take all means in his power for the recovery of his health. At the intercession too of the confessor, a little indulgence was granted him, in the shape of a fellow prisoner, whom he calls a black, (by which term he probably means not a negro, but only a native or a black Portuguese) shut up in the same cell with him! That cell was but ten feet square; but still it is not good for man to be alone, and he *enjoyed* the company of his cell-mate for four months. This society restored his spirits and improved his health. He was then deprived of it, and fell back into the same state as before.

He knew that it would not avail him to feign sickness now. But he remembered that, when his effects were taken from him, he had managed to retain a few pieces of money, which he had previously sewed into a riband and tied round his leg like a garter under his stocking. Taking one of these coins, and breaking it in two, he ground one of the halves on an earthen pot, until he made it fit to do duty as a lancet. With this he tried to open the arteries of his arm. In this he could not succeed, but he opened the veins in both arms. The blood flowed copiously, and he was found weltering in a bath of it, fainted but alive.

He was taken before the Inquisitor, and laid at length on the floor, being unable to stand or sit. He was ordered to be handcuffed; and this was done at once. Strange as it may seem, and contrary to all rules for the treatment of the insane and the excited, this did not tend materially to soothe his chafed spirit. He dashed his head against the pavement, and would soon have succeeded in finding that death which he sought, had not the attendants seen the necessity of adopting gentler measures. He was removed into another cell, and again had a black companion given him to share it with him. This was the last attempt that he made on his life. But it was long ere he recovered sufficient strength to appear again before the court.

At length, about eighteen months after his first arrest, and therefore about July, 1675, he was brought to a fourth audience. Having declared that he could accuse himself of nothing in addition to what he had already confessed, the Promoter (or public prosecutor) of the holy office now presented himself, and at last he was regularly and formally accused. He was allow-

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ed to defend himself, which he did apparently with a good deal of skill. Having occasion, in the course of his defence, to quote a passage of scripture,—"Unless a man be born of water, &c."—he was surprised to find that the Inquisitor seemed quite unaware of the existence of such a passage. He asked where it was to be found, sent for a New Testament, and like a docile disciple of the redoubted Captain Cuttle, overhauled it, and when found, made a note of it mentally, but made no remark. He acted in the same way when our author referred to a decree of the Council of Trent. It will be remembered that we stated, as if incidentally, that no record had been taken of the proceedings of the third audience. The confession then made, therefore, did not confer any advantage on him who made it. The Promoter then moved that, inasmuch as M. Dellon, in addition to what he had confessed, had been further accused, and sufficiently convicted, of having spoken with contempt of the Inquisition and its ministers, and of having even used language of disrespect to the sovereign pontiff and against his authority, and inasmuch as the obstinacy which he had evinced, in despising so many delays and so many kind warnings that had been given him, was a clear proof that he had had very pernicious designs, and that his intention had been to teach and to foment heresy—he had thereby incurred the penalty of the greater excommunication; that his goods should be confiscated, and himself delivered to the secular arm, to be punished for his crimes according to the rigour of the laws—that is, to be burnt. To this demand of the prosecutor, our author replied as he best could. The strong point of his defence lay in the fact that he had actually confessed his ascription of fallibility to the Inquisition. This confession had not been recorded, and he could get no benefit from it.

After this he was brought up three or four times in the course of a month, and urged to make confession of what he had said respecting the Pope; but this he could not do. He was also urged to admit the *major* of the Promoter's syllogism, that his intention, in the facts that he had confessed, was to defend heresy; but this he strenuously denied; and certainly the sentiments that he expresses everywhere in the book before us, are far from being heretical, *i. e.* protestant. We find him, for example, continually lamenting that in his captivity, he was deprived of the privilege of attending mass; we find him ascribing every blink of sunshine that found its way unto his cell to the good offices of the blessed virgin; we find him lamenting that the Portuguese custom of administering baptism to infants only on the eighth day after their birth, must lead to many children dying, "without being regenerated by the holy sacrament of baptism,"

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and so "being deprived of the felicity of heaven for ever." Whatever these sentiments may be, they are not protestant sentiments. And M. Dellon was not aught else than a devoted Romanist.

And now our prisoner noticed an unusual activity and bustle in the *Santa casa*. Every morning he heard the shrieks of one and another, who were being put to the torture. The season of advent was at hand, and he remembered to have heard that that was the season when the *Autos-da-fé* were generally celebrated. He knew that they took place at intervals of two or three years, and he had now been in confinement nearly two years, and he did not know whether one had been celebrated the advent before his imprisonment. He knew, moreover, that the prisoners were very numerous, for he heard the opening and shutting of many cell-doors, when the rations were distributed. All these circumstances combined to raise in him a confident expectation that his trials were approaching their end, and that death or liberty would soon deliver him from the solitude of his cell. A man is not in an enviable "frame of mind," when these two, *death* and *liberty*, are put into the same scale, and when either the one or the other is regarded as so much preferable to some third thing, that the difference between the two is regarded as insignificant, in comparison with the difference between either of them and that third. Not enviable truly.

But the first Sunday in advent came. It passed. Another week. The second Sunday came; it passed; and hope passed with it. The *Auto-da-fé* must be put off for another year. Three hundred and sixty-five days must pass—ay, three hundred and sixty-six, for next year is leap-year! It is too much.

But the darkest hour is that before the dawn. The *Auto-da-fé* was generally celebrated on the first or second Sunday in advent; but not necessarily or uniformly; and on the 11th of January, 1676, there were indications that something important was to be transacted on the morrow. On that night, M. Dellon was distracted by many thoughts, but at last, about 11 o'clock, he fell asleep. His slumbers were of short duration. They were broken by the entrance of the Alcaide and guards:—

"The Alcaide handed me a dress which he ordered me to put on, and to be ready to come out when he should call me. He then went away, leaving a lighted lamp in my cell. I had not strength either to rise or to give him any answer, and as soon as the men left me, I was seized with so violent a fit of trembling that for more than an hour, I could not look at the dress that had been brought to me. At last I rose, and prostrating myself before a cross which I had painted on the wall, I committed myself to God, and left my fate in his hands. Then I put on the dress, which consisted of a

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vest with sleeves down to the elbows, and trowsers, which came down to the ancles, the whole being made of black cloth striped with white."

There was a meaning in these same white stripes. They meant life, and liberty, and country, and authorship, and the dedication of the book before us to Mademoiselle des Cambout de Coislin, and some good measure of posthumous fame. But M. Dellon could not read all this; he knew not the character, and could not read the hieroglyphics.

About two in the morning, the guards returned, and M. Dellon was led into a long gallery, where he found a good number of his fellow-prisoners ranged along the wall. Others were gradually brought forward until the number amounted to about 200. As these were all dressed like himself, and as he could see no distinction in the manner of treating any of them, he thought it likely that the fate of all was to be the same. But he could not imagine it possible that the common fate of such a multitude should be death; and thus did a ray of hope once more shine into his soul.

And the hope was not delusive. He had to pass two hours of dire suspense, while the criminals were dressed with scapulars *(san benitos)* and caps *(carrochas)* indicating the various grades of their crimes. His agitation during this ceremony is simply and forcibly described, but we shall not dwell upon it. At last, however, the preparations were finished. Just before daylight on that sabbath morning, the great bell of the cathedral clanged out its booming notes, while from all the country round, immense crowds of men and women, and of little boys and girls, are flocking in to Goa, to hold high festival. Inside the Santa Casa, the officials of the Inquisition have arranged the procession, and have decked out those who are to take part in it in the various uniforms of life or death. The Confessors have received the last shrift of those who are doomed to die: the Inquisitor has taken his place in the great hall, and around him are assembled a large number of the inhabitants of Goa, summoned for a purpose that will presently appear. Each criminal, carrying a wax taper, marches singly into this hall. As he enters, the secretary reads out from a list the name of one of the gentlemen present, who rises and places himself by the side of the criminal: he is to be his sponsor in the *Auto-da-Fé*. Our author had for his sponsor the Portuguese admiral, which proved afterwards to be a fortunate occurrence for him. The procession is now formed. It is headed by the Dominicans, before whom is borne the gorgeous banner of the holy office. Then come the prisoners and their sponsors, arranged according to the crimes of

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the former, the least criminal having the precedence, and those doomed to die bringing up the rear, accompanied by effigies of such as have died during their trial, and such as have been tried after death. The bones of such are also borne in boxes in the procession. We cannot detail all the marching and countermarching, the oaths, and sermons, and sentences. Any one who will enquire into the matter, will be struck with the great skill displayed in arranging the whole ceremonial, with the object of magnifying the holy office, and striking terror into the hearts of the spectators.

Our author's sentence was that he should be excommunicated, his effects confiscated, and himself banished from India, and condemned to serve in the galleys of Portugal for five years, and further to undergo such penances as the Inquisition should prescribe.

We need not dwell upon the subsequent history of M. Dellon. After about a fortnight he was ironed and taken on board ship, and made over to the charge of the Captain, who was ordered to deliver him over to the Inquisition at Lisbon. As soon as the anchors were up, his irons were taken off, and he seems to have received kind treatment, for which we suspect he was more or less indebted to the accident of his having the admiral for his sponsor. When the ship arrived at Brazil, he was put into prison there, but was kindly treated. After a short stay here, he re-embarked and reached Lisbon on the 16th December, about eleven months from Goa. Here he was set to his penal servitude of five years as a galley-slave in the dock-yards. But through the intercession of some of his countrymen, the grand Inquisition were prevailed on to remit the unexpired portion of his sentence, and after a servitude of about eighteen months, he was liberated on the 1st of June, 1677. After some difficulties and obstructions, he found means to procure a passage in a vessel bound for France; and after a lapse of four years, he set about the composition of his narrative, which he kept four years longer before he could make up his mind to publish it.

Such is a brief summary of a single case, and that not an aggravated one, of oppression and injustice inflicted by this spiritual court in the name of Jesus Christ. We see no reason to doubt the perfect accuracy of the narrative. Not only does an air of truthfulness pervade it, not only was its substantial *vraisemblance* admitted by the Inquisitor to Dr. Buchanan, but there is almost a perfect coincidence between the course of procedure represented to have been followed, with the rules laid down for the guidance of the courts of the Inquisition in Spain. These rules had been kept secret until they were published in

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Llorente's History of the Inquisition in that country. They could not therefore have been known to our author, who wrote more than 100 years earlier. Yet the treatment which he represents himself as having experienced, is, even to the most minute particulars, that which is prescribed in these rules for the treatment of persons accused as he was.

Such then being the quality of the Inquisition, it becomes a matter of interest to enquire into the number of its victims. Now we have seen that in the *Auto-da-Fé*, in which our author bore a part, there were about 200 men, besides women, of whom we do not know the number. But supposing them to have been but half as numerous as the men, we have a total of 300, the accumulation of twenty-five months that had elapsed since the last *Auto-da-Fé*. We see then that the evil was not a theoretical one merely. We should say it was rather of the most practical. We learn from Llorente that the number of victims in Spain from A.D. 1481 to A.D. 1808, a period of 328 years, was 341,021, giving an average of as nearly as possible 1,040 a year. Of these, 31,912, or ninety-seven a year, were burnt. These are simple facts. If we set out with what we may now reckon an axiom, that persecution for religion is altogether wrong, and consider that the Inquisition could not take cognizance of *crimes*, but only of *sins*, we come to the conclusion that all these were murdered. But even if we give the Inquisition the credit of the darkness of the age in which it was instituted, and of the countries in which it was established, it would require a man of singular charity, or singular absence of the power of judging from cause to effect, to believe that with a tribunal so constituted, and proceedings so conducted, a very larger number were not made to experience wrongfully the severity of the laws, even if those laws had not been themselves wrongful.

And what has been the result? Read it in the history of Portugal; read it in the present as compared with the past state of Goa. Our author furnishes us with a description of the city as it was in his days :—

"We come now to the celebrated city of Goa, the most beautiful, the largest, and the most magnificent in all India. It is situated under the fifteenth degree (of latitude.) The Portuguese have built it on a small island formed by the river. On the two points of land, between which the river falls into the sea, there are two very fine forts, that on the southern point, called Mourmougon, and that on the northern Agoada. As the island extends down to the junction of the river with the sea, the most westerly point of the island is almost abreast of the two points on which those forts stand, and here they have constructed a harbour.

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"From the month of May, till the month of August, the bar or entrance of the river on the Agoada side is closed by the sands which the south-west winds throw up; and vessels arriving at that season enter by the Mourmougon branch: during the rest of the year all enter by the Agoada branch, and go quite up to the town.

"In passing up the river, we find a prodigious number of villas (maisons de plaisance) which may well be styled palaces. These the influential men among the Portuguese, while their state was in its glory, vied with each other in building, to shew forth their magnificence. It may well be believed that a town whose exteriors are so superb, contains within it what may excite the admiration of all beholders. And in point of fact, although the nation which occupies it is now in its decay, although it has had losses which can scarcely be comprehended, and its trade is barely the shadow of what it was; yet its houses are very beautiful, and nowhere can the riches and magnificence of its churches and its convents be surpassed. Amongst them, one is never weary of admiring the grandeur and the beauty of the houses and churches of the Jesuit Fathers, in one of which are preserved with peculiar veneration the precious relics of the great apostle of India and Japan, St. Francis Xavier, for whom all the orientals have a very great respect. Do as they might to honor his memory, they could but imperfectly express the great obligations under which they lie to him, for having a million times risked his health and his life, in order to instruct them and to lead them to Jesus Christ. After the houses of the Jesuit fathers, nothing is grander or richer than the convents of the Jacobins and the Augustinians. The church of the Theatines is undoubtedly one of the neatest in Goa, though it is not one of the most magnificent. The bare-footed Carmelites have also a fine convent. The cathedral, dedicated to St. Catherine, and the church of Mercy, are of wonderful richness and beauty, and I should never have done, if I were to describe in detail the magnificence of these churches, and of others which I do not mention, the least of which attracts the admiration of strangers.

"Although there are in Goa a very great number of private gentlemen who have houses that might serve for the accommodation of princes, yet none of them can be compared, for beauty, size and richness, with the vice-regal palace. Each successive viceroy has added to it and embellished it. It looks, on one side, upon the river, and on the other upon a grand square, which is before the principal gate."

And so forth. It is like the description of old Tyre in the days when "her merchants were princes, and her traffickers the honorable of the earth." Look now upon the other picture, that of the same city as it is now, or as it was half a dozen years ago, when visited by Lieut. R. F. Burton:—

"When the moon began to sail slowly over the eastern hills, we started on our tour of inspection, and, as a preliminary measure.

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walked down the wharf, a long and broad road, lined with double rows of trees, and faced with stone, opposite the sea. A more suggestive scene could not be conceived than the utter desolation which lay before us. Everything that met the eye or ear seemed teeming with melancholy associations; the very rustling of the trees and the murmur of the waves sounded like a dirge for the departed grandeur of the city.

"A few minutes' walk led us to a conspicuous object on the right hand side of the wharf. It was a solitary gateway, towering above the huge mass of ruins which flanks the entrance to the Strada Diretta.* On approaching it, we observed the statue of Saint Catherine,† shrined in an upper niche, and a grotesque figure of Vasco de Gama in one beneath. Under this arch the newly-appointed viceroys of Goa used to pass in triumphal procession towards the palace.

"Beyond the gateway a level road, once a populous thoroughfare, leads to the Terra di Sabaio, a large square, fronting the Se Primacial or Cathedral of Saint Catherine, and flanked by the Casa Santa. Before visiting the latter spot, we turned to the left, and ascending a heap of ruins, looked down upon the excavation, which now marks the place where the Viceregal Palace rose. The building, which occupied more than two acres of ground, has long been razed from the very foundations, and the ground on which it stood is now covered with the luxuriant growth of poisonous plants and thorny trees. As we wandered amidst them, a solitary jackal, slinking away from the intruder, was the only living being that met our view, and the deep bell of the cathedral, marking the lapse of time for dozens, where hundreds of thousands had once hearkened to it, the only sound telling of man's presence that reached our ear.

"In the streets beyond, nothing but the foundations of the houses could be traced, the tall cocoa and the lank grass waving rankly over many a forgotten building. In the only edifices which superstition has hitherto saved, the churches, convents, and monasteries, a window or two, dimly lighted up, showed that here and there dwells some solitary priest. The whole scene reminded us of the Arab's eloquent description of the 'city with impenetrable gates, still, without a voice or a cheery inhabitant: the owl hooting in its quarters, and birds skimming in circles in its areas, and the raven croaking in its great thoroughfare streets, as if bewailing those that had been in it.' What a contrast between the moonlit scenery of the distant bay, smiling in all eternal Nature's loveliness, and the dull grey piles of ruined or desolate habitations, the short-lived labours of man!

"We turned towards the Casa Santa, and with little difficulty climbed to the top of the heaps which mark the front where its

* The Straight Street, so called because almost all the streets of Goa were laid out in curvilinear form.

† St. Catherine was appointed patron saint of Goa, because the city was taken by the Portuguese on her day.

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three gates stood. In these remains the eye, perhaps influenced by imagination, detects something more than usually dreary. A curse seems to have fallen upon it; not a shrub springs between the fragments of stone, which, broken and blackened with decay, are left to encumber the soil, as unworthy of being removed.

"Whilst we were sitting there, an old priest, who was preparing to perform mass in the cathedral, came up and asked what we were doing.

"Looking at the Casa Santa," we answered. He inquired if we were Christian, meaning, of course, Roman Catholic. We replied in the affirmative, intending, however, to use the designation in its ampler sense.

"'Ah, very well,' replied our interrogator. 'I put the question, because the heretics from Bombay and other places always go to see the Casa Santa first in order to insult its present state.'

"And the Señor asked us whether we would attend mass at the cathedral; we declined, however, with a promise to admire its beauties the next day, and departed once more on our wanderings.

"For an hour or two we walked about without meeting a single human being. Occasionally we could detect a distant form disappearing from the road, and rapidly threading its way through the thick trees as we drew near. Such precaution is still deemed necessary at Goa, though the inducements to robbery or violence, judging from the appearance of the miserable inhabitants, must be very small."

We say not that there were no other causes for the decadence of Portuguese power and influence in India; but we must assert our conviction that God has visited the people nationally for this national iniquity. We are not superstitious, but neither are we atheistic. Individual men may set their faces against high heaven, and the thunder-bolt may not be launched forth to strike, nor the load of affliction press more heavily upon them than upon those of opposite character. This is a phenomenon of no rare occurrence, and one that has always been a stumbling-block to thoughtful men. "I was "envious at the foolish," said one of old, "when I saw the pros-
'perity of the wicked. For there are no bands in their death;
'but their strength is firm. They are not in trouble like
'other men; neither are they plagued like other men. There-
'fore pride compasseth them about as a chain; violence covereth
'them as a garment. * * * When I thought to know this,
'it was too painful for me, until I went into the sanctuary of
'God; then understood I their end." In the sanctuary of God he doubtless learned that this world is but the first act of the great life-drama. Man's life here bears so small a proportion to the whole duration of his being, that the pros-

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perity of the bad, and the adversity of the good, are of no estimable amount in judging of God's principles of dealing with his creatures. Each individual man is taken away from our cognizance, while yet the account between him and his creator is but newly opened. There is an unadjusted balance which we are too apt to think has been "written off;" and it is perhaps not till faith comes to the aid of observation that we are able fully "to justify (in this respect) the ways of God to man." But with nations it is otherwise. They have a substantive existence, apart from that of the individual men who compose them; they perform responsible acts, and are capable of being dealt with providentially in their national capacity. Then the duration of a nation upon earth is necessarily longer, and may be much longer, than that of a single generation of men; and thus there is more time allowed for the reaping on earth of the harvest that they sow, for the evolution of that Providence which is the acting of Him, of whom it is sublimely said, that "a thousand years are as one day." And then we have no reason to believe otherwise than that the earthly duration of a nation is the whole of its national duration. If then a nation be capable of responsibility, it seems that the account must be settled upon earth, that national sins must, sooner or later, induce national judgments. It is not to be expected that we should be able to trace very minutely the connexion between them, yet we can see enough to give foundation to the belief that the connexion may be very close, and the sequence very much of the nature of cause and effect. It may be, for example, that there was more than a merely poetic combination in those solemn lines in which the poet brings the destruction of the Roman Empire into immediate contact with the brutalities of the Roman Circus;—

> His eyes
> Were with his heart, and that was far away;
> He recked not of the life he lost, nor prize,
> But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,
> There were his young barbarians all at play,
> There was their Dacian mother;—he, their sire,
> Butchered to make a Roman holiday!
> All this rushed with his blood. Shall he expire,
> And unavenged? Arise! Ye Goths, and glut your ire.

It may be that, as we have said, the poet in this grand passage was not the *maker* of a connexion that did not exist, but rather the *seer* of a sequence, the links of which were not apparent to men gifted with less insight.

And it may be too, that there is a closer connexion than might at first sight appear, between the Inquisition of Goa, and the

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setting of the star of Portugal in the east. It was said of the Portuguese, in the days of their Indian glory, that they were "a little body with a mighty soul." But how could the might of their soul be upheld, when so base a system as we have sketched, of espionage, and mutual distrust, and suspicion, was established in the midst of them? Is it not of necessity that this must have cowed the soldier's heart and weakened his arm? Is it not of necessity that it must have chilled all generous enthusiasm in the breast of the merchant? Must it not in hundreds of ways have introduced, and fostered, and perpetuated, that self-abasement which is so often the prelude of national degradation? That other causes conspired to effect the decay of Portuguese interests in the east, we by no means intend to deny. But we think that any one enquiring into the causes of this effect, would very materially err, if he omitted, or did not give a prominent place to, the Inquisition, the injury it must have done to man, and the vengeance that it must have called down from God.

In such lights viewed, the history of "Portugal in India" is fraught with lessons of grave import to us; and doubly so now, when some even think that the commotions, that but a little while ago were regarded as trifling outbreaks of partial mutiny, are to be converted into an actual struggle for the empire of India. It is not for us to extenuate our misdoings or our short-comings in this land. They have all along been stated and set forth, fearlessly and without disguise, in the pages of this *Review*. Yet our confidence is mainly this; that with all its faults and all its failings, the British rule is so immeasurably superior to any that could be substituted for it here, that we cannot believe that it is destined to pass away. In reference to those faults and those short-comings, we may surely hope that, in all the bloodshed and the brutality of these three months,* in the loss of a Scully and a MacMahon, of a Willoughby, a Lawrence, and a Wheeler, and so many more, high in rank, or high in that which is immeasurably above rank, of whom we had so good cause to be proud, in the massacre of our children and the foul dishonor done to our women by base ruffians, we have received double for all our sins. We think not therefore that Britain's rule is destined yet to pass away; but rather that she has a new career to enter on, in which, correcting the errors, and reversing the faults, and increasing the virtues of the past, she shall yet stand forth as a signal example to all the nations and to all governors, that righteousness is the safeguard and the exaltation of a people.

* This is written early in August.

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But this we think we may without boasting say, that Britain's crimes in India have been of a different complexion from those of Portugal. She may have failed to introduce a good system of law and police, because she was so fettered by routine that she would practically maintain that her own home institutions must necessarily be best for a people so differently situated; but she has never attempted or desired to introduce a system like that of the Inquisition. And therefore if now,—which we cannot bring ourselves to believe,—or at any time in the distant future, it should be England's doom to be supplanted in India by a native or a foreign power, we think that we can predict for her that she shall receive at least this grace, that she shall not stand forth, like Portugal, an object for the finger of scorn to point at, that she shall be saved from the extreme humiliation of gradual but sure decay, but that, like one of her own sea-castles, she shall sink grandly into the abyss, or be shivered into irrecoverable fragments by an instantaneous explosion. This is the death that,—if die he must,—the old lion should die. But may God deliver him from that life-in-death, that soulless existence, that incapacity for good or harm, which has befallen the first European power that effected a settlement in this land?

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ART. V.—*The Friend of India; The Hurkaru; The Englishman; The Phœnix.* May to September, 1857.

THE extensive and deeply laid scheme of revolt, at present being developed throughout the length and breadth of the land, naturally engages universal attention. It is pre-eminently the subject of the day, and must give rise to the most marked and extensive changes. Above all, the army must be thoroughly re-organized on a new and different system. It is to the discussion of such a system that we propose to devote the following pages. It matters little how the mutinies arose, whether they were the offspring of mistrustful dislike to recent innovations, improved by the Mussulman princes, as the feeling presented itself; or whether it was a carefully prepared scheme hatched by these princes long ago. For our own part, we are inclined to the former hypothesis; but it is of small consequence. The glaring fact is before our eyes. It has written its foul existence in the best of British blood, and the means by which a recurrence is to be prevented, is a problem of first rate importance. It of course strikes every one that the first thing needful is a great increase of British troops. The national element of the governing race has been neglected. We have trusted to a broken reed. We did not even try to pit race against race, or religion against religion, but drew our soldiers almost entirely from one locality. We have digested a bitter lesson, and one that will never be forgotten, as long as the British nation has a name. What are now the massacres of Vellore, Amboyna, Patna, or the black-hole of Calcutta? Did the far-famed cruelty with which Tippoo treated his prisoners, produce aught like this? It is reserved for the nineteenth century, for the times when men prate of peace-congresses, and fancy that a few honest philanthropists can control all the bad passions in this world, to develope a revolt which, in horrible cruelty and cold-blooded treachery, displays features in the Asiatic character, which should never be forgotten in Europe. Black and white are not equal. They are not to be governed by the same laws. The immutable decrees of providence have ordained it otherwise, and the conduct of the Asiatics themselves forms the clearest proof of it. It is not however with the civil government of the people of these lands that we have now to do, but with the military defence of the country, with the protection of the highest British rights and interests here, and with the constitution of an army, which shall be at once formidable to the enemy, and obedient to the state. A large European force is a *sine*

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qua non, but the native element must also enter largely into any Indian army. We would propose to have, as it were, two military bodies in this country. One, the regular army, European and native, liable to serve by sea and land, in any part of the world, cantoned in large bodies at well chosen stations, commanded by selected officers, smaller in number than that existing before the mutinies, but infinitely greater in force; and so constituted that its fidelity might surely be depended on. The other should be a subordinate, local, police army, native entirely, having no cannon whatever, raised entirely in bodies in certain districts, for service in others, and their own Zemindars to be held responsible for their good behaviour. We propose to develope a scheme for both of these, and affirm that the expense would not be greater than that now incurred, while the efficiency would be ten-fold. We propose first to consider the regular army, in its constitution, discipline, and expense, comparing it with what existed before the mutinies. Secondly, to do the same for the subordinate force, though we confess that the comparison in expense with what now exists as a substitute for it, will be impossible, as we have no account before us of the present rate. Should, however, these views attract attention, this desideratum may be easily supplied for the consideration of the Authorities: and while we affirm our confidence that the expense will be found scarcely, if at all, to exceed what it now is, we shall, by directing enquiry to the matter, have fully attained our object in the composition of this paper. On a reference to the Bengal army list before the mutinies, it will be found that the regular Bengal army consisted of—

ARTILLERY.

Three brigades horse artillery, containing thirteen troops, of which five were native.

Six battalions European foot artillery, of twenty-four companies, with twelve field-batteries attached, of which three were bullock batteries.

Three battalions native foot artillery, of eighteen companies, with eight field-batteries attached, of which two were bullock.

CAVALRY.

2 Regiments H. M.'s dragoons.
10 Ditto native light cavalry.
18 Ditto irregular cavalry.

INFANTRY.

15 Regiments H. M.'s foot.
3 Ditto Company's European infantry.
74 Ditto native infantry.

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The regiments of Kelat-i-Ghilzie, Ferozepore, and Loodhiana, and the Ghoorka battalions, are also corps of the line, but we do not mean to include them, as they are officered from the other regiments. Nor yet do we include the sappers, nor further allude to them than by pointing out the advisability of separating them a little more.

For this we propose to substitute an army as follows :—

ARTILLERY, ALL EUROPEAN.

3 Brigades, of twelve troops, horse artillery.
6 Battalions, of forty-eight companies, foot artillery.
24 Horse field-batteries attached.

CAVALRY.

8 Regiments Company's European dragoons.
20 Ditto native light horse.

INFANTRY.

17 Regiments H. M.'s foot.
15 Ditto Company's European infantry.
25 Ditto native light infantry on a new organization.

Such an army we affirm to be cheaper than the one above, and immensely more powerful, while we think it, in conjunction with the subordinate police military force, numerous enough for the requirements of the Bengal presidency. It consists of, in round numbers, thirty-six batteries of 216 guns, eighty-four squadrons, and fifty-seven battalions, in all 75,000 men; an army, which, on an emergency, could spare 40,000 men for foreign service, of whom 25,000 should be Europeans. Along with the new system one measure would be advisable, and that is the complete disarming of all the natives who are not soldiers of the state. We now proceed to the constitution of our new army, commencing with the artillery.

ARTILLERY.—In the Bengal army before the mutinies, no one can fail to be struck with the number of guns left by the dominant race in the hands of the subject one.—Of the regular field artillery, two-fifths of the whole were in the hands of natives, besides that of the Punjaub and Oude irregular forces, the Gwalior contingent, and the guns attached to the smaller contingents, as well as those scattered over the country, and called post guns. Of the horse artillery, five out of thirteen troops were native. Now it appears to us that there is no necessity for this. Artillery is an arm that can only be required with considerable bodies of other troops, and where the services of Europeans are necessary. It is not required unless real force takes the field, and it performs no duties which in quarters require the exposure of the men.

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There is nothing that the natives have such respect for, and terror of—nothing which, being deprived of, would so completely convince them of their weakness and of their inability to cope with us. For these reasons we would recommend that the artillery should be European only, and that no guns at all should be left in the hands of natives, or if there be an exception, it should be the Punjab irregular force only. Posted judiciously through the country, we think the force we have mentioned enough. There is however margin for its increase, should it be deemed necessary. We would have the drivers as well as the gunners European, so that we may be sure of the whole of this arm, even in the most desperate emergencies. A small detail of gun lascars would be attached to each battery, as at present to the horse artillery. This simple change would leave nothing to be desired in this arm. We would propose an increase of eight captains and eight lieutenants to the regiment. One question will occur. What is to become of such golundauzes as have remained faithful? As to their fidelity, we do not believe in it. The horse artillery at Jullunder is reported to have acted against the mutineers; but we will not believe in any native loyalty, which does not make a clean breast of it, and disclose the origin of this conspiracy. Government is justified in summarily dismissing from its service such of its Poorbeah soldiers as it pleases, without pension of any sort. Is it to be supposed, that because at certain stations, fear has kept down revolt, that the Government, in re-organizing the army, for the welfare of the empire, is to be stopped in its career by the personal claims of a set of men, who, at the very least, are, one and all, guilty of misprision of treason? God forbid that such weakness should be shown. Nay, rather let it be proclaimed in the market place that the native army has violated its faith to the Government, which has treated it so well, that it has forfeited its rights, collectively and individually, that it has no claim to either future service or pension, and that any cases of good service subsequently performed will be made the subject of special consideration, and owe their recognition to the mercy of the Government, and the consideration it has for its subjects. Each man when enlisted swore on his colors or on his gun, that he would at once report to his commanding officer whatever he heard that was seditious or prejudicial to the state. Have the native officers done this? That they might keep that oath the Government gave them honors, and titles, and very high pay. Except only in the irregular cavalry, they were recognized as having no other value than this. How have they discharged their trust? Not one has kept his faith. They swore at the hazard of their lives

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to discharge the duty, and in all the Bengal army, not one has proved true. Away with them! we say—let their treachery and uselessness no longer cumber the ground, and the army. Let the native officers of the regular army be all dismissed, and only very special reasons exempt any one to the extent of giving him a pension. Expediency may forgive a traitor, and compassion may forgive a fool; but traitor and fool united is out of the category of forgiveness; and this, we say, is the predicament in which the native officers stand. Aye! even those belonging to the so-called staunch regiments. What applies to the native officer equally applies to the common man. As a matter of good faith, they have now, as a body, no claim on the Government. Their retention is a mere matter of expediency, and, as it is not expedient in the case of the native artillery, we would not retain them. Special cases might be made the subject of special consideration, but a lasting divorce should be instituted between the native and the gun. The re-organization of the artillery, involving, as it does, an increase of guns, officers, and men, in the aggregate, the substitution of a large number of Europeans for natives, and of horses for bullocks, would of course cost more than at present. We will save more than the amount in the other arms of the service.

Cavalry.—This branch of the service before the war consisted of two regiments H. M.'s dragoons, ten native light cavalry, and eighteen regiments irregular cavalry. Both of the native branches of the cavalry have mutinied, and their rights are exactly what are above stated to be those of the artillery, and no more. We however, though condemning the bad faith of both alike, propose to treat them very differently, and that simply because it is expedient to do so. In a word, we propose to abolish the light cavalry entirely, and in their room form eight regiments of dragoons. We propose to increase the number of regiments of irregular cavalry to twenty, denominate them light horse, and raise a dufadar's pay to thirty, and a sowar's to twenty-five rupees a month. The eight regiments of dragoons might be officered as follows: one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, eight captains, eleven lieutenants, and five cornets. This would leave two colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, six captains and two lieutenants supernumerary in the whole cavalry. We would propose that the supernumerary field officers be retained to keep up the promotion, but that the six captains and two lieutenants be absorbed; a measure which could not be very hard on the junior cavalry officers, considering the very great luck that they have had. We propose that each regiment of cavalry shall consist of three squadrons, and six troops, and number twenty-four

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sergeants, twenty-four corporals, six trumpeters, six farriers, 480 troopers, one surgeon, two assistant-surgeons, and one veterinary surgeon, with a staff and establishment on the scale proportionally of one of Her Majesty's regiments of light dragoons. Eight such regiments would, we think, be a sufficient heavy cavalry for the Bengal army; they would cost rather less than the ten light cavalry regiments did before the mutinies, would be at least equal to thirty of the other sort, and would enable Government to dispense with the two regiments of Her Majesty's dragoons, and save the very great cost they entail. As a *per-contra*, there would be a large expenditure for buildings and barracks; but that is a Public-Works charge, and inevitable; as more Europeans, many more, *must* be stationed here. Our endeavour is to develope a scheme which shall make this increase at once as efficient as possible, without trenching beyond the limits of necessity, drawn by the exigencies of Indian finance. As to the merits of the native light cavalry, we have no inclination to discuss them, they have been argued *ad nauseam*. Suffice it to say, that they have been condemned by public opinion, and stand confessedly the most inefficient branch of the native army, with reference to the reasonable expectations that were formed of them. Even their own officers admit that they are not worth the money they cost. Under such circumstances their abolition cannot but be attended with advantage; and we have every reason to believe, that this measure has been more than once in contemplation, but that always some difficulty or other was found in the way, which this mutiny will go far to remove. The value of a reliable body of European cavalry in this country can scarcely be overrated. The arm is sadly neglected in England. The officers of the British cavalry regiments are extravagant, and have given their service a bad name in consequence with reference to work. True, Balaklava made a reaction; but it is an undeniable fact, that cavalry is neglected and underrated among English soldiers. Yet except under very peculiar circumstances, no *decisive* battle was ever gained without the free use of cavalry. Broken troops can easily escape from infantry and artillery, for the latter dare not leave the former, unless it had cavalry with it. In the Peninsula, we only gained two *decisive* battles, Salamanca and Vittoria. In the former battle, cavalry played a leading part. It was the decisive charge of the heavy dragoons under General Le Marchant that won the day. Vittoria again was one of those peculiar cases to which we alluded as exceptional. The town lies in a basin surrounded by hills, and almost encircled by a small river. Two roads lead from it towards France, and two only. The high road to Bayonne was seized by our left,

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under Sir Thomas Graham, and after their defeat, the French were driven to retreat, encumbered with the spoil of a nation, by the bad and mountainous road to Pampeluna. It was this sole line of retreat, choked, crowded, and insufficient, which made the battle so decisive without the aid of cavalry. But look at Napoleon's battles. How was Austerlitz, Jena, or Wagram won? It was his invariable practice to mass his heavy cavalry under Murat, and after shaking the enemy with his other arms, overwhelm them with this one. Any one who has read the history of the campaign in the Netherlands in 1815, will see and acknowledge its use. The charge of the union brigade at Waterloo destroyed, as a military body, 8,000 men, and rendered forty guns useless. Frederick the Great had a magnificent cavalry, and used it most freely. Cæsar won Pharsalia with his cavalry, and Alexander won all his battles with his "companions." Ancient and modern history alike points out the use and indispensable necessity of this arm in war; but it is a fact beyond dispute that no British army has ever a proper proportion of cavalry, and that in a nation which can produce more good riders than any country in Europe. No country in the world is more suitable to the action of cavalry than the plains of Hindoostan, and nowhere is it easier for a beaten army to escape in every direction; the country is level and open, and the only way to make success decisive is to be found in that arm, which can follow with rapidity, without fatigue or disorder. It is unnecessary for us to point out the advantages of decisive success in all our wars in Asia. Anything short of it with these people is no success at all. Promptness and vigour are every thing, and that is scarcely to be accomplished here in war, without the aid of an European cavalry force. The native light horse is as necessary as the other. We propose that they should be the same in every respect as the present irregular cavalry, but we reject the name, "irregular," as unsuited to a force which is part and parcel of a regular army. There is much duty for light horse in India, which is suited to natives only. Experience has proved this description of force both cheap and efficient. We therefore propose to retain it, extending the number of regiments to twenty, and increasing the pay of a duffadar from rupees twenty-eight to thirty, and that of a sowar, from rupees twenty to twenty-five. This measure is in our opinion advisable, as all officers now attached to this force agree in declaring twenty rupees a month to be too little for a sowar. Justice cannot be done to the regiment without trenching on the means of the men till debt ensues, and then, though appearances may be kept up for a time, in the end the regiment cannot be a good one.

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This force would not be used, as a rule, in charging bodies of men, but purely as light horse, in keeping open communications, clearing roads, intercepting the enemy's orderlies and despatches, feeling the way of the army, and whirling down on a mass of fugitives broken and disorganized by the European cavalry. In dours against robbers, or on the frontier, they would be invaluable. In short, it is nonsense to write what every body knows: we forget we are addressing an Indian public. One word about the command of these corps. There is no branch of the service in which the personal character of an officer is of more importance, and only those adapted to it should be there. A man may be a clever man, nay, even a good soldier, yet unsuited to the light horse. All the officers ought to be good, or at least bold riders; if they are not, they should be turned out; and a man with dash about him should be always preferred. Should an officer be himself a man of prowess, who can beat his own men at their own exercises, and who is ready to head any scheme of whatever hazard, his influence will be so much the greater for this sort of command. Men of the school of Mayne, Holmes, and Chamberlain, are the men for this force, and an effort should be made to select them. In any case those wanting should be made to leave. Can anything be more lamentable than to see a dashing horseman who cannot ride, bestriding a horse that cannot go, and hugging himself with the prospect of a command some day? For such men the sowars can but have an utter contempt, and are in consequence not very likely to be of much use when the tussle comes.

INFANTRY.—This branch of the service before the mutinies consisted of fifteen regiments H. M.'s foot, three of Company's European infantry, and seventy-four native infantry regiments. The Ghoorka corps, the Kelat-i-Ghilzie regiments, and the regiments of Loodhianah and Ferozepore, are reckoned regiments of the line, but as they are not officered by their own officers, we do not mean to include them, premising that Government might absorb them into the new army, or keep them as they are, as may be most convenient, without in any way hurting this scheme. In place of this, we would propose to have seventeen regiments H. M.'s foot, fifteen regiments H. C.'s European infantry, and twenty-five regiments of native regular light infantry, officered as European corps. In this scheme, it is observed, first,—that an increase of two of H. M.'s regiments of foot, is required. This we think the Court of Directors could have no difficulty in arranging. Secondly,—that an increase of twelve regiments of Company's European infantry is proposed. To officer these would be required the officers of twenty-four native regiments now existing.

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The twenty-five regiments of native infantry, officered as Europeans, would require the officers of the fifty remaining regiments. Hence no difficulty would arise, as far as the European officers are concerned. Of the new European regiments, we have nothing to say. Their model exists in the service, and we are not aware at present of any means of materially improving it. There is one thing that we may mention, and that is the utter unsuitability of their head dress in this country. It is European and French, and quite unfit for India. In the course of this paper, we had no intention of touching upon dress; but when, as in the late operations, we see men struck down right and left by the sun, a fate from which we believe a proper head dress would have saved them, we feel bound to protest. A helmet of cork or felt, which would protect the head from the sun, down as far as the junction of the neck and shoulders, is, we think, the best thing for Europeans. For natives we think the more the dress is assimilated to their own the better. Here we might learn from France, and dress them à la Zouave, a costume that would suit them admirably, and give them for a head dress their own useful and elegant turbans. Officers and men should be dressed alike of course.

We now come to consider the proposed new native regiments, and as it is here we introduce as it were a new element into the service, we must enter into the subject a little at large. We propose that each regiment of native light infantry shall consist of two colonels, two lieut.-colonels, two majors, fourteen captains, twenty-two lieutenants, and ten ensigns, one surgeon or assistant-surgeon, two native doctors, one sergeant major, one quarter-master sergeant, twenty European sergeants, twenty drummers or buglers, fifty havildars, fifty naiks, and 800 sepoys; that these regiments should be drilled and disciplined precisely as an European corps; that the barrack system be introduced, and the daily orderly room. A small bungalow should be erected at the quarter guard for the European officer of the day, where he would remain during his tour. As the regiments would be light infantry, of course, greater attention would be paid to their particular drill. It will be observed there are no native officers. Our remarks on the subject of their claims upon Government are found under the head of artillery. Their claims are nothing. They have thrown aside pensions, pay, rank, consideration, and honesty—for treachery, robbery, and murder. They must abide by their bargain. It is not expedient to reinstate them, and therefore they should not be reinstated. Except on this principle, there is no reason resting on the slightest foundation why they should be taken back into the service, and as this

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reason or principle is wanting, let us have none of them at all. The substitution of the twenty sergeants for these native officers would be of excellent effect. One end of the sepoy's barracks, or a small house in rear, could be built for them, and they would be charged with the constant superintendence of the men in quarters. When the regiment was out, they would be most valuable assistants to the officers in the supernumerary ranks. The twenty-five new regiments, we would propose, should be drawn complete and entire from different provinces. Sikhs, Goorkhas, Poorbeahs, Bundelahs, Jats, and men from Behar, should all be taken. If ten battalions of the first named were among them, it would be well. They should all be general-service corps across sea. Of the disarmed regiments men might be taken on their agreement to take the new oath—otherwise give them their congè. The Sikhs of these regiments, it would be well to collect and form new Sikh regiments of, and the Poorbeas might come into our terms, or leave it alone. The regiments however ought not to be mixed. A corps of Sikhs should consist of Sikhs only. Of Ghoorkas the same. Perhaps a treaty might be made with Nepaul, permitting us to recruit a certain number of men annually in her territory. The money they would bring in, would be certainly beneficial to that state.

The great drawback to the efficiency of the late native army was the small influence possessed by the officers. This was in most cases absolutely nothing. Complaining as they have done of the way they were treated in this respect, the European officers had but a faint idea how very little influence they had. The massacres however opened their eyes and those of every body else. The fact is proclaimed in blood that the Government of this country cannot govern the army by means of regulations, and head quarters only. The power of the officers brought into actual contact with the men, must be greatly enlarged. The native soldier must feel that the European officer is the master of his fate, and that he has no appeal against him. The farce of a native court martial is now, we trust, buried for ever. Let the commanding officer have the power of summarily dismissing a man from the service. It will not do to say, this may be abused. If the brigadier and general do their duty, and really look into the affairs of the regiments under their command, no officer commanding a regiment can be capricious or unjust with impunity. If he is, let him lose his command; and with selected officers, and a report of all such transactions made, not for revision of the sentence, but for judgment on the competency of the commanding officer, there is little fear but that the soldier will meet with justice in

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the long run. What applies to the commander of a regiment applies to the commander of a company. It is the proud boast, but the true one, of an Englishman, that the more you trust him, the better does his character show. That is true of the large majority, and it is only for the majority that humanity can devise a rule. It is the mistrust the Government has shown of its officers, which has first rendered them careless of their duties, and subsequently, by relieving them in their youth of all responsibility, rendered many of them afterwards unfit for such an emergency as has just occurred. Why have the Punjab men shown so well? Simply because as young men the burden of responsibility was thrown upon them, they were brought up in official life to rely upon themselves, they were estimated by what they were worth, and the day of trial was to them but what they were accustomed to, certainly intensified; but to others it was as novel as a journey to the moon.

We have before stated that we trust never to hear more of a native court martial, except under peculiar circumstances in a regiment of light horse or irregular cavalry, whichever may be the designation. The native court martial was trial by the superintending officer in the majority of cases; and when the native officers did interfere, it was generally to award some very inadequate punishment to an offence. With the disappearance of the native officer his functions go also, and the European officer should in all cases try a man. In the lines of every native regiment, there should be a congee-house with solitary cells. This mode of punishment, we speak from experience, has the very best effect. Although we would abolish the native court martial, we are strongly of opinion that a native tribunal should exist for the settlement of claims for debt against sepoys. We know that many officers in this matter differ from us, and recommend the total abolition of all means of recovering debt, as the best way of preventing it. We have however very closely observed this matter, have had large experience in dealing with it, and we are convinced such a tribunal is desirable, and further, that it should be a native one. We have seen the native court of requests, composed of European officers out of the Company's territories, and of native officers in them, and we have no hesitation, after considerable experience of both, to pronounce the native court the better tribunal of the two, for the purpose for which it is intended.

In connection with this we would discuss the question of bazars, and think we can give cogent reasons for the course we propose. The first thing we would urge is the abolition of sudder bazars. The sudder bazar goes nowhere. It is stationary, and in conse-

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quence the richer banniahs settle there. Out of the station it is of no use to the troops, while being slightly cheaper than the regimental bazar, it is frequented by those sepoys who have ready money, and thus the regimental banniah is deprived of those profits in cantonments, which enable him to be well supplied in the field. The tendency of the sudder bazar system is to make the regimental banniahs poor, and when the corps takes the field, if they are poor, the bazar is useless. If accident should delay the pay, the men cannot pay the banniahs, and if they have no capital to go on with, the whole machine comes to a stand still; and the commanding officer and quarter-master are obliged to lend their own money, or pledge their personal credit to some neighbouring mahajan, to enable the regiment to get on. Now this is in our own country. Think what it would be in Persia or Affghanistan. Is it to be supposed that dahoukars are as plentiful as blackberries, and that the bill will do everywhere? The sudder bazar system owed its origin, we believe, to a desire to lessen the following of regiments; but that may be carried to far too great an extent. A large following is necessary, from the nature of the land, and the habits of the people; and we have, in the late Duke of Wellington, an advocate for what we are advancing, whose authority is not likely to be disputed. The whole of his despatches in the Deccan teem with luminous views on this subject. The late Sir Charles Napier had very strong views on these subjects. He wished very much to reduce the following of the army, and projected his famous Scinde baggage corps. This, as is well known, turned out a complete failure, and the old system had to be reverted to. It is the best, the most suited to the country, the climate and the habits of the people, and therefore it will prevail. Now the regiment is the only entire body that never separates. The bazar ought therefore to belong to it, and no others be suffered in cantonments on any account. Most strict orders should be enforced with regard to residence. None but the followers of the regiment should be allowed to live in it, and if on a relief, the new corps has a less following than the old one, every house not occupied should be levelled with the ground.

With regard to the baggage of the officers and men, orders cannot be too strict. Nothing but what is necessary ought to be allowed, but the bazar should be encouraged. On it, the efficiency of the regiment depends, and with good management, it would never, in our opinion, be necessary in a native regiment to apply to the commissariat. It is evident that if this system should obtain, some tribunal is necessary for the recovery of debt from the men. We would however restrict it so far, that

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none but registered bazar people could sue. Against the native soldier all claims from outside should be as nought. Outsiders should however have the power of suing the registered bazar people, as it would be manifestly injurious to the regiment to have suits pending against them in the civil court. Of the constitution of the court, we have no doubt. It should be mixed, European and native, and presided over by the quarter master, be called a punchayet, and assembled only under the authority of the commanding officer, announced in the regimental order book, in which all its awards might be published. We are aware that many differ from us in these views, and advocate the total abolition of all tribunals for the settlement of debt. Those who hold these views are of two sorts: one, officers who grudge the smallest amount of time to the performance of the duty for which they are paid, and to whom we deign no reply. The other body believe that the abolition of the means of recovery would abolish debt. We differ respectfully from these gentlemen. The Bengal sepoy leaves his wife and family at his village home, and departs from the regiment, at stated intervals, to see them for a long time. He is expected to bring money with him, and as his pay is not given him until his return, the banniah steps in and lends the money, to the advantage and accommodation of all parties. Few disputes arise from this, which is almost universal. Bad men of course deny their debt, and from them it should be recovered. We would regulate the interest, but recognize the transaction, and compel the sepoy to pay. The Bengal sepoy is always a cultivator also, and if there is an unusual expenditure in the family, such as a marriage, or an inundation, and the rent to pay up, the credit of the soldier member of the family is often used to stave away the temporary difficulty. These are the ways in which occasionally the sums owed by sepoys appear large. There is much behind the scenes, and a long and careful experience of this matter has convinced us, that the system works well, is suited to the genius and habits of the people; and that the first sufferer by its suppression, would be the sepoy himself. His only resource then would be to borrow from such of his comrades as had money, and would lend it, a course which, it is quite unnecessary to point out, is ruin to the discipline of any corps.

Proposing as we have done to abolish the grade of native officer in the infantry, the question arises, could we get the men. We think so. The commission, though doubtless a thing of great consequence, is very distant from the vision of the recruit. But few can live to attain it by seniority; equally few would be selected, should it be determined to

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give the promotion by merit. We, however, propose to deal with the pay of the men, and make the service still attractive to the very best classes, while we would introduce a sounder principle, as far as the Government is concerned. First and foremost we would abolish "marching batta." With reference to this allowance, it strikes us, that the only conclusion to which even a sepoy can come, is that the idleness of cantonments is what he is paid for, and that the march on relief or service is an extra piece of work altogether, for which he is to have extra pay, and on the propriety of which step, he has a right to judge. It also encourages the men to carry more baggage. The principle is unmilitary, as an army in cantonments is supposed to be an army in the field. We would, however, rather increase their pay in the aggregate. Thus, we propose that at first a sepoy should have five rupees until he is turned into the ranks. Then he should have eight rupees, after ten years' service nine rupees, after fifteen years' service ten rupees, after twenty years' service eleven rupees, and so on. Naicks might have fourteen rupees, and havildars eighteen rupees a month. We would also introduce the system of pension for length of service, fixing a minimum, say twenty years, increasing according to service with reference to the rank of the pensioner. No large pensions are needed; enough for an honorable subsistence in the native village is quite sufficient, and this we think might be easily established, and yet with the very much smaller army we propose, a great annual saving be the result. Besides, every pensioner able to bear arms should be obliged to do so, if the state called for his services. He should be obliged to register himself at the civil station of the district in which he lived, a certificate of his having done so should be necessary for him to draw his pension, and if after due notice, when called on by the state, he failed to appear at the appointed place of rendezvous, his name should be struck off the pension list. Time might be allowed after his being struck off by the pension paymaster, and before the final report to Government, for him to show cause why he did not appear. Should he do so, Government would consider the case, and pass such orders as it thought proper. Should he show no cause, his name should be struck off in orders, and this should be irrevocable. Perhaps it might be as well to give an old havildar of very good character, on his retirement, a sort of title or commission, which would give him consequence in his village, and be in strict accordance with that rule of the army, which gives to retired officers a step of rank. A provision would of course be made for short-service men, invalided in consequence of injuries sustained on duty. This also we think should be contingent on

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length of service. It is manifestly unjust to give a man the same pension for a wound after two years' service, as after seventeen. Promotion should go by selection, with due regard to seniority, merit being equal or nearly so. We would make a little allowance for the senior, and give him the promotion, if fit, even if the junior had the more shining abilities.

We would propose that all the Company's European regiments of foot be called grenadiers or fusiliers, and all the native Light Infantry. We have several reasons for this. First, it is the nomenclature most consonant to the uses we would put each description of force to, as a rule. Secondly, it is a distinction, and as far as the natives are concerned, would at once mark them as a different force from the locals. Thirdly, it does away with companies of elite, an institution to which, as it obtains in the British army, we have the very strongest objections. Were the men of those companies selected for having served so many campaigns, for distinguished courage, or for uniform good conduct, there would be reason for collecting them together. In this case though, we think, it would be better to gather them into battalions, and let them form the reserve of the army, like the French imperial guard. But to select men, simply because they are so many inches high, or measure so much round the chest, though justifiable in the embodying of troops whose principal duties are connected with the pageantry of a court, is quite unsuited to the working army of India. It is unfair, and the men do not like it. These companies are considered "crack," and we have known regiments of native infantry in which an orderly was never to be seen, who did not belong to one of these companies. All duties ought to go by honest roster, and the commanding officer, instead of selecting the best set of men to go on general officer's guards, &c.—by which he fancies, he gets a reputation for his corps,—should make it his business to see that all his men are smart, well set up, and fit to be seen any where. The system is bad, it discourages the men who are not selected, it is favoritism, and surely the taking away from one company officer his best men to please another who happens to command a flank company, is not likely to make the former very zealous in his business.

We would not dwell on the necessity of making the senior officers do their duty; unless they do, the juniors never will. Brigades and divisions should not be the right of the senior. Should a man not be fit for these posts, the £1,000 a year which a colonel may draw in Europe, must be reckoned a liberal provision. We think that commanding officers of regiments should not be held, as they now are, directly

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responsible to the commander-in-chief; we would make the brigadier responsible for any impropriety occurring in any regiment in his brigade, for its discipline and conduct. He ought to inspect each of his corps at least once a month, without previous notice. He should have the brigade constantly out to exercise, so that they might know what to do, and himself also. The general also might make much more frequent inspections than he does, and at no certain fixed time of the year. Prepared manœuvres should be as nought. The general should rather say to the brigadier or the commanding officer of a regiment: "Your right flank is threatened by the enemy's horse," or, "there is a masked battery to your left flank in the front about 700 yards, which you must take," or "you have to pass through a gorge occupied by the enemy who are in possession of the hills on either sides," and ask these gentlemen to dispose their troops so as to meet these several cases. Each division might have its camp of exercise in the cold weather, where all sorts of military operations could be carried on. If this was done, with four field officers to each regiment, one of whom might be reckoned on as fit to command it, the Bengal Army would be a very different body from the mutinous rabble it now is.

To give an idea of how we would dispose of this army in the country, suppose the following to be the distribution :—

PRESIDENCY DIVISION.

Fort William	3 Reserve companies artillery. 2 Companies sappers. 1 Regiment European infantry. Detail native infantry.
Barrackpore.....	1 Troop horse artillery. 1 Horse field battery. 1 Native light horse regiment. 2 European infantry regiments. 2 Native infantry ditto.
Eastern Bengal	1 Horse field battery. 1 Regiment European infantry. 1 Ditto native infantry.

DINAPORE DIVISION.

Dinapore	1 Troop horse artillery. 2 Horse field batteries. 1 Regiment dragoons. 1 Ditto native light horse. 2 Ditto European infantry. 2 Ditto native infantry.
Segowlie	1 Ditto native light horse.

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LUCKNOW DIVISION.

Allahabad	1 Horse field battery. 2 Companies European artillery reserve. 1 Company sappers. 1 Regiment European infantry. 1 Ditto native infantry.
Lucknow	2 Troops horse artillery. 2 Horse field batteries. 2 Companies European artillery reserve. 1 Company sappers. 1 Regiment dragoons. 2 Regiments native light horse. 2 Regiments European infantry. 2 Regiments native infantry.

SAUGOR DIVISION.

Saugor	1 Troop horse artillery. 1 Horse field battery. 1 Reserve company artillery. 1 Regiment dragoons. 2 Native light horse. 2 Regiments European infantry. 2 Ditto native infantry.
Neemuch	1 Horse field battery. 1 Regiment native light horse. 1 European infantry regiment. 1 Native infantry ditto.
Gwalior	2 Horse field batteries. 2 Companies reserve artillery. 1 Company sappers. 1 Regiment native light horse. 2 Regiments European infantry. 1 Ditto native infantry.

DELHI DIVISION.

Delhi	1 Troop horse artillery. 1 Horse field battery. 2 Companies reserve artillery. 1 Company sappers. 1 Regiment dragoons. 1 Regiment native light horse. 2 Regiments European infantry. 2 Ditto native infantry.

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Bareilly	1 Horse field battery. 1 Regiment native light horse. 1 Regiment European infantry. 1 Regiment native infantry.

SIRHIND DIVISION.—COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S RESERVE.

Umballah and Hills Siege train complete...	2 Troops horse artillery. 2 Horse field batteries. 3 Reserve companies artillery. 2 Companies sappers. 2 Regiments dragoons. 3 Ditto native light horse. 4 Regiments European infantry. 3 Ditto native infantry.

LAHORE DIVISION.

Lahore	1 Troop horse artillery. 2 Horse field batteries. 2 Companies reserve artillery. 1 Company sappers. 1 Regiment dragoons. 2 Ditto native light horse. 2 Ditto European infantry. 1 Ditto native infantry.
Mooltan	1 Troop horse artillery. 2 Horse field batteries. 2 Companies reserve artillery. 1 Company sappers. 1 Regiment native light horse. 2 Ditto European infantry. 1 Ditto native infantry.
Sealkote	1 Horse field battery. 2 Companies reserve artillery. 1 Regiment native light horse. 1 Ditto European infantry. 1 Ditto native infantry.
Jhelum	1 Horse field battery. 1 Regiment European infantry. 1 Ditto native infantry.

PESHAWUR DIVISION.

Peshawur	2 Troops horse artillery. 2 Horse field batteries. 3 Reserve companies artillery. 2 Companies sappers. 1 Regiment Dragoons.

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Peshawur.....	2 Regiments native light horse. 4 Regiments European infantry. 2 Ditto native infantry.
Rawul Pindee	1 Horse field battery. 1 Regiment European infantry. 1 Ditto native infantry.

In this distribution which we propose, it will be observed that we have left out several large stations at present occupied, such as Cawnpore, Meerut, and Ferozepore. Cawnpore and Ferozepore we think no longer necessary. Cawnpore is an unhealthy place, and its importance was gone with the annexation of Oude. It appears to us that Lucknow is the more fitting place for a large station, from which Cawnpore is only fifty miles. The same remark applies to Ferozepore, whose importance ceased on the annexation of the Punjab. Its magazine, united to that of Phillour, should be established at Lahore, and the fort at Phillour and that at Ferozepore blown up. If it is acknowledged to be necessary to concentrate the army, a great number of stations must be given up, and we prefer to put a large number of troops together, as it keeps up better discipline, and having fewer posts to guard, makes a larger portion of the army available for field or foreign service without any risk. The magazines we think should be at Fort William, Allahabad, Delhi, Lahore, Mooltan, and Peshawur, each and all in a regular fortification, with an European regiment, and reserve artillery inside always. If deemed necessary, an expense magazine might be established at Saugor, but we think Allahabad near enough to supply the means for any extended operations. The Fort of Chunarghur might be retained and garrisoned by the invalids, whose number would of course increase with so large an augmentation to the European army, but all others should be blown up. Forts only hamper us in India, even although they may have proved places of shelter during these mutinies to Europeans; but an army constituted as we recommend, would be free from suspicion of mutiny. And then the forts could not be abandoned, lest others should occupy them. We have recommended Gwalior rather than Agra as the military station for that part of the country. Should political reasons however prevent our occupying it, the station would be at Agra. Meerut was a mistake from the beginning. The station ought to be Delhi, and there is fine high ground near Humayoon's tomb, suitable for a cantonment. The cantonments of Delhi were in the worst spot that could have been chosen, and we believe that to be the cause of the unhealthiness. With a magazine at Delhi, we think there is no occasion for one at Agra, which might with advantage be broken up.

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Having thus explained our views on the constitution proposed for the new army, and shown how it might be distributed to meet, in our opinion, the military requirements of the country, we proceed to demonstrate its feasibility on the score of expense.

ARTILLERY.

It is proposed to increase the regiment as follows:—

By three troops European horse artillery, complete cost ..... Rs.	3,25,373	13	3
„ Twenty-four companies European foot artillery, ditto ditto	11,42,169	12	0
„ Four extra horse batteries, ditto ditto	1,65,355	0	0
„ Horsing five bullock batteries, now existing, ditto ditto	1,15,184	0	7
„ An increase of eight captains, ditto ditto ...	41,628	0	0
„ „ eight lieutenants, ditto ditto	25,512	0	0
„ Substituting European drivers for natives in all the horse batteries, twenty-four in number, ditto ditto	3,00,000	0	0
	21,15,222	9	10

It is proposed to reduce the regiment, as follows:—

By four troops native horse artillery, complete ...	3,08,022	0	0		
By three battalions native foot artillery, ditto	4,22,167	8	3		
				7,30,189	8	3
Total increase of cost for artillery				13,85,033	1	7

CAVALRY.

Before the mutinies the cavalry cost:—

2 Regiments H. M.'s European dragoons ..	14,49,953	10	0
10 Ditto native light cavalry	38,55,376	4	0
18 Ditto irregular cavalry	34,98,926	1	0
	88,04,255	15	0

As now proposed in this article:—

8 Regiments Company's European dragoons..	38,53,677	8	0		
20 Ditto native light horse (sowars, Rupees 25).	45,10,735	15	0		
				83,64,413	7	0
Total, decrease of cost for cavalry				4,39,842	8	0

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INFANTRY.

Before the mutinies the infantry cost :—

15	Regiments H. M.'s foot			86,00,159	1	0
3	Ditto Company's European infantry..			16,41,334	11	9
74	Ditto native infantry			2,02,95,684	0	0
				3,05,37,177	12	9
	As now proposed in this article :—					
17	Regiments H .M.'s foot	97,46,846	15 0			
15	Ditto Co.'s European infantry	82,06,673	10 9			
25	Ditto native ditto.	1,01,74,300	0 0			
				2,81,27,820	9	9
	Total, decrease of cost for infantry....			24,09,357	3	0

RECAPITULATION.

Decrease of cost for infantry.....	24,09,357	3	0
Ditto for cavalry	4,39,842	8	0
	28,49,199	11	0
Increase of cost for artillery	13,85,033	1	7
Total saving on the yearly expense of the army	14,64,166	9	5

The above figures show the annual cost of the various arms of the service, including officers and men, pay, rations, allowances, establishments, feeding horses, and wear and tear of equipments. They have been taken from actual returns; and such as are of a novel nature, to wit, the dragoons and the new native infantry, have been calculated from data existing in the service, with reference to the number of officers and men. The only charge *approximated* is that for substituting European for native drivers in the artillery. The service has none such, and it is impossible to say what they would be allowed; the calculation however has been made for them on the same footing as gunners; and it is believed that it is not under-estimated. The first cost of horses is not included, but it must be remembered that this is not an absolute, but a comparative statement of cost; and in the matter of horses, which are neither charged in the new nor the old system as here exhibited, we have the advantage; for while we require some 1,500 more horses for the artillery, against the cost of

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which we place the value of some 800 bullocks, no longer required; we surrender 2,200 more horses required for the cavalry, under the old system, than under the one which we propose. We have also made no allowance for the cost of barracks. That is however unavoidable. It is evident to all men that the permanent number of European troops must be greatly increased, and arrange it as we may, accommodation must be found. Besides, our surplus, upwards of fourteen and a half lacks per annum, represents a considerable capital, nearly three crores at five per cent; and the cost of the Oude irregular force, and the Gwalior contingent, neither of which will, we trust, be resuscitated, can be brought in to swell the credit balance, and erect such buildings as are necessary to make all right within the bounds of the empire. It is impossible, in the limits of an article such as this, to give the items, by means of which we arrived at the above expressed financial conclusions; but we believe our figures are correct, and are not afraid of scrutiny. Objection may be made that we propose a native force of infantry almost as expensive as an European. We admit the charge, and allow that more men with fewer officers might be got for the same money, but we think there is enough. We must have a considerable portion of the army native, and it perhaps may be worth while to consider the propriety of making that portion as effective as possible.

A prominent feature in this scheme is the general disarming of the people, so that a small portion of the force might suffice in the country in the event of foreign war. The regular army would do no escort duty, nor take any civil guards, and the military ones should be made as few as possible. Every cold weather, the head quarters of each division might be a camp of instruction, and we venture to anticipate the creation of an army which would render rebellion and revolt words that might be expunged from the dictionary.

For the general police duties of the country, we would recommend military police battalions in every district, commanded by European officers, under the orders of the magistrate, and subject to martial law. The police is notoriously inefficient, and to the want of a proper control over them, we ascribe much of their uselessness. Cowardice on their part ought to be severely punished and put down; and by raising the character of the police, a more respectable class would be found in it. The infantry portion might have the pay of local infantry, five rupees, and the sowars eighteen rupees a month. They would of course have native officers and non-commissioned officers, who, we think, should do the duties of thanadars, &c. The numbers for different

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districts would vary with their requirements, some of course would have more and some less; but 300 infantry, and 100 sowars would we think be about an average. Suppose then that a commandant was appointed, a military officer with a staff pay of Rs. 200, and two others under him at 100 each; and the cavalry to consist of one russuldar, three naibs, eight duffadars, two trumpeters, and eighty-six sowars; and the infantry of three subadars, nine jemadars, twenty-four havildars, two buglers, and 262 sepoys; and the rates of pay to be for the first three grades of cavalry respectively rupees eighty, forty, and twenty-five per mensem; and for the trumpeters and sowars rupees eighteen, and for the three first grades of infantry respectively rupees forty, twenty, and ten; and for the two last, five each, then the total monthly cost of such a force in a district would be Rs. 5,244, or annually Rs. 62,928. There are thirty-five districts under the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, and the total cost of such a force, if established in every district under his government, would be Rs. 22,02,480. For the north-west, where there are thirty-three districts, it would be rather less; and for Oude, where there are twelve districts, about one-third of the sum. The whole of the expense of the Oude force would however be saved, as it no longer exists, and a large saving would be the result in that province. The European officers should, we are of opinion, reside in different parts of the district, and be police officers under the magistrate. The duties would be those of police generally, to furnish guards to the treasury and jail, to escort through the districts treasure and government stores, both civil and military. The system of escorts, we would recommend, should be this: All the carriage in every district should be registered, and on notice being given to a magistrate that public property had to pass through his district, he should send a sufficient portion of his police force with the requisite carriage, to the first halting place within his district, and take charge of the stores, which would be loaded on the carriage which he had provided, the old carriage being discharged. He would cause the stores to be escorted through his own district to the first stage in the adjoining one, where a portion of the next magistrate's police and carriage would meet them, and so on. By these means, the requisite carriage for troops and stores would be supplied, without hardship to the country people, who could not object to an arrangement which would divide the burden equally among the several districts, see them paid, and above all, not detain them, which is what they so much object to. We have long been of opinion that a similar system might be adopted on the march of troops. The hardship on the people is great.

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The futile orders, which have been issued on this subject, are amusing. The civil authorities seem to be striving after an impossibility, namely, the voluntary hiring of their carts to the troops by the people. It is much better to admit the evil and necessity at once, instead of issuing orders which are only to be broken whenever they ought to be obeyed. The troops must march, carriage is necessary, and that cannot be procured without more or less "begaree." Let us write the word at once, and acknowledge what we cannot help, but at the same time mitigate the evil as much as we can. To us it seems that the above system would answer. Service, compulsory certainly, but only in their own district, and with regular pay. If one of the European officers attached to the police battalion, was sent with troops marching through a district, he could see that the *garrywans* were satisfied. The railway will modify all this, but it will be years before it can come into play, and in some parts probably never.

We are unable to give a comparative estimate of the expense of this system with that which, at present, obtains; as we have no data of the numbers and cost of the present police force. But it must be very considerable; and in taking this scheme into consideration, it must not be lost sight of, that there is a large effective European agency put at the service of the civil government. We would give the officers horse allowance, and keep them pretty constantly in the saddle, visiting the posts and stations; and we think that doing duty for a time in such a force, would be the best possible training for young civilians. They would learn the language and know the people infinitely better than they do under the system which now obtains. Of this police force, we confess to giving but a meagre sketch. It is more with a view to suggesting what may give rise to discussion on its merits, than to the advocacy of any prepared plan, that we have made this mention of it. We put forth these views will all deference, as being aware of the extent of the subject we have approached, and the necessity of any new scheme for the re-organization of the military force of the empire being fixed and arranged by all the intellect that Government can summon to its aid. But we have thought long and carefully on the subject, and the result is here given. It is certainly not impracticable; and if, in directing attention to the subject, we may be so fortunate as to indicate the nature of a change which shall meet the necessities of the country at this crisis, we shall have attained our object, and shall deem our labor not thrown away.

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ART. VI.—1. *Papers connected with the Petition of Missionaries residing in and near Calcutta.*

2. *The Government Gazette.*

3. *Revenue Hand-book.* By J. H. YOUNG, Esq.

4. *The Land Revenue of India.* By the late F. H. ROBINSON, Esq. London. Thacker and Co., 87, Newgate Street.

THE present moment is one not very auspicious for a great social reform. The Government and the public have, for the last few months, had something to occupy them more urgent than the claims of the Ryot, or the interests of the Zemindar. These fearful mutinies, their origin, progress, and termination, will, we hope, in due time, be fully described in this *Review* and elsewhere; for there is, indeed, in society, an uncontrollable desire to possess the minutest facts, the amplest details, of the successive outbreaks, by which so many fair marts and rich treasuries have been sacked, so many valuable lives lost to their country, so many homes rendered desolate, a partial revolt has been converted into a general rebellion, and a disciplined and fertile kingdom, held up as an example to the other Presidencies of India, been turned into a battle field or an Alsatia, overrun by marauders, a scene of present desolation and misery, and, in all probability, of future famine and disease. We all more or less know what nameless atrocities have been perpetrated on women and children: by what acts of consummate treachery the remembrance of the massacre at Patna in the last century has, as it were, been effaced; to what new tales of havoc the story of the Black Hole must for ever give way: what old ideas have been ruthlessly discarded; what cherished traditions have been scattered to the winds. There is an end for ever, we hope, of the tyranny of caste in the army, and of the fulsome praise, and the excessive indulgence, by which the sepoy has been spoiled. On this and on other questions, by which society in India has been long divided, there will be, henceforth, some little unanimity of opinion. While we have, on the one hand, never thought lightly of the huge amount of individual suffering, and of the loss to the state, we have, on the other, never for one moment thought the empire in danger, and we are already beginning to look forward, out of a long account of deaths and disasters, to the Government of India on sounder and stronger principles than some statesmen have ventured to act on, and others have hardly thought fit to avow. We shall hear little more in the way of comparison between the virtues of the Anglo-Saxon and those of the Asiatic. There is an end of men of the old school

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who have an enthusiastic admiration for Rajpoots, and who hymn the chivalry, the fidelity, and the bravery of the sepoy. The oriental, emancipated from discipline, flushed with the hope of plunder, or mad with excitement, has sunk himself far lower than he would have been placed by his most avowed enemy. The many instances of kindness and protection to beleaguered and hunted Englishmen, which are constantly coming to light, are scarce a set-off to the unparalleled villanies, by which our countrymen and country-women have been butchered. While then we shall take a just estimate of native character in future, we shall hope for a change in regard to our foreign and exterior policy likewise. The invasion of Persia, the occupation of Affghanistan, the exact position of Herat, the rise and fall of the Euphrates, should cease to form stock subjects for discussion. We should begin to feel now that our proper and only sphere of action lies between the Himalayas and the sea. Pensions to dethroned royalty will be adjusted on a fairer scale, and debauched and worthless specimens of Kings and Nawaubs will no longer command a morbid sympathy in London drawing-rooms, or distract the attention of the senate from more important affairs. The king of Delhi and his ridiculous grievances, the sovereign of Oude and his preposterous claims, supported by hireling adventurers, will, if they escape the trial awaiting them, at once be consigned to oblivion. We shall reserve our rewards and our honours for those faithful sovereigns and petty chiefs, who have cast in their lot with ours, and to whom we are bound by every consideration of gratitude, of policy, and of honour, to assure a permanent independence. We shall not be sorry to hear of summary retributions, of signal vengeance, of the cord and the scourge effectively plied: and also, on the other hand, of liberal grants in land and in money to the deserving, of renewed assurances of protection and of friendship to the faithful, and of strong and telling measures in behalf of the masses of our subjects. The aroused feelings of British statesmen and of real philanthropists should find vent in prompt action, not only by dealing out terrible punishment to the rebellious, but by greater vigour and determination in every social or internal question that may be discussed in any department of the state. We do not, for a moment, advocate the slightest interference with religion, with caste, or with prejudices common to many classes of our subjects; and indeed, it can hardly have escaped the most careless observer, that the cry of danger to the Hindu religion, and of destruction to caste, was taken up from convenient motives, and was soon drowned or extinguished in the roar of selfish and violent passions suddenly let loose. There has been no direct interference with Krishna or with

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Mohammad on the part of our governors, and there will be none. But when we advocate additional energy and vigour everywhere, when there shall be no more mutinies to quell, we mean that no symptom of weakness should ever again be shown in the extermination of robbers, or in the extinction of crime: that no dilatoriness should be suffered to interfere with the prosecution of great public works: that larger powers should be conceded at once to local functionaries: and that no respect for fancied rights or vested interests should be suffered to come between the practical benevolence of government, and the happiness of the largest number of its subjects. Thus with the roar of cannon in the distance, with a disorganized presidency, requiring all the care and attention of government, with great projects of reform held in abeyance, and with the blood of our countrymen calling on us for vengeance, we still even now turn to a more peaceful subject, and shall make our modest contribution to the stock of knowledge which is requisite to deal successfully with so vast a question as that of the well-being and progress of the rural population of lower Bengal.

The petition of the missionaries, familiar to nearly all our readers, and discussed in parliament lately, was presented in the autumn of last year, to the lieutenant governor of Bengal. Among those who thereto appended their signature are the names of many earnest, eloquent, and disinterested men who, labouring for the spiritual conversion of the natives, are yet keenly alive to their secular comforts and their various physical trials. Some of the reverend gentlemen are men whose long residence in Calcutta will perhaps have made them more familiar with the feelings of the higher and middle, than with those of the lower classes. Some, however, are men who have enlarged their experience by periodical visits to the mofussil; some are mofussilites; and all, so far from having private objects in view, could gain nothing, if the prayer of the memorial were granted, beyond the gratification, or the hope, of contributing to the welfare of persons, not their dependents. This advocacy of the wants of others, apart from all self-interest, is indeed a striking fact in the controversy. Other bodies can take care of themselves, and can bring wealth, experience, energy, and untiring zeal, to the removal of special grievances, or the attainment of particular ends. The Indigo-planters' association numbers amongst its members many determined and enterprising individuals, commands the sympathies of a large portion of the press, and has the powerful support of the mercantile interest. The British-India association is more wealthy, more numerous than the former body, and at least as loud and earnest in proclaiming its wants. With regard to the planters, there is, at least,

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no humbug. They want the permanence of their rights as Britons: the facilities for the collection of their rents as farmers of estates: their summary processes against faithless cultivators who receive advances for indigo and refuse to sow: their speedy justice, their improved communication, the bridges that will bear hackeries and elephants, and the roads that shall not "melt" away. They stand up boldly and avowedly for the interests of their order; and, however impartial men may differ from their remedies, there can be little difference of opinion as to the straightforwardness and absence of sham with which those remedies are propounded. We wish we could say the same of the association of zemindars, the protectionists of Bengal, the landed aristocracy; for they are indeed nothing else. Why do not these gentlemen, who write pamphlets against the sale law, and who opposed the revenue survey, find for themselves some less ambitious and more appropriate title? Or why do they not, some of them, figure in the Revenue Board Report, like Priti Ram Choudari, the Mechparah zemindar, a large landholder in the permanently settled district of Goalpara, who has really fulfilled the visions in which Lord Cornwallis too liberally indulged? When they can deserve an honourable mention, like that accorded to the above gentleman in the Board's report for 1855-56, or when they can show estates on which the rents have been reduced, or drafts of laws specially made at their suggestion, to protect or to restore the rights of the agriculturists, it will be time enough for them to wonder that their objects are mis-represented, and that their claim to stand forth as the exponents of all classes, is not generally recognised. Till they do, the most solemn averment of the 'catholic' objects of their close league and alliance, will only call forth a smile.

The planters and zemindars then have their organs and mouthpieces, by which their antagonistic interests, as Natives and Europeans, and their similar rights and privileges as holders of large estates, are fully vindicated and discussed. The native merchants and shop-keepers are in that comfortable position which leaves them little to complain of, or have only those occasional grievances, such as want of communication or partial insecurity to property, which are sure to be remedied at the motion of others, in the general progress of the empire. But the ryots, who cover the ground with the food of thirty millions of people, who sow the indigo which enriches the European, and who pay the rent which maintains in comfort, not to say in opulence, all who live by the perpetual settlement, from the great land-owner to the lowest middleman, have literally no one advocate to set forth their case. This want has been supplied by the prayer of the missionaries, and however men

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may differ as to the statements contained in the petition, or refuse assent to the picture given of the condition and feelings of the population, or to the fitness of the remedy proposed, no one can refuse to admire the earnest, unselfish, spirit, by which so much moral excellence is made to serve the thousands who are sunk in vice and in ignorance, and so much thoughtfulness and eloquence is brought to the aid of those, who are unable to think out the real remedies for their social evils, or if they had, have not the tongue to make their wants heard.

Yet we are glad that the enquiry proposed by the petitioners was deliberately refused, and was not acceded to by Parliament; for the simple reason, if for no other, that the very nature of the enquiry would have resulted in the deferment of remedial measures, and thus in perpetuating the state of things which the memorialists justly deplore. But whoever wants to become possessed of the reasons for the refusal, has only to study the minutes of the lieutenant-governor, of the governor-general, and of the members of council. Mr. Halliday wrote well on the subject, with the confidence engendered by familiar intercourse with men of all classes, and by long study of the revenue system and general government of Bengal. Lord Canning took the view of an English statesman, not long resident in the country, and unacquainted with the language, but who based his conclusions on "information and testimony within his 'reach,'" and who applied principles gradually matured in England, to practical Indian questions of the last importance, in a manner which augurs well for the difficult tasks of remodelling or reforming large bodies that assuredly await him now; and Mr. J. P. Grant dealt with the petition in his usual clear and concise style, and with his accustomed soundness both in principles and details. The result of a perusal of the minutes shows clearly that, on one point, the sale of ardent spirits, the memorialists had been to some extent mis-informed: that several of the most crying evils which they represented to government, were fully known, needed no further enquiry, and were being gradually removed: that some were such as neither councils, nor governors, nor positive enactments could mend or cure: that the accuracy of the picture of discontent and sullenness said to be the state of feeling of the peasantry, was not admitted: and that a commission of enquiry would, if possible, which was not probable, be a serious mistake. We should, with this avowal of our concurrence in the views enunciated by the members of Government, be somewhat inconsistent, if we took up the several questions in such a manner as to set privilege against labour, and each class of society in opposition to the one directly above it: the more so as we think some of the evils under which agricul-

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turists suffer, proceed from their own carelessness, apathy, and extravagance, whenever they have anything to spend. But we consider that, on one point extracted by the Lieut.-Governor from the petition, every additional information thrown, may be of some value. That point is No. 4, in Mr. Halliday's enumeration of the eight subjects. "The resources and earnings 'of the labouring classes, and the proportion which these bear 'to the rent that they are compelled to pay." And to this, and to a few other material and incidental points, we earnestly invite the attention of our readers in the following pages.

The portion of Lower Bengal, to part of which the memorial certainly refers, and from which our materials are drawn, is not unfitted for generalisation. We shall take the population of a part of a large tract, fertile, cultivated, and populous: with fair communication by water, and moderate but improvable communication by land: a tract containing powerful zemindars and energetic planters: one productive of rice, of sugar, of indigo, and of various agricultural products: and finally a tract of country not so close to the civilization of Calcutta on the one hand, as to be an unfair specimen of the remainder of the mofussil, nor one so far removed amongst the backwoods and jungles, as to be below the standard in general enterprise and intelligence. That the majority of the ryots are poor, in the sense of living from hand to mouth, without ability to lay by anything after provision for daily maintenance, and that they are mainly occupied in the cultivation of rice, are facts about which there is no dispute. On the cultivation of the staple food of the lower provinces, and on the various crops sown after the early rice has been gathered in, as well as on the general appearance and condition of the successive umbrageous villages, wide plains, and deep or rapid rivers which make up lower Bengal, a good deal has been already written in this *Review*; and for a general description of the alluvial soil of lower Bengal, we venture to refer our readers to Art. I. Vol. IX. We shall therefore be brief in our remarks on the staple cultivation, and somewhat more prolix as to those who cultivate. The early, or *aous* rice is sown generally on high, light, and sandy soils from March to May, as showers may be favorable. It is cut variously from the end of July to the middle or end of September, and in six weeks' time, it is succeeded by what is known as 'cold weather' crop, which may be mustard, vetches, pulse, millet, *sola*, or gram, barley, oats, and the like. The *aumon* rice is sown in rich, deep, and loamy soils from April to June, and is reaped any time between the beginning of December and the end of January. It is a richer, stronger, and every way a better crop than the *aous*, but it is more exposed to inundation, and is not followed by any second

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crop within the year. Occasionally the early and the late crops are sown on the same land, and cut without injury to each other at different periods. A large part of the late rice is planted with the hand in rows, on land carefully ploughed, cleaned, and smoothed for the purpose. It is everywhere known as the *roa*, and yields an abundant harvest. A third kind of rice, unknown in high and dry tracts of country, but very common in extensive marshy districts, is called the *boru*, and, from its proximity to water, is sown and grown from the month of January to the end of May. It is cultivated in places where there is too great a depth of water during the heavy rains, and consequently abundance to keep the plant moist during the fierce heat of summer. The early rice, in the most favourable season, from both grain and straw, cannot give more than five rupees per beegah. In bad seasons it may not yield more than one rupee. As much as ten or even fifteen rupees may be got from the *aumon* crop in good seasons; but when heavy rains, or unexpected inundations from large rivers, drown the young plants, as was the case during 1855 and 1856, and may be the case again at any time, the return is positively nothing. The *boru* rice may be expected to yield seven or eight rupees per beegah. And on these three crops, over some hundreds of miles, the hopes and anxieties of some millions hang for a large part of the year.

About the crops, there can be little dispute. The condition of those who live by such crops, we have found to be as follows:— Take a large plain, a crowded bazaar on market day, or a high road between two towns or villages of any importance, and it will generally be found that the men at work on the one, or buying and selling in the other, or sturdily strutting along the third, have some title, or right, or interest, or occupancy in the soil. Nearly every man has his *jumma*, which, in plain language, is his tenant-right of occupancy, or of proprietorship. The extent of this *jumma* is, in conversation, and for all practical purposes, indicated not by the acre-age, for few can tell the area of their possession, but by the rent demanded, for every man well knows how much he is expected to pay. A *jumma* or *jote* may then vary from five to one hundred rupees. It will usually be found to be from about twelve to thirty. Obviously, the possibility of a man's paying such rent, and yet finding enough to support him, will depend, apart from all fluctuations of climate, on the rent, compared to the productiveness and extent of the tenure, on the number of mouths which he has to support in his own homestead, and on the number of sharers who have a joint hold on the land. The shareholders in a large *jumma* of eighty or one hundred rupees we have known to reach to ten, and there are often as many as four or five on a small holding of twenty

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rupees. This is an inevitable consequence of the law of subdivision; but it is remarkable, how constantly this terminates, after two or three generations, in a separation of cousins, and a division of the inheritance into two or more shares, no longer to be held in common: and it is still more remarkable how this universal custom is rudely set to rights by the progress of disease, by fever, cholera, small-pox, and other scourges, which clear off whole families, and cause the inheritance to revert to the hands of a single member. If on the one hand, numerous instances may be found of families branching out, till they seem to weigh down the minute holding,—on the other, cases as frequent will occur, where father, and uncles, with their offspring, have all been swept away, and the patrimonial inheritance has reverted to a single individual, with it may be the surviving female relations all dependent upon his exertions for bread.

The *jumma* or holding will naturally be divided between a homestead, or *beeta*, with, it may be, some garden land attached to it, and the outfield in the plain, with its early or late rice, or both. The possession of a garden seems to confer no small pleasure on the possessor, the term including land on which mangoe, date, jack, cocoanut, betelnut, or other fruit trees grow, as well as bamboos, and land on which brinjals, hemp, and common vegetables may be planted, and cows may be tethered to pasture in the rains. On a garden like this, very little care is expended, except it be a date garden. The blossoms come forth, and the fruit is formed and ripens, with none of the digging, manuring, and watering, which in any climate are essential to rich produce, and cannot be dispensed with even under the powerful sun and fertilizing rains of Bengal. The over-crowding of fruit trees, their injury from insects and birds, their want of pruning, the entire absence of the commonest rules of scientific gardening, must be familiar to any one who has ever studied a Bengali village. Half the fruits are in consequence stunted in growth, damaged by insects, and injured in the gathering. But it is something for the ryot to have a garden which is growing while he is sleeping, or working elsewhere, and which gives him the useful bamboo, applied to so many common purposes, and which yields fruit, without previous expenditure, to relieve the monotony of his regular fare, or to increase his "resources and earnings," when sold at the weekly *haut*. The main question relative to outfield and infield will, of course, be the average amount of rent. We have said that few ryots know the extent of their holdings in actual *beegahs*. This is the case, in many instances, where the land has never been measured, when it will be loosely stated at twenty or thirty beegahs; but where it has been measured, the ryot unluckily knows its extent but too well. There is

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in every pergunnah a variable rate of assessment; but one well understood. In pergunnah Insafnuggur it is one thing; in pergunnah Zalimpore it is another. There is, we say, a general understanding, expectation, or regular consent, given or implied, that it shall not be enhanced without some very special reason. And the question to which we now come, and which is one of the last importance, is, what is the usual average, and is it a fair one? On this point, custom and opinions vary so much, in different places, and according to the different views of payers and receivers, that it is with some difficulty, and after a great deal of research, that we have arrived at a definite conclusion.

The large rent paid by shopkeepers, or mere householders in marts, bazars, and the principal stations of districts, should no more be taken as a criterion of the average, than the return of a crop of sugar-cane, or of indigo sown for seed only, should be taken as the average of the produce of the land. Where wealth accumulates, and the commodities of the country are collected together, ground naturally rises in value, just as it does in the Chitpore bazar, or within two or three streets of St. Paul's. We have known as much as eleven rupees ground-rent paid for a beegah of land, by a shopkeeper in a thriving bazar, and three and four rupees for a shop with a single house attached to it: the two latter not covering more than eight cottahs in extent. A regular assessment of one rupee and four annas for each shop in a long line of shops, built nearly on the same model, and taking up about the same space, is not immoderate. The *mudi*, the dealer in brass pans, and the cloth-seller, harassed by no processes, exposed to no vicissitudes of climate, can well afford to pay such a rate as this. Even in villages, a higher rate on the homestead and the garden, is universal. It may be as low as Rs. 2, or as high as Rs. 3-8 or Rs. 4, but the average may be taken as Rs. 2-8 or Rs. 2-12. Such a rate, in itself, is nothing intolerable. Those who follow a profitable occupation, such as sugar-baking, oil-pressing, weaving, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, and others, whose existence and trades are essential to the rice-growing community generally, can save this amount from their yearly earnings: and the ryot who looks to the land alone, can afford to pay it from the returns of his rice-land, if this latter be not too highly assessed. But this, as we have just said, is the very gist of our enquiry. What is a fair rent for the land which yields one splendid crop, or two average crops in the year? We find that rent for this land varies from as low as 8 annas a beegah to Rs. 2-12 and even Rs. 3, which is pretty much the same as saying that rent in England ranges from eighteen shillings or one pound an acre to fifty and

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fifty-five shillings. In Bengal the extremes are rare. The land may be too sandy, or too low, or too sterile, or impregnated with salt, or culturable only after a rest for a year or ten months, and in these cases, a rate of from ten to fourteen annas is quite as much as it can bear. If rich and loamy, it may well bear from eighteen annas to Rs. 1-4. But repeated investigation has satisfied us, that a ryot holding a *jote* of twenty beegahs, composed of homestead, high land, and deep land, pays on the whole a higher rate than this. Were the whole of the twenty beegahs assessed at no more than a rupee per beegah, we should have little to say in favour of a reduction. But when the homestead pays Rs. 2-8 or Rs. 3, the deep rice land Rs. 1-8, Rs. 1-12 or Rs. 2, and the lighter soils from twelve annas to Rs. 1-2, as we have found that they do pay repeatedly, it is clear that the ryot has a burden laid on him, which it requires constant exertion, without intermission from sickness, litigation, or any other cause, as well as a succession of favourable seasons, to enable him to support. In round numbers one rupee a beegah, or Rs. 1-2, and perhaps Rs. 1-4 in very favourable localities, would be a fair and equitable assessment. But we find in some *pergunnahs*, that Rs. 1-4, and in others that Rs. 1-6, and Rs. 1-12, or Rs. 2 are the regular rates. Add to this occasional cesses, with an increasing family, and the families of other shareholders increasing as well, and it is very conceivable that the ryot has no easy task to perform. We have found *zemindaries* where the best soils were taxed at no more than Rs. 1-2 a beegah, and the worst as low as eight annas. We can point to others where the same soils are taxed respectively at Rs. 1-4 and Rs. 2-8. The difference between the condition of the cultivator, in each instance, is almost as easy to compute as the difference of the above sums. If, as Mr. Macaulay said in 1851, the varying abilities of Collectors can be read at a glance in the very faces of the ryots, if all is peace and plenty where the screw has been loosened, and the land returns to jungle where it has been drawn tight, it is not nearly so rhetorical to say that the character of the Zemindar can be discovered in ten minutes' conversation with a small knot of villagers who will speak truth under the village tree. But taking a number of instances together, the hard master and the lenient, the soil that lies too low and that which lies too high, with the general run of the seasons, with the earnings of the ryot from the land, and his extra resources, if any, we do not think it too much to say that a reduction of the assessment on the cultivators of from four to eight annas a beegah, in two-thirds of the *zemindaries*, would improve the condition of the cultivators generally, without at all impairing the position of the receivers of rent. But we are

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well aware that it would be mere folly to expect such a desirable reduction to be voluntarily made by the most "catholic" body in the world. The remedies for the ryot which we propose, will be of a different kind.

To meet the rent as above described, the ryot or tenant proprietor cultivates his land in one of the three following ways: 1, by his own thews and sinews: 2, by the labour of hired servants: 3, by the system of *barga*.

By far the greater part of the rice crop is sown and grown by those to whom the holding belongs. The ploughing, crushing, and harrowing, the casting of the seed, the weeding during the rainy season, the cutting and carting, are most frequently all done by the holders of the *jote*. Hired labour is, obviously, an indication of some advance in civilization, or of some substance and well-being. It is the frequent resource of men who have taken service under Government, or under Zemindars, or who have some other means of livelihood, or who with an under tenure, comprising one or more villages, retain in their own hands a small home-farm. The third method of cultivation is very frequent. The proprietor having neither the skill, nor the time, nor the muscle, to sow and plough himself, calls in a person whom he terms the *bargadar*. This person brings his own plough, bullocks, and seed, and his own person, and goes through all the agricultural operations, which commence in April and end in December. Having done this without any advances from the proprietor,—who does not always give one-half the seed, as stated by Mr. Wilson in his glossary,—the bargadar, at harvest-time, gets for his pains, just one-half the crop. The arrangement suits the convenience of both parties. The tenant is saved the exertion of cultivating, and can follow any other business. The bargadar, who may work in one village this year, and in another the next, is saved anxieties about leases, exactions, bonuses, and payments of rent, &c. In the very worst of seasons, he has lost nothing beyond his seed and his labour. But of the three methods of cultivation, the most frequent as well as the most successful, is the first. We have heard ryots admit that, if a man wanted careful ploughing, sowing, and planting, the young plant to be well weeded, and the surplus water to be regularly carried off, with a first-rate crop at the end of all, there was nothing for it but to do everything himself. We have heard from Englishmen many philanthropic complaints of indifferent agriculture, coarse implements, perfunctoriness in the manual operations, and bad crops. We are ready to admit that the tools are primitive, that the ryot is often lazy, and that there is little change in the system of cropping from one year to another; but the charge of bad results, for *common*, and not *unusual* crops, we

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entirely deny; nay, we are fully prepared to go further, and show that, not in any part of England itself, with all the elaborate ploughs of modern invention, are there to be shown such specimens of finished and successful husbandry. We have seen, this year, soil crushed, smoothed, and weeded, till it more resembled a suburban garden on the South-western railway line, than a common piece of rice land in the plains of Bengal.

There may be a field for improvement or experiment in the various crops, other than rice, which are sown and cut from the commencement to the close of the cold season. A knowledge of the best system of rotation, and of the best and simplest ways of manuring and irrigating such crops, is what the ryot has not got, and what it would be well to give him; fruit trees and vegetables, if properly looked to, would become more valuable. And there is little doubt that as railways are extended through eastern and northern Bengal, there will be many more inducements to the ryot to cultivate those productions, which find a ready sale only in large stations and prosperous cities. But, with all this, a very large surface of ground will ever remain fitted for rice cultivation alone. This must be the case until scientific men shall discover some means of draining off the accumulation of water of the rainy seasons, which the thousand natural outlets of the country have yet failed to do; or some article of general consumption be found, which possesses the peculiar faculty of growing in from six inches to six feet of water, and which, with a fair chance given it, will beat Neptune in a race for life or death. On the other hand, we are ready to admit that there may be several places, where by cutting a canal and letting the water run off into some deep river, having its exit in the Sunderbunds, a good many acres of land might be saved from annual inundation, and bear crops of rice, instead of jungle with a broad blade. But such places are suited to engineering and not to agricultural triumphs; and we must again repeat our conviction that persons intending to teach the ryot some parts of his trade, would be rather surprised to find how very much they had yet to learn. His knowledge of seed-time, and of harvest, and of the general water-shed of his part of the country, is hardly susceptible of improvement; while the pains and labour, though unwilling, with which considerable patches of ground are cleaned and smoothed for the reception of rice plants, dibbled in by rows, with the hand, after being grown in a sort of nursery, as well as the results of these diverse operations, would be worthy of all praise in an agricultural show in England.

We must now say a word or two on the implements, by which these gratifying results are attained. Most readers must have seen a Bengali plough at some time, or have seen its print.

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Looking like a rude sort of anchor, it might excite the contempt of a sturdy English yeoman, or the surprise of the classical student who remembered the unmanageable instrument described by Virgil in a well-known passage of the Georgics. But this rude implement is suited to the means and capacity of the ryot, and to the bullocks which are to draw it. The price of this and other necessary tools may not be unacceptable to some of our readers. A very common thing is for the ryot to find his wood, *baubul* or mangoe, the former being preferred for its hardness, as well as the piece of iron for the share, and then to go to the carpenter of the village, who for a remuneration of four annas, will "fix" him a plough! It is usual too, to give this functionary a general retainer for the year, in the shape of a maund of rice in the husk, in consideration of which he is to make and repair the plough and other agricultural weapons; or the ryot may buy his plough ready made. In any case the whole expense will not exceed Rs. 1-4 or 1-8 for wood, iron, and workmanship; and the article may last one, two, or even three years. The prices of bullocks, which draw the plough or the cart, if the ryot is lucky enough to possess one, vary according to the size and strength of this animal. A young and vigorous bullock will fetch from eight to ten, twelve, and even sixteen rupees. Twenty rupees for a good pair is not an uncommon price. Weak and puny animals, or those whose best days are past, will cost four, five, or six rupees each. Eight rupees is about an average price. After the plough comes naturally the harrow. But this implement is a very different affair from the iron-toothed harrow of Europe. It is nothing more or less than two bamboos tied parallel to each other by cross pieces of wood, so as to form a regular ladder about eight feet long. The bullocks being harnessed, a couple of men take their stand on the ladder, so as to increase its weight, when it is dragged repeatedly over the field on which the seed has been cast, till every clod is pulverised, and the whole surface is perfectly smooth. We might term this a clod-crusher; the natives call it a *bida* or a *bachara*. It costs about two annas, and may be put together by the ryot himself. The instrument which resembles a harrow, in that it shews one single row of wooden teeth, is not employed till the seed has shot up some inches above the ground, when it performs somewhat of the duty which the 'scuffler' performs in England, preventing the soil from caking and hardening, without tearing up the young and tender plant. This instrument may be purchased for about six annas. Add to this a small hand-spud for weeding, which costs about three pyce; a fish basket to catch, rather than to carry fish, which costs about three annas; a triangular fish net, which is worth about five annas; a *kodali* or mattock, which, how-

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ever, is not universally needed, worth little more than a rupee; a *dao* or bill-hook worth about eight or ten annas,—and we have the complete stock in trade of a very considerable portion of the labouring population of Bengal.

So much for the implements of the ryot. His position and substance may not obscurely be indicated by the number of houses which he and his family occupy. If a ryot has but a single mat house, with a common thatched roof, it may be assumed that he has no cows, that he lives from hand to mouth as a day labourer, and that, unless he has some profitable employment or trade, he is generally in a bad way. A couple of houses, one of which serves as a cow or a cooking-house, is no very great evidence of well-being. Three houses constitute comfort; and it is the ambition of nearly every one to erect his four houses, one at each main point of the compass, the whole forming a snug court-yard in the centre, secure from the intrusion of casual wayfarers, and from the profane eye of neighbours. Where two families live in a joint mess, or where the owner may be a mahajun with stores of grain, let out at high interest, or a *grihastha* with a comfortable *jumma;* there is no saying to what extent the family residence may not increase by the addition of barns, cow-houses, store-houses, and separate sleeping apartments. There may be twenty together, forming a hamlet of themselves. A house may cost any sum between three and one hundred rupees. There is scarcely anything more primitive than the humblest style of dwelling, six bamboos for the posts, a dry kind of long jungly grass, which, however, is regularly sown and grown, for the roof, and a coarse mat for the sides, letting in air and water at the crevices,—and the whole thing is complete. Nor on the other hand, are there many things much neater in their way than a well raised commodious *ath-chala,* or "eight-roofed" house. By the latter term it is not to be imagined that the house has eight coverings. The explanation is that the roof, besides covering the house on its four distinct sides, instead of on two sides, without the two gable ends, further covers the four verandahs, which, enclosed or open, run round the house on all sides. A house of this kind, with a raised mud floor at least four feet high, and neat windows, though perhaps without glass, barring its being somewhat too air-tight in the hot season, is habitable enough. A guardsman in the Crimea, or a pioneering civilian in a newly conquered province, would have highly prized such a *gite.* The ordinary style of house is, however, different from either extreme, and costs from about seven to twelve rupees. With occasional repairs to the thatch, and a new bamboo or two, it may last for some years, if spared such a visitation as the May gale of 1852, or if not in the centre of a large bazar, in which case it stands

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a fair chance of being burnt down once in three years, in company with about a hundred others. To complete our picture of this part of a ryot's condition, we may add that in the matter of clothes, a poor working man must buy about three common *dhooties* in the course of a year, and a couple of decent ones which he keeps for special occasions: and that the expenditure on this head does not pass the limit, for each person, of 2 rupees or 2-8 a year. But when we consider the great partiality, which all natives, even the most respectable, have for a state not far short of nudity, it may be allowed that the 'crying want' of the ryot is not an ability to expend more money on clothing himself.

The number of men in lower Bengal, who live wholly or partially by the soil, or who derive some benefit from it in some way, directly or indirectly, and who may be classed as ryots generally, is very large. No trade or profession, nor any number of trades, supports the same amount of persons. This is so obvious a truism to many that we feel an apology due for the remark. But many more, we believe, are not fully aware how great a portion of persons of all castes and occupations, of all ranks and grades, possess small portions of land, which they cultivate themselves or by others. The earth is pure to all, even to those who are above digging or delving. Besides those who cultivate their own plots and do nothing else, and those who simply till the ground for others, getting half the produce for their pains, small tenures or under-tenures are held by weavers and oilmen, by potters, and *chamars*, by palanquin bearers, and carters, by Brahmins, Mohammedans, and pariahs, and by the numerous class of men who have obtained service in various ways under planters, zemindars, or government, and by the class of men not quite so numerous, who are hungry for employment, and will dance attendance for weeks and months on any person possessed of any authority, and capable of advancing their fortunes. Indeed, the mere aspiring to, or possession of, a place, is in itself indicative of other resources. A man who leaves one district, in the hope of employment in another, or who hangs pertinaciously about the office, or estate, or factory, in which his father, uncle, or brother is employed already, enduring vexation and fed by vain hopes and vague promises, must have something on which to fall back. Take almost any one employed in the police, the revenue, the salt, or the excise, or the local agents, naibs, gomashtahs, rent-collectors, peons, &c. of land-owners, and it will be found that almost every individual has his under-tenure in one or two villages, or his thirty beegahs, or his small but independent talook. Two or three of a large family sharing the patrimonial estate, go forth from the homestead in quest of

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service, while a couple remain at home to collect the rents, to supervise the cultivation, or to cultivate the land themselves. This was the case with Oude, which fed our army, as it is with Bengal, which supplies not only that province, but a very large part of the Upper-provinces, with writers and accountants. Another peculiarity about employments is the smallness of the salary attached. Government is blamed for the ridiculously inadequate pay, and the low scale of emolument, which it grants to its employés; but in nine cases out of ten the employé has other means of his own, and the scale of remuneration fixed by government is much higher than the average scale, by which the agents of zemindars are paid. A naib in his way is as important as a police darogah, yet the pay of the former is much less in amount. A gomastah in a flourishing bazar gets six rupees a month; a rent-collector, who has to collect between three and four thousand rupees in the year, the same; and a similar functionary, who collects about Rs. 800 or Rs. 1,000 a year, is constantly paid at Rs. 1-8 a month, or less than half the sum which a grass-cutter receives. Of course, these individuals, like men in the service of government, possess other resources; and they have the indefinite perquisites and pickings of office. Nor again are we disposed to maintain that the service of government should not be rendered more honorable and attractive than that of any other potentate, or to say that it already commands the greatest amount of talent and respectability. All we say is, that hitherto the salaries paid by government have been as high as the average of similar unofficial salaries: that in the greater number of instances, such are not the only means of support which the public officer possesses: and that the want of honesty observable has not invariably proceeded from their scantiness of remuneration. The service of government has, in some respects, resembled hitherto service in Her Majesty's army;—an honourable service, affording occupation, conferring or augmenting respectability, and bringing in a certain scale of salary, and an uncertain amount of waifs and strays, with a prospect of a pension in old age, under the only eastern dynasty that ever thought a worn-out servant fit for anything else but to die on a dunghill. The service of Government has, in fact, hitherto been one which an absolutely poor man, living from hand to mouth, has had no chance of entering. And thus it is that we do find advertisements for treasurers, who shall deposit a lakh of rupees as security, and who shall be paid only 150 rupees a month, to be constantly answered, and to be even sought for by competition. We do not say that the salary might not be doubled with advantage. But we do say that

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the office being decent and gentlemanly, and conferring a power of providing for friends and dependents in many ways, it is an object of ambition; and that the treasurer has no right to complain that he was tempted to embezzle a few thousands, owing to his low scale of salary, when it is notorious that he is rich in houses, lands, and in Company's securities, and that he could buy ten times over, the present, or the possible future property of any two collectors, who ever held with him the joint keys of office.

We return from this digression to our main subject, the condition of the ryot. A considerable portion of this class, as we have stated, live solely by the land, and have no other resources. Let us take the common case of two or three joint sharers, who have, between them, thirty or forty beegahs of land, paying about fifty rupees of rent. We do not say, with some writers, that such men are "poverty-stricken creatures, constantly toiling from morn till night," because there is a certain portion of the year, when there are no crops on the ground, and consequently nothing to toil for; and because ryots are averse to working all day; but we do say that in the worst of seasons, a cultivator is reduced to borrow, at exorbitant interest, money to buy food to put into his mouth, and that in the best seasons, he can do little more than pay his rent and his debts, and live himself, without any hope of laying anything by: and that it is next to impossible that any combination of circumstances can ever raise him one single step in the social scale. There is a hopelessness in the dull uniform routine of successive generations of such men. The rice crops, early and late, from May to December, with the addition of the cold weather crop from October to February and March, absorb all their thoughts. There may be days when a man needs not work, and brief periods of rejoicing, when a crop has been safely gathered in: or he may have an acre of profitable garden-land to look after: but the prospect of bettering himself is absolutely denied him. A good season in two or three contiguous districts gluts the markets, and consequently lowers the price of what he sells; so that, though he may keep enough rice of his own growing to live on during the year, he will make less in hard cash, wherewith to pay his landlord: and besides, the profits of a good season are constantly devoured by the debt which has been incurred during two or three preceding bad ones. We believe that this will be the case in many places in this very year, when the size of the crops, and the general prospects of the harvest are of as good augury as they have been for a long time. Then, in addition to this mere life of digging and weeding, which is never varied, owing to prejudices of caste or to mere hereditary inexperience, by any

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manual employment or handicraft of any sort, there is the startling fact that the land will remain the same in size, while the family will increase in number, and the rents may be raised in amount. It is true, as we have said, that the rapid increase of the people is sometimes roughly set right in a fashion which would have pleased Dickens's political economist, and that owing to visitations of fever, cholera and other diseases, numbers are swept away, "and decrease the surplus population." We know some very astounding instances of half a dozen shareholders in a small tenure having been cleared off in a few years, the land reverting to a single individual, with two or three widows looking to him for support. But no man would wish the inequalities in the social system to be levelled in this way; and most philanthropists would be desirous that all classes should, at least, have the hope of getting on in the world, and of leaving their sons and nephews in as good a position as they were themselves on starting in life. But there are men lower in the social scale than these ryots with circumscribed tenures. There are the men who cultivate for others, and men again who live as day labourers, thatching or building houses, weeding and digging, and doing any sort of work within the limit of their caste, for a sum varying from five pyce to two annas a day. The bargadar, or mere tiller, whose position we have already explained, may have some small land of his own, and if this land be not sufficient to absorb all his energies, he will be ready to do work for others: and he generally has his own plough and bullocks, and is less solicitous as to the rates, rents, and the conduct of landlords. Still year after year, his state will remain the same. The most hopeless case, however, is that of a mere labourer for daily hire. He has probably a few *cottas* of land on which his single house is erected, and for which he has to pay one Rupee in the year. Without plough, cart, or cattle of any sort, he has to work daily, for his daily meal, at the rate of eight pyce or two annas a day. If the man for whom he works be of the same caste, he will share the mid-day meal and the hookah: if not, the employer may give him an extra pyce to purchase *cherra* and *goor*, which is what the French would call a *gouter*. From this scanty remuneration he has to live, and though food may be most abundant, he can hardly do this under three pyce a day; from the remainder he has to save money to pay his ground rent, to purchase such clothes as are absolutely necessary, and to repair his house when it is damaged by weather. It is not impossible that such a one may have a young brother, or a decrepid father, to take care of; and it is to be expected that sickness or even weather may prevent his going forth for two or three days together to his usual occupation. How in such a

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case, he manages to get over the interval, whether he lives by the remnants of yesterday's cooked-rice, or by borrowing or begging, it is impossible for us to say; but we own to have met amongst this class of men some startling cases, which, though exceptional, seem to have reached a depth where there was but little more left for hard work and wretchedness to fathom.

As however, there are men who, in circumstances, are below the mere tenant of a *jumma*, so there are others who are above him, and who have something else to do, besides sowing and eating rice all their lives. These men form a considerable, and we should hope, an increasing, class. When caste or inexperience, or mere helplessness, do not stand in the way, there are many employments which give a fair share of profit, and are not incompatible with tillage. It is, we believe, not an uncommon idea that men whose labour is apportioned to them by their caste, perform their particular work, and do nothing else. But this is not the case. There is a very large class of Mohammedans who both hold land and weave cloth. Numbers of them may be met on any *haut* day, with a bundle which contains the cotton yarn they have just bought, or that which they have turned into light cloth and are going to sell. A nimble-fingered weaver, in the course of a month, will clear from four to five rupees at this sort of work, buying on market days some eight annas' worth of raw material, and turning it in three or four days into a piece that will sell for twelve or fourteen annas. An equally large class of Mohammedans, known as the *kolhu* class, live by making mustard oil, or occasionally cocoanut oil, in one of the common native presses. A similar sum, or even more, may be made every month at this business. These classes have all their small holdings, and it may depend on a variety of circumstances, whether the partnership in the land extends to the trade also, or whether the latter be a private speculation of some one or two enterprising individuals amongst the brotherhood of shareholders. The same remark applies to the cases of those who take the lowest posts of peons, or burkundazes, under Government, or under planters and Zemindars. Nearly all have their share in a piece of land, and if the patrimonial inheritance be divided amongst two or three brothers, who dwell in amity together, the proceeds of service of one will also be duly accounted for, and will go to the common stock. The race of bearers have also their *jummas*, and men whose daily business supplies higher wants than the agriculturist, the potter, the village-barber, the carpenter, and the blacksmith, may often be found to possess their few beegahs of land. It is *so* convenient to have two strings to a bow. But independent of those who live by agriculture and by handicraft united, we place

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higher in the social scale, men who, from whatever cause, have something else to cultivate than this eternal rice. Rich plots of sugar-cane, feathery date gardens, and indigo grown for seed, are obviously indicative of a wish and ability to rise in the scale. It is not every soil that will bear, nor every ryot that can cultivate, the first article—for it requires trenching, and irrigation, and some amount of ready money, as well as skill; but it will, on the other hand, yield as much as twenty or thirty rupees a beegah. Date gardens are much more common, and require less attention; but they are great auxiliaries, when the rice fails from inundation. It is a curious fact that the question whether date gardens were or were not included in the garden-lands, which, under the sale law of 1845, are preserved from sudden extinction, whenever an estate may be sold for arrears of public revenue, was the first thing that led to an examination of the condition of all under-tenures, gardens, and land taken on *bonâ fide* leases for twenty years under the sale laws, as they now stand. Horticulturally the fact appears to be that, though in some few instances, the boundaries of such gardens are ill defined, and the trees grow straggling at some distance from each other, in general a date garden is sufficiently well defined. And politically, it seems most desirable that every encouragement should be given to the extension of such date cultivation, and every safeguard be afforded to those who have already laid out their money in this way. The date tree requires seven years before it will yield a return in the shape of juice. A man who has a couple of hundred trees may be thought well off. And with that well-known anxiety to make as much as possible out of the soil, it is very common to see the ryot cultivating first rice, and then mustard, between the rows of his date trees. We doubt, however, whether this practice is productive of a profitable result. When the trees are young and tender, much care is required in guiding the plough so as to avoid hurting their roots: when the trees shoot up and become vigorous, they absorb all the moisture and nutriment, and the rice crop in their vicinity is generally very weak and thin. A third resource which we mentioned above, is that of sowing indigo, not under advances from the planter for the dye, but for seed for the operations of the ensuing year. It is purely a matter for the ryot's own private speculation. The operation of sowing takes place about the very time when the ripe and rich indigo plant is ready for cutting. That is to say, the plant which gives the seed is sown in July, and will not be ripe till the end of the year. Three or four seers of seed will cover a beegah. And that extent of ground will yield a maund or even two or three of produce. Now, as a maund of seed has been, this year, selling at from

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sixteen to twenty rupees, it may be readily understood how vast are the profits of a moderate venture in this line. Why then, it may be asked, do not all ryots set apart a beegah or two of land for this kind of cultivation, and hasten to grow rich? The answer to this, we take to be, is that not every kind of soil will bear indigo for seed: that some ryots do not like to lose two crops in the year, which they must do, if the land be reserved for indigo seed: that the cultivation requires great care, and constant weeding and attention, of all of which, beyond what is absolutely necessary, the ryot has an abhorrence: that the whole crop may be lost in a bad season, that a ryot fears that he may not find after all a ready market: and divers other reasons. There is, we fear, no doubt, that it is not always debt, nor want of money, nor even inability to wait for the larger return which is yielded by produce of slow growth, that keeps the ryot poor in the very midst of plenty. It is, in many cases, want of skill and energy, and dislike to assiduous labour, or dull adherence to the routine of his forefathers, or a determined forgetfulness of the maxim laid down by the best of agricultural poets that, under the will of Heaven, the "way of cultivation is not made easy." There are some other equally rich and advantageous crops to be cultivated, for the enumeration of which we cannot afford space. But there is one other resource which might be within the reach of all but the very poorest, and which many ryots do possess—and that is a bullock cart. The uses of a hackery, for such is the term we English have invented to designate a common country-cart, are many, and it is a real comfort and a cheap luxury. The price of a common cart is from four to six rupees. A ryot may buy it ready made, or he may bring his own material to the carpenter, as he does the material for a plough. The cart is drawn by the pair of bullocks which follow him to the yoke, and is of course at hand for him to carry his produce to the nearest market, or in times of scarcity, to go some distance to lay in a stock of rice for consumption. The cart is also ready, if the ryot has a freight to carry to or from Calcutta, Moorshedabad, Kishnaghur, Santipore, or to any of the great sugar marts within 100 miles of the metropolis. From three to five rupees may be made in a trip of from six to eight days. Moreover an enterprising individual, if not hired by any mahajun to carry rice, sugar, treacle, or cotton on a trip of fifty miles, can lawfully undertake a small speculation on his own account to the same mart. We often hear complaints of the reckless borrowing of the ryots, or lamentations of their inability to live without incurring debt; but no one would find fault with a man who takes a loan of twenty-five rupees, though at high interest, buys a cart load of coarse treacle, and in an eight days' trip, clears five

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rupees on his speculation, after repayment of the original loan with interest. It fortunately happens that these ventures can be made at the end of the cold season, or commencement of the hot weather, when agricultural operations are at a stand-still for the year; and the man who possesses a strong cart and a pair of stout bullocks, may ply his trade as a carter with solid advantage for two or three months or more. But it is essential that the bullocks should be strong and healthy. The puny animals that get through a day's work at the yoke by furrowing not too deep, are quite unequal to drag a loaded vehicle for five days in succession, often over deep or uneven roads, and down and up the steep banks of rivers yet unbridged. We have met with repeated assertions from ryots who looked on the possessor of a cart with envy, that their inability to buy a cart proceeded not from the want of will, but from the want of money to buy cattle of sufficient strength and endurance. Bullocks of the requisite muscle cost from twenty to twenty-four rupees the pair. Add to this the cart, and the price of the article for the first venture, and there is a sum of between thirty and forty rupees, for which recourse must be had to the mahajun. A man may be already indebted, and cannot incur another debt; or he may be willing to spend such a sum on his marriage, but not on a solid or useful speculation; or he may be careless or indifferent: but those who have carts in addition to reasonable holdings, may fairly be considered independent men. Those who have opportunities for observing the great lines of internal traffic in Kishnaghur, Baraset, Jessore, Moorshedabad, and other districts, will very soon give up the idea, if they ever entertained such a one, that these parts of Bengal have abundant natural water carriage, and that a net work of roads in such parts of the country would be of no use. Not only is the water carriage not sufficiently abundant, or not sufficiently rapid and commodious to draw away all the traffic, but we can quote instances where, in parallel lines of communication, the land traffic is preferred—and we will undertake in the cold season, to show mere common tracks, or imperfect roads, with crank ferry-boats over the rivers and nullahs, instead of substantial bridges, on which country carts laden with treacle, sugar, rice, and other products, may be counted, not by threes and fours together, but by tens, scores and fifties. What we therefore contend for is that a great portion of the external traffic of lower Bengal is really carted, that carts are a substantial and tolerably cheap and easy addition to the resources of the ryot: that imperfect roads, or roads in partial disrepair, are traversed by many of these carts at particular seasons of the year, under difficulties: and that mere *kutcha* roads, but better laid down, with bridges supplanting ferry-boats, would be travers-

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ed, with an immense saving of time and trouble, by a much greater number.

To the above particulars regarding the position, assessment, and means of the agriculturist, we add the following: granting that the assessment on lands may, in places, be payable in ordinary seasons, without great difficulty, there still remain other calls on the ryot. There is a small tax due for the chowkidar, paid sometimes in kind and sometimes in money, at about the rate of two or three pyce per house every month. The punctuality with which it is paid depends generally on the character of the individual claiming it. But it can hardly be maintained that such an impost is either unnecessary or grievous, though we might wish that the machinery for the appointment, supervision, and payment of the village-watch were more systematic, and worked more effectively than it does,—if indeed, it works at all. Then there is something to be given to the local agent or rent-collector of the Zemindar, either at the Doorga Pooja or at any convenient season. This may amount to three or four annas, in a *jumma* of ten or fifteen rupees; and how such payments are to be prevented by authority, as long as agents are determined to ask, and ryots content to give, is more than we can see. Add to this, on some estates, much more unwarrantable exactions in the shape of contributions to the failing exchequer of the landholder, whenever that individual has an extraordinary call on him,—the marriage of a son, the expenses of a law-suit, the payment of a fine. Here, too, it is very difficult to say what additional security can be provided. There are laws and courts, and officers in charge of subdivisions in large districts, which more than double the amount of European superintendence compared with what it was fourteen years ago. There is no help that we can see except in the vague and somewhat unsatisfactory promises of the spread of intelligence, which is to teach Zemindars not to exact, and Ryots not to pay, more than their lawful dues. And all Zemindars are not of the same kidney. By the side of instances of oppression and cruelty, can be set instances of kindness, or of laxity which amounts in the end to the same, or positive inability to contend with a set of determined villagers, half burglars, half *lattials*, ready to resist any thing in the shape of legitimate authority. Indeed, one of the marked features of Bengalis, and perhaps of Asiatics generally, is their unwillingness to combine except for unlawful purposes. One year, they resist the tax collector, and give no aid to the thief-catcher. The next, they submissively pay any amount of extortionate demand. They haggle about the small dues of the watchman, and we fully expect to hear that they are resorting to all sorts of shifts and expedients to elude the toll-bars, which are about to be erected in Bengal, as they have for some time

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past been in use in the North-west Provinces. Yet in other instances, they persist in running their heads against extortion. We know a large bazar, replete with every commodity fit for man's common use, which is situated so favourably as to command all the traffic in boats from one side of the country, and all the traffic in carts from the other, and is frequented by buyers and sellers in hundreds. Not one of those resorting to it, but is aware that he will have to pay, on each boat or cart, three pyce to the local superintendent, one to the accountant, one to the functionary who weighs out the grain, and a handful of rice to the individual who sweeps it up. These taxes are levied and paid with as much regularity as the government revenue. Indeed, it may be doubted, whether government, with all its weight, could ever succeed in levying any new tax of the kind, for whatever beneficent purpose, with one-half such success. But the fact appears to be that the bazar is well supplied, the produce is good of its kind, the ryot must have grain—and hence he frequents the mart. The same alternate weakness and stubbornness, exactly at the wrong time and place, meet us everywhere in surveying the condition of the ryot. We have spoken of the rate of assessment as excessive or ill defined, but we see no reason why land-holders should not measure their own estates with exactness, and take care that the ryot pays for every beegah which he holds. Yet nothing is more common than to hear a ryot complain of hard times, because his holding, which was formerly thought to comprise twenty-five beegahs, assessed at Rs. 1-4 a beegah, has been found on measurement, long resisted, and only carried out by the aid of authority, to contain over thirty. It is, however, perhaps as unreasonable to require a lowly agriculturist to recognise the obvious fairness of such a measurement, as it would be to expect that a member of the *British India* association should recognise the propriety and beauty of the new sale-law, or a planter the justice and equity of the Black Acts.

Taken then altogether, we do not think it unwarrantable to assert that of acute misery, helpless indigence, and downright wretchedness, there is really very little in Bengal. Heat is at least as bearable as extreme cold. We have not had a famine for three quarters of a century, and it is only this year that we had complaints from some quarters that the ryot, owing to the scarcity and dearness of rice, has not had his two meals a day. The poor man has in this country, like the poor man elsewhere, a certain amount of inevitable hardship. Agricultural operations demand *considerable*, not to say severe, labour. A ryot, we will say, gets up in the morning, when he eats his *pan* and *supari*, or betelnut and leaf, if he can afford it, or

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takes a few whiffs of his hookah. Going to the field about eight, nine, or ten o'clock, he comes home for his mid-day meal, except at ploughing-time, when if delay be highly objectionable, his food is sent out to him by one of his sons or nephews. After eating, he returns to work again, often till past sunset. An active limbed man will plough one beegah a day, but will drive the clod-crusher or the harrow over eight or ten times that extent. It is a very good day's work, when weeds are plentiful, to clear one quarter of beegah of rice land, if so much. And to plant a whole beegah with rice stalks, sown elsewhere and transplanted at a favourable moment, is enough for three men in a day. This latter operation is especially fatiguing, as the workman is constantly in a stooping position. Weeding is comparatively easy, though the feet and ancles are soaked in mud and water for hours, because the ryot literally squats down with an umbrella of matting fixed tightly over his head, without a handle, and moves on gradually as he clears a little circle around him. A pleasing feature in these operations is the invariable custom of the ryots to help each other. Half the village turn out and weed the plot of Gopal one day; of Tin Kouri the next, and of Panchoo on the third. The rice gets thus a regular clearing on one and the same date, and two or three clearings are enough for an ordinary crop. Something of this same community of thought and action, traceable perhaps to the coparcenary system, if it ever existed in Bengal, or the simple result of men living for two or three generations in the same village, appears in other little instances. When the crops are on the ground, cows must be tethered, or must be watched by boys, who are often taken from school for this purpose: and we all know that quarrels and broken heads are the constant consequences of boys playing, when they should be looking after their straying beasts. But when the crops have been cut, no one objects to cattle grazing over any man's land, where they can find sustenance. No fisherman, with a *julkur*, or right of fishing by weir and nets, ordinarily objects to his neighbour's angling in his waters with a rod, and there catching a few fish to add to the evening meal. And in some villages the broad green-path, skirting or crossing the plain, which is at once the track of carts and the pasture ground of cattle in the rainy season, is either conceded to the village generally rent-free, by the Zemindar, or is paid for by the ryots *in common*, through those to whose holdings it adjoins, and who are made ostensibly liable for such portions.

Such is the life of the ryot in the season for active operations, for four, or five, or even six days a week. One day in seven, if not two, he will certainly go to the *haut* or open market,

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either to buy or to sell—and once in two or three months he will as certainly go to visit his relations. The extent to which intercourse is kept up amongst members of families connected by marriage, or between blood relations, in a circle of eight or ten miles radius, is very remarkable. So common is it to meet men who are either going to spend two days with a relation, or who have just returned from their visits, that an excuse of this kind is constantly given in all our law courts by men who are unable to account for their being present at any particular transaction, in any other way, on any credible ground. On such visits, we may be sure, all the little household cares and interests are thoroughly talked over and discussed, the Hindu adds fish, or pulse, or vegetables to the cooking-pot, and the Mohammedan slaughters a fowl or two—and it is pleasant to think that this constant interchange of amenities often remains uninterrupted for two or three generations; although it is well known that there is another side to the picture, and that of all the feuds which are brought to light by our forensic annals, there are none like the feuds of relations, which from whatever cause, or whatever be the resources and position of the litigants, are carried on over a series of years, with an animosity and a perseverance that fiends might emulate.

Before proceeding to consider what remedies can be applied to ameliorate the condition of the labouring classes, it would be unfair not to note a few matters in which that condition is owing, not to a heavy rate of assessment, nor to the extra cesses of the Zemindar, nor to inoperative revenue laws, but to their own carelessness and extravagance. Recklessness in expenses connected with marriage, is no good reason why the ryot should be in debt. A foolish love of display leads him to spend his savings on silver ornaments for his children, while the practice holds out temptation to robbery and murder. An absence of all *pluck* whatever withholds him from striking one blow against dacoits, who come from the same pergunnah, breathe the same air, live on the same food, and are as great cowards as himself. From a neglect of the most obvious sanatory precautions, or a disregard of the commonest rules, the luxuriance of his garden is not repressed, the tank is not cleaned out, the stagnant pool of water finds no outlet, and disease and squalor are visible in the faces of himself and his family. No one thinks of combining with his neighbour for anything which is not immediately productive. A few shovels-full of earth in the dry season would repair the village road, or the narrow embankment which goes right across the plain, and serves at once for the landmarks of neighbours, and for intercommunication during the rainy season; and three trunks of trees, neatly laid together, with a wattle on

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the top and some earth, would make an excellent bridge over a deep ditch at the outskirt of the village: but men and women tramp through the water up to their middle, because these simple repairs are not executed, and because the ryots roar to the Hindu Jupiter, instead of getting out of the mud themselves. Some of these evil habits may be cured by advice, enlightenment, and education. But kind advice is not volunteered by the landlords and men of substance, from whom it would come with effect: and vernacular education, however commenced with the best intentions, must fill a wider area, and proceed on a more comprehensive basis, before we can hope that ryots, spread over a large tract of several districts, will really feel its effects. As to the evils of marriage-expenses, though they may not recur, like bad seasons, every two or three years, they plunge the agriculturist or day labourer deeply into debt once in his life. They are as disproportionate to the circumstances of the married pair, as the expenses of funerals have till lately been in England. What an absurdity it is that a man, whose earnings are not six rupees a month, should spend sixty or seventy rupees on one evening's entertainment! Of course the habits of centuries are not easily broken. There is the example of their betters, the fear of reproach, and the necessity of living and doing as their neighbours and relations have done. But, is Bengal the only country where false shame, habit, and a desire of keeping up appearances, oblige householders to spend beyond their incomes?

Some of these causes, added to the unhappy failing, already noticed, of combination only for illegal or evil purposes, undoubtedly operate to keep the ryot where he is. And we have not forgotten that it is the precise position of his affairs which in the various opinions of Missionaries, Planters, Zemindars, and officials of Government, is still a matter for long discussion and doubt. While in the darkest picture drawn hitherto, the phrases employed to designate this condition, are those of "poverty and 'wretchedness," "beggary" and "abject, and pitiable servitude," the brightest terms on the other hand do not get beyond those of being "tolerably or decently well off." Our own opinion is that the ryot, generally, is indigent without becoming bankrupt; that though, from the unexampled fertility of the land, and the climate, and the peculiar organization of society, and the general cheapness of the necessaries of life, he does not often suffer from hunger or cold, he is yet debarred from the hope of rising in the social scale, or from making those accumulations by earnings in trade or in agriculture, which men in less favoured countries are still able to make: that part of his condition is owing to cowardice, ignorance, vice, extravagance and immora-

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lity, which can be removed, if at all, only by the general progress of knowledge: and that part again arises as certainly from a deficiency in the laws, or in their administration, or from a weak executive and other defects, which it is in the power of the Government to remedy; and that finally his position as a tenant-holder of land is by no means so secure as it ought to be, as it was the intention of Lord Cornwallis that it should be, or as it can even now be made. After this brief sketch of a very large subject, we proceed to the remedy;—for a few pages descriptive of the social state of the rice-growers, or a few speculations on their moral condition, though all well in their way, should be followed by something of utilitarian theory, or direct and practical reform.

The remark of Mr. Campbell, that different rights in one and the same subject can exist together, and be retained by different persons, without clashing, has always appeared to us very sound, as well as explanatory of the puzzling question, to whom does the land belong in India? To the Government, the Zemindar, or the Ryot? It seems to us no invasion of the rights of the two former parties, to say that the ryot is entitled, by the common law and custom of the country, as well as by the intent of the legislature, whether carried out or not, to retain his holding of twenty or thirty beegahs, without fear of dispossession, so long as he continues to pay the rent, which consent, or custom, or good law has fixed upon it. There can be no question that while he performs his part of the contract, he may grow what crops he pleases, cut his bamboos, cultivate his date trees, and add another and another house to the cluster which forms his family nest. If he wishes to quit, he is bound to give notice to the landholder: and if he alienates any part of his property, his successor must be duly entered on the records of the zemindary. The whole tenor of our revenue laws in Bengal proper has been to increase the value of land, provided that the proprietary right of government, that is the right to revenue, be duly secured; and there is a similar safeguard vouchsafed to the right of the Zemindar, which is the right to rent on a certain area. There is to be no check to the *currency* of estates in the markets, provided that in alienation, or transfer, or division of inheritance, the lien of the government on the land shall not be imperilled; and there is no legal right of interference in the agricultural business of the ryot on the part of the Zemindar, provided that this latter person has due security for his rent. Thus the government look to the land for revenue, the zemindar for rent, and the ryot, we regret to say, for little more than sustenance. But let the land-holders clamour as they may about vested rights and heavy burdens, and corresponding

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privileges, it is indisputable that to them there is something remarkably attractive in that virtual possession of the land which the ryot holds, and which our quaint English maxim tells us, is nine points of the law. Those who have watched the proceedings of rich and influential Zemindars, are aware that to obtain possession of the *actual ryot's tenure* is one of the dearest objects they have at heart. The motive may be pardonable or even praiseworthy. The Zemindar may want some lands for a pleasure garden, or a dwelling house, or a factory, to be held by him for the simple security that, in all changes of proprietorship, his possession may be maintained by mere payment of rent. Without such possession, no man could lay down his walls and terraces, or erect his granaries, or build his vats. Again, the motive for taking land may be the far different one of establishing a rival bazar, or getting a *pied à terre* in a village, so as to annoy an adversary, and gradually, by influence and intimidation, acquire the whole of the hamlet. But in most cases, the tenure is usually taken in the name of some dependent, under the universal but shameful system of secret trusts, which the missionaries so rightly condemn. No one would wish to restrict Zemindars, any more than any other individuals, from acquiring that title to land, which is essential to mercantile enterprise, to the improvement of their estates, or to their mere luxury or convenience. We may go a step further, and say, that no hindrance ought to be placed in the way of men openly acquiring any rights in land, which are to be parted with, even though they should turn their acquisitions to purposes of enmity and avarice. Our argument at present is not with the defective state of the law, under which any man who buys the ryot's tenure in a few acres of land, may set up a new bazar, drive the old established one out of the field, hail unwilling purchasers to his own shops, and finally ruin his rival. Nor is it with the state of society in which a powerful individual, acquiring in the name of some ready unscrupulous dependent, one single holding in a village, manages in the course of a few years, like a Triton among the minnows, to swallow up the surrounding tenures and become lord of all. Our argument is simply this. If the tenure of the Zemindar, or of the middle man, were quite sufficient, why should rich men descend and purchase the tenure of the ryot? A Zemindar, whatever be his rent-roll, his name, or his influence, when he makes such purchases, becomes a ryot in fact and in law. His own name or that of his favourite servant is entered in the records of the zemindary. He is liable to have his holding measured for definition of boundaries, or assessed, by a regular law-suit, at the pergunnah rates. It must be admitted that a man would not

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place himself in this position, if he had not some object to gain thereby, which he could not gain otherwise. A Zemindar would not so eagerly seek the liabilities of a ryot, were he not convinced that a ryot's position and title conferred, for some purposes, what even a zemindary could never give. It may be easily conceived that the great man Munshi Dunga Fasad, with his influence, his skill in the management of estates, his extensive and accurate knowledge of the Regulations, his wonderful knack of ever keeping on the windy side of the law, his ample resources, and his fertility in devising shifts and expedients, is in a very different position as holding a ryot's tenure to that of Kinu Mundul, the humble agriculturist, who knows nothing of law except from the summary suit against him, which was decided *ex parte*, and from the memorable bond case brought by the money lender, which he lost in the Moonsiff's court. The former knows the exact value of the rights which he has purchased, can defend, improve, fortify and assert them in court and out of it. The latter, though fully sensible of their inestimable value to him and his family, may, from mere weakness or want of skill, be unequal to the retention of his lawful position. Why then should not the legislature step in, and assure to the small cultivator by all the authority of law, that position, which all men value, but which only those who command wealth, exercise ingenuity, and understand the Regulations, are now able to keep?

And this question brings us to a very excellent little work by the late Mr. Francis Horsley Robinson of the Bengal civil service, in which we have found a practical solution to the question above put. Mr. Robinson, however men might be found to differ from his views, is admitted to have had a complete knowledge of the working of the revenue in the Agra presidency, as well as a comprehensive view of Indian revenue generally. No one can doubt his earnestness, his independence, and his intimate knowledge of the feelings, habits, and conditions of the peasantry. And applying his knowledge of the principles which are admitted to have worked admirably in the Doab of Hindustan, with some necessary modifications, to the system of Bengal proper, Mr. Robinson, in the work published very shortly before his death, has left behind him some excellent suggestions on this important subject, as follows :—

"It seems that the amount of assessment cannot, in justice, be touched. The Government, with a view to reclaim the country, by giving full scope to the enterprise of proprietors, limited their assessment in perpetuity, and they are at this moment reaping the full benefit they expected from the sacrifice, in the complete cultivation of the country, the increase of its wealth, and a constant

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gradual rise in the customs, and other branches of revenue. But the Government never made it any part of their bargain that the ryots should be rack-rented and ground to the dust. They had not the right, any more than the intention, to make such a bargain, as Lord Hastings, in discussing this question, very justly observed. No Government can part with the obligation to do right and justice to any part of its subjects.

"Far from doing so, Lord Cornwallis's settlement provided that the ryots should not pay higher rates of rent than the purgunnah rates, which any man, thoroughly versed in Indian revenue, knows to be a technical term, not for a specific table of rates, which has been idly sought for, but the customary, though variable rates of rent on particular soils and products existing in the district or tract where any village is situated, sometimes even in a particular village or estate, and not in others.

"These amounts of rent, when disputed, and the terms of occupancy, when those were disputed, (for occupancy came also within the scope of the technical term, purgunnah rates,) it was the office and duty of the authorized accounts of Government to settle. Lord Cornwallis also provided, that beyond the rent, the ryots should pay nothing. These laws are still in the Statute book, though, to the great detriment of the country, they have not, from the want of sufficient machinery, and sufficient knowledge in the early administrators of the system, been carried out. It will be remembered, that a minute revenue survey is now going on in Bengal, and the thought forces itself on one, that this affords the necessary basis for settling, as has been done effectually in the North-west Provinces, the amount of fair rent, and the terms of occupancy. If it be urged that the undertaking for Bengal is too gigantic,—allowing, for argument's sake, this to be so, although the same thing was vainly said, and failure as vainly prophesied of a similar undertaking in the North-west Provinces,—yet something may be done to stop a system which involves so much social evil as exists in Bengal. Without aiming at the reconstruction of the village communities, or the rehabitation of sub-proprietors in the soil, however iniquitously or mercilessly they have been swept away, might not a law be enacted, restoring the former limitation of rents to purgunnah rates, defining the term as above, and stating the determination of Government to enforce the spirit of the law; declaring that, while no interference would take place between parties agreeing among themselves, further than to record in the collector's office a rent-roll shewing the occupant, the fields by the numbers in the maps, and the terms of the lease; yet that every resident, or Chupper-bund ryot should have the right to apply to the nearest deputy collector to have his fair rent assessed for a period of say ten or twenty years; and that the deputy collector should replace, with costs or damages, any resident ryot who should appear to have been ejected without having incurred a balance on the rent recorded by the officers of Government, and award heavy damages against any one exacting more than the recorded rent from a cultivator."

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We trust that there are few genuine reformers who will not endorse most of the above. We are quite prepared for a long howl on the subject, from those whose power of oppression and exaction, or of indefinite aggrandisement, would be materially curtailed by any such law. There may come a cry of want of faith on one side, and of great expense and trouble on the other. But the charge of violated faith, which cannot be supported, will come with a bad grace from those who form but a fraction of the population, and who have not kept faith with the terms of the contract by which so much was conceded to them, on the understanding that they should concede something to others in their turn. And the expense and trouble to government and its officers, will be little or nothing, as the work of collectors themselves has been gradually decreasing, and as officers, with the powers of a deputy collector, are already scattered over a district by twos and by threes.

Moreover, the principles of the solid reform which Mr. Robinson sketched, and which we put forward as the main reform of which Bengal stands in need, have in several other ways been recognised by the government. This principle is simply that the cultivating proprietor, or the hereditary occupant and resident for one, two, or three generations, should have the right to have his land assessed for a period of years on a summary enquiry. The propriety and legality of this maxim have been avowed and acted on by government in the law for the security of the opium monopoly. The benefits of the cultivation of the poppy are reserved by law for the ryot of Behar or Ghazipore, who receives the advances, cultivates the plant, and takes the raw juice to the government factory. The Zemindar is, *by law*, specially prohibited from enhancing the rent of such portions of his tenant's land as are devoted to this species of produce. Hence the display of spurious liberality which we have seen occasionally in petitions to government or Parliament on the subject of the monopoly, as one pressing heavily on the ryot. Not a farthing of the profit ever comes to the pocket of the Zemindar, who has the mortification of seeing his ryots clamorous for advances on a larger extent of soil, and partners to an account with government, annually adjusted with a balance in favour of the cultivator, from which no third party can derive the smallest advantage. Why should government hesitate one moment to carry out a system for the benefit of a large and oppressed class, which it has already carried out for the preservation of its own particular interests? If we be told that any such attempt would be an infringement of the perpetual settlement, or a defiance of the laws of political economy, we should reply on the first head that the measure, so far from

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infringing that settlement, would, on the contrary, complete and consolidate it: and on the second, we should say that the law of landlord and tenant, of social inequality, and of revenue and rent in the east, must often be guided by principles at which even Adam Smith and Malthus might have been somewhat startled. The principle we contend for, again, is acted on in the province of Benares. The revenue there is fixed perpetually, as it is in Bengal. Yet we hear of no rack-renting, or violent oppression, or defect in the system. Why is this? Because on the one hand the population are bolder, and will not patiently endure tyranny; and on the other, because the authorities have done their part, and have taken care that the tenant proprietors and cultivators shall have their rights and liabilities well and thoroughly defined. Again, our principle forms the basis of the proposed alterations in the sale law. As the draft now stands, the reform contended for will do, for intermediate tenures, what we would have done for the humblest and lowest of all. The middleman, who has just concluded an arrangement with his Zemindar, of immediate loss, but eventual profit, or who has a snug property in half a dozen villages, which from its size he can conveniently manage, will, if the reform be carried, be saved from the abrupt termination of his tenure in a general sale owing to the fraud or the negligence of his superior. Why should not the same righteous interference be manifested for a set of men twenty times more numerous, but far less able to protect themselves; for those who labour while others sit at home in comfort, who sow in heat and anxiety, while others quietly reap the main profits of their toil?

The law for which we contend has either been an element in other reforms, or has anticipated them. In dealing with the land revenue of Benares it has been silently acted on. In the opium monopoly the Government has not hesitated to proclaim that rent should be fixed for once, without regard to the value of produce. And of the new sale law the main points are, that if the Government can count on its revenue, and the Zemindar on his rent, there is no reason why third parties, who have a limited interest in landed properties, should not have these interests secured from invasion. Add to these considerations, those of philanthropy, and sound policy, and it will follow that Government would not only be justified in such legal interference, but that it is pledged and bound so to interfere, on every principle of equity, on every consideration of mercy, on every pretentious vaunt that has been ever made of its governing for the poor man, on every maxim successively laid down by its numerous wise statesmen, whose aim it has been to bind up, as far as they can be bound, the privileges of the upper classes, the rights and interests of

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the lower, and the lawful dues of the state, in one equitable, harmonious, and consistent code.

To some such measure as we have proposed, all other measures, whether of the legal or the executive power, will be auxiliary; but they will be nothing more. The change we advocate will, in its way, secure to the ryot that reasonable independence, without which all other attempts to raise him in the social scale will end in failure. And this same measure will, on the other hand, be far from rendering nugatory all the other remedies which are more or less under the consideration of the government. Thus the new bill for distraint may well be a little less summary than the present law, and may save the ryot's crops and cattle from hasty attachment and sale. A law making the principals in affrays,—that is, those for whose obvious benefit affrays occur *accidentally*,—responsible for the bloodshed and the distress they cause, will confer peace and security in many places in seed time and in harvest. By a survey of villages and estates, such as is now in progress in some districts, or actually completed in others, many an angry course of litigation will be peremptorily checked. By a more numerous police, with higher pay and under closer supervision, violent offences and agrarian outrage will become more rare. A simple hand-book of husbandry may teach the ryot some of the commonest rules of gardening, and a village vernacular school, while it teaches him to read the same hand-book, may also put him in the position to know when a receipt for rent is duly signed, when a bond is correctly executed, and when an account is accurately summed up. Add to these measures for his protection, for the registration of his boundaries, and for the dispersion of his ignorance, a network of roads, terminating not in abrupt holes, nor in nullahs and rivers without bridges, or without any suited to the physical character of the country, an improved communication by cuts and channels from one river to another, or in the same river; and in ten years' time, we shall have little need of another petition to the Commons. The ryot, with some fixity of rent, and some security of tenure, may then, if he chooses to exert himself, and to refrain from extravagance, unlawful combination, and determined refusal to pay his dues, hope to share in the almost unrivalled affluence and fertility which the union of sun and shower, on the most fertile of soils, scatters around him in such marvellous prodigality.

We do not expect that the views which we have put forth, will not be freely canvassed, and fiercely opposed in some quarters. And we are quite sensible that some differences of opinion must exist on such large questions as the rent of land, the return of produce of different kinds, the general condition and feelings

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of the ryot, and the necessity for prompt and direct legal interference on his behalf. All we can say is that we have neglected no means in our power, in order to attain correct information; and that the deductions we have arrived at, have been carefully made from a very considerable mass of facts gathered by enquiries, pursued, without ostentation, amongst the mass of the population, in their houses, bazars, and rice fields, and backed by some previous experience of the mofussil, and by official or authoritative records in corroboration of the same. A fair discussion is all that we ask. But we must protest beforehand against general charges of inaccuracy, because any position taken up, or any fact announced, may not happen to be borne out by some casual enquiry made of a ryot living within ten miles of Calcutta, or of a bearer from Orissa, who happens to be pulling the punkah. Those who have pursued similar enquiries, know the rottenness of a structure raised on isolated facts. Those who have mixed with the people, are well aware of the necessity of correcting or balancing the statements of one set of agriculturists by those of another set, and both by reasonable probabilities and indisputable facts. We have made a *comparentia instantiarum*, and an *exclusio singularum*, on the Baconian maxim: and what we can say with confidence is that we have to the best of our ability, brought our modest contribution to the "eagle's nest."

We do not regret the discussion in the House of Commons, nor its termination; but it must be apparent to every one that had there existed in the heart of Bengal that slumbering discontent and disaffection which the Missionaries in all sincerity imputed to the ryots, the present opportunity would hardly have been suffered to escape. How easily, with the North-west provinces in a blaze, and Behar in danger, or revolted, might some popular leader have fanned the embers into flame, and have excited masses of ignorant and unreflecting peasants to a social revolution, by which the "rich would have become poor, and the 'poor, poorer." Had all the statements of the petition been correct, we could scarce have escaped a Jacquerie. But the truth is that the Bengalis, up to the time we write, have remained as dull and as stagnant as the water of one of their own huge tanks in a sultry September, and that it must take much more of wretchedness than at present really exists, added to disturbing agencies and unparalleled mismanagement, before either planters will be expelled from their factories, or land-holders from their estates, or civilians from their cutcherries.

Sheer helplessness on the part of the Bengali, which has been put forth as an excuse for government, or as a reason for doing nothing, is to us a powerful reason why we should act. The

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highest and holiest authority has told us that we have the poor "always" with us. The concurrent testimony of administrators, of residents amongst the people, and of the people themselves, proclaims the dwellers by the lower Ganges to be void of manliness and spirit. We cannot discover the Icaria in which all men shall be rich: or find out the mesmeric influence by which a statesman shall throw a weak and feeble race into a slumber, whence they may wake up as giants refreshed, strong of hand, and stout of heart. But this is no reason why we should neglect to avail ourselves of every means in our power—

> How best to help the slender store
> How mend the dwellings of the poor;

Nor why, again, we should hesitate about speedily giving the sanction of law and authority to such rights, as in the wreck of institutions, or under encroachment and invasion, are yet found to survive. We can give the material guarantees of every powerful and benevolent government, a numerous police, accessible justice, good means of communication. We may develope and stimulate the natural acuteness of the cultivators, which we take to be considerably above that of yokels and clod-compellers in England, and may turn their unexampled pertinacity and aptness for litigation to the assertion and maintenance of their recognised position and their defined rights. We feel certain that it is in the power of our administrators to effect this, without lavish expenditure, in spite of active opposition, and in spite of the inertness and helplessness of those we desire to benefit. We may at once move on without being deluded by the mirage of imaginary perfection in the distance, as Mr. Grant truly wrote in his minute, and as Lord John Russell, endorsing the Indian statesman, did not hesitate to avow in the House. To the solid and avowed benefits of the Perpetual Settlement, to the spread of agriculture, to the decrease of jungle, to the extension of commerce, to the spectacle of those rich land-holders who accumulate wealth and enlarge their boundaries, and to the many inferior individuals who, secure of sustenance, not to say independence, from the land, have leisure to devote their talents to profitable speculation, or to the service of the state, we may yet, by tact, decision, and firmness, add the still more gratifying spectacle of a peasantry, who, if they cannot recruit our evanescent army, may yet fulfil the end of their existence, as loyal, prosperous, and contented subjects of the state.

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ART. VII.—*Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G. C. B., late Envoy to Persia, and Governor of Bombay. From unpublished letters and journals.* By JOHN WILLIAM KAYE, &c. &c. 2 vols. London, 1856.

IT is with a feeling of great sadness that we enter upon the task of reviewing these volumes. The task had been assigned to, and had been undertaken by, one who could have done infinitely more justice to the subject than we can expect to do. If there were in all India, perhaps we might say in all the world, a man who could have entered with fullest sympathy into the character and achievements of the chivalrous soldier, the wise diplomatist, the enlightened governor, the light-hearted playmate of children, the judicious counsellor and animating leader of youth, the affectionate brother, the loving husband, the fond father, the constant friend, the large-hearted philanthropist, the honest man, the earnest Christian—that man was one whom India and the world have lately lost, Sir Henry Lawrence. It was he that ought to have reviewed this book; and we have reason to believe that he was actually engaged upon it until the time when public duty, and care for the safety of the beleaguered band, for whom he watched so earnestly, and fought so bravely, and died so nobly, occupied and engrossed all his thoughts. As well in the peculiarities of their characters as in the circumstances of their careers, there was a remarkable similarity between Sir John Malcolm and Sir Henry Lawrence. The one a Scotchman, and the other an Irishman, each exhibited a combination, as rare as it is graceful, of those qualities that are generally regarded as characteristic of these two nationalities; though perhaps in each, the characteristic of the other's nation predominated over that of his own. The Scottish Malcolm seems to have had even more than Lawrence of the almost reckless buoyancy of spirits and love of adventure and fun, which are generally considered as distinctive of an Irishman: the Irish Lawrence had decidedly more than Malcolm of the calm reflexion, and practical sagacity, and determined perseverance, that are regarded as the birth-right of a Scotchman.

With respect to the circumstances of the careers of these two men, it may not be without interest to notice that each had an elder brother in the civil service, and was himself in the military service, of the East India Company;—that each was one of several brothers that achieved high distinction; that each was employed in high political and diplomatic service; and that each, in the course of that service, had an opportunity of distinguish-

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ing himself also in his proper military capacity; that each was employed in administering and civilizing a vast country, and impressing his own stamp on its institutions. Thus alike in many of the prominent circumstances of their lives, it were vain, and perhaps wrong, to regret that they were not alike in the circumstances of their deaths. Malcolm died in a fresh old age, attended by the wife of his youth, and the children who regarded him not only as a father, but also as a companion and a friend. Lawrence, after several years of widowhood, and with no child near him, in the prime of his manhood, died a soldier's death.

Mr. Kaye has been very felicitous in the choice of subjects for the exercise of his admirable talents as a biographer.* Mr. Tucker might not indeed be a great man in the ordinary sense of that term; but he was a man on whom very great responsibilities devolved in the administration of Indian affairs, in this country and in England; and he was always equal to the task of sustaining these responsibilities. Lord Metcalfe *was* a great man; and he too bore an important part in the acquisition and administration of our Indian empire. Sir John Malcolm also was a great man; though his greatness was of a different order from that of Lord Metcalfe, and perhaps not of so high an order. Their biographer has done full justice to their various characters, and has contrived to render them almost as well known to his readers, as if they had been their personal associates. But he has done more than this. As people generally learn most of what they know of the history of England from Shakespeare, Scott and Bulwer—or did so before the publication of Mr. Macaulay's history—so we believe that any student will get a much more inward, hearty knowledge of the history of India under the British rule from these three works of Mr. Kaye, than from any formal history that has yet been written, or is likely to be written for a long time to come. The three men's lives run like a connecting thread through a whole rosary of most important transactions, extending over a very long period. Tucker began his Indian career in 1787, only thirty years after the battle of Plassey; and three-score years after, as chairman of the Court of Directors, he sent out Lord Dalhousie as Governor General; nor did his connexion with India cease until 1851. Metcalfe was born in Calcutta in 1785, nine days before Warren Hastings left India; but his proper Indian career began in 1801; and he was mixed up, in a more or less important way, with most important transactions, almost from his first arrival, down to the day of his departure, in 1838. In 1783, two years

* For reviews of Mr. Kaye's lives of Tucker and Metcalfe, see *Calcutta Review* Vols. XXII. and XXIV.

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before Metcalfe was born, Malcolm arrived in India; and he too, like Metcalfe, was very early employed in important affairs. He left India in 1830; but like Tucker, he took an earnest interest in its affairs down to the day of his death in 1833. Thus these three lives cover the whole period from the close of Warren Hastings's administration down to the annexation of the Punjab. And then their departments were so different, that the treatment of their lives separately does not lead to repetition, but only to greater fulness, and a more distinct exhibition of the various events of the time. And what country can exhibit so stirring a history? India has not had the happiness—whatever other happiness she may have had—which is said to appertain to the land whose annals are blank. No, truly hers have been written on all four pages of the sheet, and crossed like a young lady's letter.

We have said that Malcolm was a Scotchman, but it was not "Caledonia stern and wild" that gave him birth, but the rich vale of the Esk, where the scenery resembles the richest English landscape. His father had been educated for the ministry of the church, but had been prevented by a defect of utterance from entering it. He was tenant of Burnfoot, a farm of considerable extent, partly arable and partly pastoral. But he was not content to abide by his short-horns and his black-faced: but entered into speculations, in which, like so many others who have "too many irons in the fire," he burned his fingers. But his character did not suffer. "A close investigation into his concerns 'revealed only the just dealings of the man." "He felt the 'burden that was upon him, for he was a man by nature of 'an anxious and sensitive temperament, but, sustained by a good 'conscience, he bore up bravely beneath it. There was not 'perhaps a day of his life in which he did not remember his 'misfortunes—but he suffered with true Christian resignation, 'and was thankful for the blessings that remained." Such was "Auld Burnfit," a noble specimen of that proper middle class which Scotland alone possesses; a class which is a middle class, not because it stands between the higher and the lower, and belongs to neither, but because it belongs to both, so that its members can associate with the higher class without servility, and with the lower without arrogance. And the "guid-wife" of Burnfoot was worthy of her husband; "a woman of high principle and 'sound understanding, but womanly in all; of quick parts and 'ready resources; strong in doing and in suffering; but gentle 'and affectionate, a support in adversity to her husband; and to 'her children a tender, a watchful, but not an over-indulgent 'mother. How much they all owed to her, it is difficult to 'say. She lived to be the mother of heroes, and was worthy

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' of such a race." Yes! difficult to say, as it is difficult to count the sand-grains. To have such a mother is not a matter for *saying*, but for feeling, and for evincing thankfulness, not so much with the lips as in the life.

The quiver of the farmer of Burnfoot was filled with a goodly sheaf. Ten sons were ready to speak with his enemies in the gate,—only the worthy man had no enemies;—while seven daughters were ready to give a hearty, homely welcome to his friends, of whom he had many. John, the fourth of the sons, was born on the 2nd of May, 1769, and thus was a day younger than Arthur Wellesley. He got his education in the parish school of Westerkirk, and still more in the parlor and the kitchen of Burnfoot. From his pious father and mother he learned much; and not little from the stalwart ploughmen and shepherds of the border. He might have been a good scholar, if he had chosen; but scholarship was not the quality which he then held in highest esteem. His energy expended itself mainly in mischief. One of those light-hearted, restless boys who *will* always break through all rules, but with whom it is impossible to be angry, or to be angry for any length of time. We are pretty sure that it was neither with very intense anger, nor with very intense sorrow, that the worthy school-master came to the conclusion that, whenever any mischief was perpetrated, he could not be wrong, however appearances might point in another direction, in assuming that "Jock's at the bottom o't." And when, many years after, he received from the Persian envoy a copy of his History, with the inscription, "Jock's at the bottom o't," we may be very sure that it did not take him by surprise to find Jock at the bottom of something else than mischief.

We have said that Mr. Malcolm was of that middle class which, in Scotland, stands between the higher and the lower, and belongs to both, as distinguished from the middle class elsewhere, which, standing between the higher and the lower, too generally belongs to neither. To this he was indebted for the means of setting his sons on the ladder which so many of them climbed so manfully. Robert was a civilian in the Madras presidency; James, afterwards Sir James Malcolm, K. C. B., was in the Marines, and Pulteney was on the way to the Red Flag at the Fore, determined, doubtless, to be what he in due time became, and what so many midshipmen determine to be, but never become, (but are all the better for the determination) an Admiral and a G. C. B. And now came John's turn. He had not quite attained the age of twelve years, when Mr. Johnstone of Alva intimated to Mr. Malcolm that his brother, the well-known Governor Johnstone of Ceylon, could procure for John an appointment in the military service of the Company. All felt that the ap-

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pointment would have been more desirable at a later period; but it was not certain that it could be got then; and so the boy must take the tide at the flood. Still it seems to have been resolved that as much delay should be interposed as could be permitted. In the summer of next year, Mr. John Pasley, a London merchant, brother of Mrs. Malcolm, paid a visit to Burnfoot, and proposed to take his nephew with him to London, to have him brushed up a little before his presentation to the honorable court to pass for his cadetship. "So mere a child 'was he, (says Mr. Kaye) that on the morning of his departure, 'when the old nurse was combing his hair, she said to him, 'Now Jock, my mon, be sure when ye are awa', ye kaim ye'er head 'and keep ye'er face clean; if ye dinna, ye'll just be sent haim 'again." "Tut, woman," was the answer, "ye'ere aye sae feared, 'ye'll see if I were awa amang strangers, I'll just do weel 'aneugh." When we first read this anecdote, we were disposed to regard it as apocryphal; but we landed, after deep cogitation, in the conclusion that it is authentic, but that the deduction which Mr. Kaye draws from it is erroneous. He supposes that John's hair was combed every day by the old nurse; but we know enough of Scotch farm-house life to be sure that a boy of his stamp must have performed this office for himself at a very much earlier age. It was only because he was starting for London that the faithful old woman thought it her duty to "mak the callant a wee thocht dacent," and this she would have insisted on doing, if he had been a score instead of a dozen years old.

And Jock did "weel aneugh" among strangers. After seeing the wonders of the great metropolis, he was sent to school for a short time; but apparently the appointment which Governor Johnstone had secured for him, must be taken up within the year. There was no minimum age at that time prescribed for entrance into the Company's service; but each cadet was required to present himself before the Court of Directors, and receive their consent to proceed to India. "So, towards the end of 'that year, 1781, John Malcolm was taken to the India-House, 'and was, as his uncle anticipated, in a fair way to be rejected, 'when one of the Directors said to him 'Why, my little man, 'what would *you* do if you were to meet Hyder Ali?' 'Do, Sir!' 'said the young aspirant, in prompt reply, 'I would out with 'my sword and cut off his head.' 'You will do,' was the rejoinder, '"let him pass."' And so the matter ended. Now we presume that we ought to be very indignant at this scene, and to congratulate ourselves on the fact of our living in these days of competition, and the Philosophy of History, and the Differential Calculus. Well, these are all very well in their place; but it

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would be well if a few "marks" could be given for such juvenile spirit as was displayed in Malcolm's answer.

Although his commission, as a cadet of Infantry in the Madras army, was dated in October, 1781, Malcolm did not sail till the autumn of the following year, and did not reach Madras till the 16th of April, 1783, when his age was a fortnight short of fourteen years. Although his life on the braes of Eskdale had made him large and strong, his appearance was juvenile even for his years. The fresh bloom of his undowny cheeks, and the merry twinkle of his bright eye, and his unsophisticated manners, were those of childhood. He soon became a favourite with all who came into contact with him. Under the designation of "Boy Malcolm," a *soubriquet* that long adhered to him, he gained quite a reputation, in a small way, as being "at the bottom" of all the pranks and mischief in which young ensigns are wont to indulge. We are afraid that he did not stop here; but that at this period of his life he passed over the line that separates mischief from vice. If so, he soon returned. He had been trained up as a child in the way of goodness, and the promise was fulfilled to his faithful parents, that he should not long wander from that path. By the beginning of 1788, we find him speaking of his career of folly as a thing of the past; and his good resolutions was not like the morning cloud, or the early dew. During all the rest of his life, while he retained an unusual share of the buoyancy of youth, he seems never to have strayed from the paths of virtue. One effect of his youthful folly was the contraction of debt. An ensign's pay in those days was very small; but he ought to have been able to live upon it. He had applied to his uncle in London for a remittance, and he had sent him £200. But the letter came into the hand of his brother Robert, who judiciously withheld the money, and allowed the young ensign to work his way back to independence, "Do not (says Robert Malcolm, 'writing to his mother, in February, 1789) blame John, poor 'fellow. Nothing but distress led him to what he did. It was 'even unknown to me till I received my uncle's letters, which 'I suppressed, and wrote to John in a different style than his 'uncle had done. Had he got the money my uncle ordered,— 'viz. £200—he would effectually have been ruined. But I 'knew too well his situation to give him a shilling. He has 'now cleared himself from debt, and is as promising a character 'in his profession as lives." We see then that in the course of six years, he got into debt, and got out of it. Now we know that the former process is easy enough, but that the latter is not specially easy for any one, and that it must have been specially difficult for a young man on an ensign's pay, as an ensign's pay was in those days. If then we suppose that for half of the six years

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he was getting *into* debt, and for the other half getting *out* of it, it will follow that he only exceeded his pay during the first three years, by as much as he was able to save out of that pay in the second three years; and it is scarcely supposable that that was so much as fifty rupees a month. But suppose he were only two years in getting into debt, and four years in getting out of it, at the rate of fifty rupees a month, he must have overspent his income to the extent of Rs. 100 a month.

In 1790, Malcolm got a taste of soldiering in earnest. In that year, Lord Cornwallis went to war with Tippoo Sahib, and Malcolm's regiment was part of the force appointed to co-operate with the Nizam's troops, and was first employed in the siege of Copoulee. This fort stood out for six months, and at last capitulated, in consequence of the taking of Bangalore. Malcolm's corps was then "ordered to join the main body of 'the Nizam's army, which, accompanied by the Resident, Sir 'John Kennaway, was then assembling to march upon Seringa-'patam, and co-operate with the British forces under Lord 'Cornwallis." Here he was brought into acquaintance with "Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Græme Mercer, and others of the 'diplomatic corps, then representing British interests at the 'Court of Hyderabad." And this was the turning-point of his career. Through his intercourse with those gentlemen, his ambition was fired. He resolved to distinguish himself in the diplomatic line; and from this time he is to be regarded as an aspirant to be numbered amongst those "politicals," whom it has become fashionable of late years to decry, but to whom India owes a large debt of gratitude. His first step was to study Persian, and for this purpose, Mr. Mercer lent him his Moonshi. The defection of the "Boy Malcolm," from the ranks of the all-day idlers, was a calamity which they strove, by all the enginery of banter and cajolery, to prevent; but like Mr. Longfellow's Excelsior, he turned a deaf ear to the voice of the charmer. At the same time he studied, with characteristic earnestness, the complicated questions of our relations with the native powers, and left no means unused to prepare himself for serving the state in the line that he had now marked out for himself. After a short leave of absence, on sick-certificate, he joined the camp of Lord Cornwallis before Seringapatam, and was appointed by His Lordship, probably on the recommendation of Sir John Kennaway, interpreter to the Nizam's troops. But his stay there was short. His health again broke down, and he was obliged to go again to the sea-coast on sick-certificate. He seems to have remained there till the end of 1793, when he was obliged to apply for leave to Europe; and in February, 1794, he sailed for old England, and reached it in such vigorous

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health that it was difficult to persuade people that his sick-certificate was aught else than a "*bonao.*"

Malcolm had been a dozen years absent from home when he re-visited it. And this is just the proper time for an Indian to be absent from home. If he return earlier, he has not felt enough of the longing which makes him fully estimate the blessing. If he be much later, the changes that have occurred during his absence, are so marked, as greatly to sadden his enjoyment. Malcolm seems to have found things at Burnfoot pretty much as he left them. All that he had left behind were a dozen years older; but the change on them was not nearly so great as on himself. We presume that there must have been also a considerable addition to the flock during his absence; for it is not likely that all the seventeen Malcolms were born, before the fourth son was thirteen years old. Be this as it may, we may be sure that there was joy in Eskdale on the day that young Malcolm put his foot over the threshold of Burnfoot. Father and mother, and brother and sisters, and cousins of all degrees, and neighbours and dependents, rejoiced with no faint jubilation. We know something of the joy of such a return from exile; but the more we know of it, the less do we feel disposed to speak or to write of it. The joy of his visit was enhanced by the circumstance that his brothers Pulteney and James arrived from the West Indies during the time of John's being at home. But there was a dash of bitterness in the cup of bliss,—as in what cup of earthly bliss is there not? Three sons had gone to the West Indies, and two had gone to the East. Robert was still in the East, but he was well. Two had come from the West, but one, George, a fine young sailor, had fallen a victim to yellow fever in the beginning of the year. It was the first time that death had invaded the Burnfoot circle.

During his residence in England, Malcolm entered with characteristic zeal on the advocacy of the rights of the Company's officers, and did good service to a good cause; and by his letters in the newspapers on this subject, attracted the notice of men in power. But the months sped on as only months of furlough do speed. His health was quite re-established; indeed the home voyage had been sufficient for that; and his duty lay not at Burnfoot, but at Madras; and to Madras he must go. He had reached England in July, 1794, and he left it in May, 1795. He had the advantage of going out as Secretary to Sir Alured Clarke, who was proceeding as Commander-in-Chief to Madras. On their way they stopped at the Cape of Good Hope, and brought to a close the war that was then being waged between the Dutch and the English. It is so delightful to catch a historian of Mr. Kaye's almost finical accuracy "tripping," that

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we cannot resist the temptation of "shewing him up." He states, truly enough, that the fight in which General Clarke defeated the Dutch, gave the Cape Colony to the English: but he adds, not truly enough, that by the English it has ever since been retained. Now of course, Mr. Kaye knows very well, though he seems for the moment to have forgotten, that the Cape was given up to the Dutch in 1802, that it was re-taken by an Indian hero, Sir David Baird in 1806, and even then was held rather as a province than a colony till 1814.

After a stay of some two months at the Cape, the voyage for India was resumed, and was brought to a close somewhere about the end of 1795. For a little more than a year, Malcolm seems to have remained with the Commander-in-Chief at the Presidency. His hands were of course full. "The employment," he says, writing to his mother, "is of that nature as to leave 'me hardly one idle moment; all the better, you will say; and 'all the better *I* say;"—and all the better *we* say. He was now twenty-seven years old, he had got a fresh impulse, physically and mentally, during those ten months at home—and all the better, we repeat with all the circumstance of editorial oracle, that he had hardly an idle moment. In the beginning of 1797, Sir Robert Abercromby resigned the Command-in-Chief of the Bengal army; Sir Alured Clarke succeeded him; and General Harris succeeded Sir Alured Clarke in the command of the Madras army. Clarke was unable, for some reason which Mr. Kaye professes himself unable to explain, to take his secretary with him to Bengal; but Harris was happy to retain him, and although he would have liked to accompany his old master, he was happy to remain. "It may be gathered (says his biogra-'pher) from his letters, that John Malcolm was never more in 'a 'laughing' mood than at this period of his life. He had 'good health, good spirits, and good prospects. He was still '"Boy Malcolm;" and he wrote, both to his friends in India and 'to dear old Burnfoot, in a strain which must have imparted 'something of its own cheerfulness to the recipients of his 'laughing epistles." But while he was thus joyous and light-hearted, he was not idle. This was emphatically his period of study. He had marked out for himself the career of a "political," and while people who only casually saw him, regarded him as only the light-hearted and gay "Boy-Malcolm," he was carrying on an extensive correspondence with the best-informed men of the country, getting from each his views on various points of policy, and digesting these views into elaborate "minutes." Some of these he submitted to Lord Hobart, who received them graciously, and encouraged him to proceed with his self-imposed task.

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In February 1798, Lord Hobart resigned the Government of Madras, and General Harris acted during the interregnum. The Town-Majorship of Fort St. George was in those days an office of greater honor and emolument than it is now, and it was regarded as a perquisite of some one of the Governor's suite. It was therefore given by General Harris to his secretary, and Malcolm held it till the arrival of Lord Clive in August. In this year also he attained his captaincy. And in this year, Lord Mornington landed at Madras on his way to Calcutta; and Captain Malcolm took the liberty to forward to "the glorious little man," some of those papers that he had submitted to Lord Hobart, and to solicit that "when opportunity 'offered, he might be employed in the diplomatic line of his 'profession." And opportunity offered soon: on the 10th of September, he received a letter from the governor-general, announcing his appointment to be assistant to the Resident at the Court of Hyderabad, and at the same time requesting to see him as soon as he could possibly present himself at Calcutta. But it would seem that Malcolm must have received the official announcement of his appointment, and started at once for Hyderabad, before getting this letter from the governor-general; and once at Hyderabad, his hands were filled for some time.

The Nizam had for a long time had a difficult part to play. He was on terms of friendly alliance with the English. He was also on terms of friendship with the French. But the English and the French were at war with each other. He had no very special preference for either of the parties. The only question with him was as to the probable advantage of maintaining the one or the other friendship. One of the first acts of the administration of Lord Mornington was to compel him to a choice. He had in his pay a body of 11,000 troops, under the command of French officers, and devoted to French interests. The governor-general insisted that these troops should be disbanded, and their officers given up as prisoners of war into the hands of the English. This order had just reached Captain Kirkpatrick, when Malcolm joined him as his assistant. The work was one of importance. It was one also of difficulty and danger. It was admirably executed, and Malcolm had a fair share in the credit of the execution:—

"That the dispersion of the French troops was a very important stroke of policy, and that it tended materially to secure our subsequent successes, is not to be denied. Malcolm shared with Kirkpatrick the credit of the achievement. But the experience which he had gained was of more worth to him than the honor. In the course of the fortnight which he had spent, by accident as it were, at Hyderabad, he had seen more of busy, stirring public life—more

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of the strife and turmoil of oriental politics—than many men see in the course of years. The lesson that he learnt was never forgotten. That little reliance is to be placed on the word of an Indian diplomatist, that no native court is willing to fulfil the conditions of a treaty except under strong compulsion, Malcolm may have known before. But the great practical truth which he carried with him from Hyderabad, to be much pondered by the way, was, that the most vigorous policy is, at the same time, the most humane—that there is nothing so merciful, when strong measures are to be carried out, as an over-awing display of force at the outset. Had Kirkpatrick wanted resolution—had he hesitated, and faltered, and shewn himself to be a man of weak-nerved humanity, slow to resort to extremities, in all probability before the end of October, the French lines would have been running crimson with blood. There is an ill odour about the *word* "dragooning," but there is more real kindness in the *thing* itself than is readily to be believed."

And so, deeply pondering this and other lessons, and bearing with him the colors of the disbanded French regiments, John Malcolm proceeded to Calcutta.

Any one reading Mr. Kaye's account of the reception that awaited him there, and of the place which he occupied in the vice-regal court and councils of Lord Mornington, without having much previous knowledge of the character, and tastes, and peculiarities of that nobleman, will be apt to think that Mr. Kaye unduly magnifies his hero, and represents his advent to Calcutta as a more important event than it really was. But, in point of fact, the governor-general, the "glorious little man," was one of those few men to whom, being in office, it was of no consequence whether a man were old or not, whether he were a cadet or a colonel, provided he had eyes that could see, a brain that could think, a soul that could feel what was right and what was noble, and a hand that could hold a sword or a pen. In fact, we think that, upon the whole, other things being equal, he would have preferred a young man to an old one; at all events he seems to have surrounded himself with men whom many would have despised as youngsters; but whose energies, and whose unsophisticated ways of looking at affairs, he knew how to turn to account. It was not because he despised the wisdom of the ancients; but because he had a peculiar liking for a set of men who combined, in a wonderful way, the wisdom of experience with the energy and the fearlessness of youth. There are men who are never young;—calculating, planning, plotting, far-seeing in regard to the interests of self, from their boyhood. No man likes, or ought to like them. And there are men too, who never grow old; who retain the frivolity and the puppyism of boyhood, till, for their years, they ought to be old men. These are neither liked nor

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likeable, neither esteemed nor estimable. But others there are, who, without any deficiency, yea with a superabundance, of the characteristic qualities of youth, require only to have responsibility laid upon them, in order to call forth the faculties and powers which in others are only developed by time and experience; and these men often retain the freshness and the vigor of youth until a good old age. These are the men, who are fittest for the work of this world in whatsoever of its departments. Those who know how to appreciate men make much of such when they find them. Blessed is the governor who has his quiver full of such.

And such an one was Malcolm, and such ones were many of those whom Lord Mornington gathered around him in Calcutta. He knew how to appreciate them. He made much of them, in a judicious and manly way—and these fine young hearts beat joyously at the sound of his voice; and very gladly would they have poured out their life-blood for their noble chief.

Doubtless Malcolm at this time was very happy. Nor less so, when the governor-general announced to him that he was to accompany himself to the Madras presidency, and take such part as might be assigned to him in the events that were "looming in the distance." In the governor-general's suite he arrived at Madras, and thence he was despatched to join the Nizam's force, and accompany it to Seringapatam. It consisted of two portions, the British troops in the pay of the Nizam, commanded by Colonels Roberts and Hyndman; and the Nizam's own troops under Meer Allum. They were all sepoys alike, but the one body was directly under the command of the Company's officers, while the other owned no master but the Nizam. It was with the latter portion of the force that Malcolm had mainly to do. He found these troops then in a state of mutiny; Meer Allum acknowledged himself unable to control them, and Malcolm felt himself justified in offering to take the command. His offer was accepted; and by a manly and determined bearing, he subdued those rude spirits, and reduced them into a state of obedience and efficiency. With this force of the Nizam, H. M.'s 33rd regiment was associated; and it was this that brought Malcolm into contact with the Honorable Arthur Wellesley; and thus a friendship was begun, which ripened into cordial intimacy, and which never slackened on either side till the last day of Malcolm's life. Indeed we may say in passing that we do not know that the Duke of Wellington was ever on more intimate terms with any man than with Sir John Malcolm.

The capture of Seringapatam, the death of Tippoo, and the subversion of his dynasty, belong to the history of India, rather than to the life of Malcolm. But there are two anecdotes,

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related by Mr. Kaye, that we must transfer to our pages. On the morning of the final assault on the city, "Boy Malcolm" went into General Harris's tent, and addressed him as "Lord Harris." The old hero thought the joke mistimed, and answered him gravely. Yet we may be sure that he did not particularly dislike to be reminded by one whom he knew to be as sagacious as he was buoyant, of coming events casting their shadows before. The other story is equally characteristic. When the *loot* of Seringapatam was put up for sale, it was not unnatural that General Harris should wish to become possessor of the *Spolia opima*. But Tippoo's sword was knocked down to another bidder, to Captain Malcolm. Was he going to keep it for himself? No, he was not selfish enough for that. Was he going to send it Burnfoot? This would not have been inconsistent with his intense regard for his father and mother. But this too would have been selfishness; for what right had *they* peculiarly to a trophy which *he* had not peculiarly taken? No! he bought the sword, and presented it to Sir Alured Clarke. Harris liked him all the better for this tribute of respect for a hero, of gratitude to his first patron.

In General Harris's despatch, Malcolm has a whole paragraph devoted to his praise; and indeed his services were of no ordinary kind. But for his exertions, and the confidence that the Nizam's officers and soldiers reposed in him, this large branch of the army would have been almost certainly lost to the cause. Lord Mornington was as willing to listen to the recommendation, as General Harris was to recommend "Captain Malcolm to the particular notice of his Lordship in Council;" and when a Commission was appointed for the settlement of the Mysore territory, consisting of General Harris, Arthur and Henry Wellesley, Colonels Kirkpatrick and Close,—John Malcolm and his friend, "Tom Munro," were appointed secretaries. When a governor-general nominates such a commission and such secretaries, it is not to be doubted that he means it to be a working commission; and such was this. In a month, the work was done, and done well. Much has been written on a point to which Mr. Kaye does not allude, or alludes only so slightly that the allusion will not be understood except by those conversant with the history of the period. We refer to the slight supposed to have been cast upon Sir David Baird, by his exclusion from this commission, and by the appointment of Col. Wellesley to the command of the city, to which Baird was thought to have a superior claim. We have no wish to revive this controversy; but we do think it is scarcely fair to admit, as seems to be sometimes admitted as an element in the discussion, the subsequent career of Colonel Wellesley. It is forgotten

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that the controversy took place in the eighteenth, not in the nineteenth century; that the parties were not Sir David Baird and the Duke of Wellington, but Sir David Baird and Colonel the Honorable Arthur Wellesley. That Colonel Wellesley's appointment was a good one is doubtless true; and it may be true also, that Baird's temper and habits fitted him better for the head of an army than for the settlement of a province; but we have not been quite convinced, either that Wellesley had showed so pre-eminent qualifications, or Baird so striking disqualifications as to justify the Governor-General in passing over the fine old hero, and appointing his own brother.

The business of the Mysore Commissioner was scarcely wound up when Captain Malcolm was informed by Lord Mornington that he intended to send him as ambassador to the court of Persia. With what joy he received this announcement we need not tell. Since the days of Elizabeth, when Sir Anthony Jenkinson was sent to the court of the Shah of those days, no British envoy had proceeded to the Persian court. Malcolm himself thus states the objects of his Mission;—"To relieve India 'from the annual alarm of Zemaun Shah's invasion,* * * to 'counteract the possible attempts of those villainous, but active 'democrats, the French; and to restore to some part of its 'former prosperity, a trade which has been in a great degree 'lost."

Zemaun Shah was at this time king of Affghanistan, who had been for years blustering about an invasion of the British territories, and a junction with the Mohammedan princes of India. It was considered a good stroke of policy to enlist Persia on our side, so that if he should attack us, Persia might attack him. The French were no doubt at this time ready for mischief of any sort; and it was probably necessary to checkmate them by all possible means. The trade with Persia had never been great; but it was considered desirable that it should not be allowed to fall wholly into disuse. Such were the objects of Malcolm's mission to Persia. As it was desirable that no time should be lost, and as his own temperament was never such as to lead him to lose time, he set off at once for Hyderabad, and spent a busy fortnight in closing his accounts there. He left Hyderabad on the 1st of November, 1799, reached Poonah on the 19th, and after a very short stay at Bombay, sailed thence on the 29th of December, two days before the end of the century. His first destination was Muscat, where he entered into a treaty between the Imaum and the English. He then started for Bushire, which he reached on the 1st of February, 1800.

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Malcolm was strongly impressed with the conviction that his success in Persia would be greatly dependent on the liberality of his presents, and on the pertinacity of his standing up for his rights and dignities. Now the former was as much in accordance with his tastes as the latter was contrary to them. The giving of a present has the effect of putting people into good humour, the standing up for ceremony has that of putting them into bad humour. Still the one was as necessary as the other. Thus says his biographer:—

"The stickling for forms was more repellent to a man of Malcolm's temperament than the present-giving. He knew enough of oriental courts to recognise its necessity; but it was not less distasteful for the recognition. Eager as he was to advance with the work before him, it was vexatious in the extreme to be delayed by disputes about ceremonial observances—the style of a letter or the arrangement of an interview. He was personally a man of simple habits and unostentatious demeanour. Left to his own impulses, he would as readily have negotiated a treaty in his shirt-sleeves, and signed it with a billiard-cue under his arm, as arrayed in purple and gold, under a salute of artillery, and with a guard of honor at his back. But as the representative of a great nation, he was bound to uphold its dignity to the utmost. He was now among a people out of measure addicted to pomp and ceremony, with whom statesmanship was mainly a matter of fine writing; who stickled about forms of address, as though the destinies of empires were dependent upon the color of a compliment or the height of a chair; and who measured the grandeur of other nations with their own Chamberlain's wand. Any concession upon his part—any failure to insist upon the strict observance of what was due to him in his ambassadorial character, would have been construed, not only to his own disadvantage, but to that of the nation which he represented. So Malcolm resolved to do in Fars as is done in Fars, and to stickle as manfully for forms as any Hadjie in the country."

In fact it was merely a carrying out of the promise that he had made to the old woman at Burnfoot. She had urged him to be more careful about his "adonization" in London than it was necessary to be in Eskdale, and he had promised that when amongst strangers he should do "just weel aneugh." And now he was among strangers, and he strove to accommodate himself to their ideas. Only the old woman had held out the threat that, if he did *not adopt* London manners in London, he should be sent home again; and *by adopting* Persian manners in Persia, he narrowly escaped that penalty;—a penalty which, as our readers may remember, more than once followed a like course of procedure on the part of our ambassadors to China. Having remained at Bushire for more than three months, await-

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ing the settlement of his claims as to ceremonial etiquette, he set forward for the Persian Capital on the 22nd of May:—

"His suite consisted of six European gentlemen*, two European servants, two surveying boys, forty-two troopers of the Madras native cavalry, forty-nine Bombay grenadiers, sixty-eight Indian servants and followers, a hundred and three Persian attendants, and two-hundred and thirty-six servants and followers belonging to the gentlemen of the Mission."

His first stage was at Shiraz, where the Prince-Regent held his Court. Here the ceremonial controversy was renewed. Malcolm insisted upon what he regarded as his rights, and they were conceded, though with a bad grace. For whatever was amiss, he insisted upon, and obtained, apologies. "Malcolm made a magnifi-
'cent present to the prince,—a present of watches and pistols,
'mirrors and telescopes, shawls and table lustres, knives and
'tooth-picks, filagree-boxes and umbrellas, cloths and muslins,
'with an unlimited supply of sugar, sugar-candy and chintz."
The quantity of sugar alone was portentous—339 maunds,—upwards of 27,000 lbs.,—besides two tubs of sugar-candy! and yet the Prince-Regent was but imperfectly sweetened after all.

He was detained at Shiraz longer than he expected, the cause of the delay being highly characteristic of the country in which it occurred. At last quitting it, he reached Ispahan on the 23rd of September, the autumnal equinox. Here Malcolm was received with great magnificence, and here also he dispensed presents on a princely scale. With all this it was not till the middle of November that he reached the Capital of Persia. As since the days of good Queen Bess and of Anthony Jenkinson, till the days of good King George and John Malcolm, no British envoy had stood before a Persian King, we may be allowed to extract our Author's account of Malcolm's first presentation:—

"On the 16th of November, the English ambassador was presented to the Persian monarch. After the ceremonies had been arranged, Malcolm, with all his suite, proceeded towards the palace, the drums and trumpets of his escort heralding his approach. One of his chief Hindostani servants carried the letter of the Governor-General. On reaching the inner gate, having dismounted, the ambassador was conducted to an apartment in which the Dewan-Beg was sitting,

* From another part of the narrative, we learn that these were:—

Capt. William Campbell	*First Assistant.*
Lieut. Charles Pasley	*Assistants.*
Mr. Richard Strachey	*Assistants.*
Lieut. John Colebrooke	*Commanding Escort.*
Mr. Gilbert Briggs	*Surgeon.*
Mr. William Hollingberry	*Writer.*

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and desired to seat himself on the other end of the same cushion. The governor-general's letter was then placed between them. Coffee and pipes were introduced; and after the lapse of nearly an hour, it was announced that the king himself was seated on the throne, and that he was prepared to receive the English envoy in the Dewan-Khana, or hall of audience.

"Conducted by the Chamberlains, or masters of the ceremonies, Malcolm advanced, wearing the uniform of an English officer.* The audience-chamber was at the further end of a great square, in various parts of which the officers of the court were marshalled according to their respective ranks. It was a lofty chamber, profusely ornamented, in one corner of which the king, gorgeously attired, and one blaze of jewellery, was seated upon his cushioned throne.† As Malcolm advanced, attended by the masters of the ceremonies—one of the officers of the court bearing the governor-general's letter on a golden salver—he uncovered his head whenever they made obeisance. As he neared the throne, a herald proclaimed that Captain John Malcolm was come from the Governor-General of India to see his Majesty of Persia. "He is welcome," replied the king. Then Malcolm walked up to the door of the audience-chamber, made a low bow, advanced to the centre of the room, and then took the seat provided for him. The gentlemen of his suite sat at a distance below him. The prime minister received the Governor-General's letter, and presented it to the king, who ordered it to be opened; and one of the secretaries of state then broke the seal, and read it with a very loud voice, in a clear and distinct manner.

"Having repeated his expressions of welcome, the king enquired after his Majesty of England; hoped that King George was in good health: asked how many wives he had; and put some perplexing questions respecting the manners of our Court. Then having inquired after the treatment which the ambassador had received on his journey, and how he liked the climate of the country, his Majesty spoke of the friendship which had always subsisted between Persia and Great Britain, and of the pleasurable feelings with which he contemplated its establishment on a firm basis. But beyond these general expressions of good feeling, nothing passed at the interview, relating to business of state. Malcolm, however, had every reason to congratulate himself on his reception. The affability with which the king had discoursed with him was declared to be "gracious beyond example."

On the 27th of November, the ambassador was again received by the monarch, and on this occasion, presented the magnificent

* "Mehedi Ali Khan had endeavoured to persuade Malcolm to array himself in costly apparel, more in accordance with the ideas of the people than his plain soldier's uniform. But he laughed to scorn all such mummery, and declared that he would appear at the Persian Court as an Englishman and a soldier."

† "'The King,' wrote Malcolm in his journal, 'has a fine countenance and an elegant person. He was dressed with a magnificence which it is impossible to describe—being covered with jewels, many of which are those of Nadir Shah. His dress could not be worth less than a million sterling.'"

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presents with which he was charged. These were graciously accepted, and the king spent an hour in affable conversation with the ambassador.

We cannot dwell upon the various events that occurred during the sojourn of Malcolm at the Persian Court. Enough to say that a commercial and a political treaty were prepared, discussed, altered and re-altered, and at length concluded, signed and sealed. Malcolm gained golden opinions for himself. The nobles vied with each other in sumptuous hospitality. The king himself was evidently pleased with his manly and joyous spirit; "and when," says his biographer, "he assured Malcolm, at parting, that he should 'ever feel the warmest interest in his welfare, the words were more 'truly spoken than are commonly the compliments of kings." The treaties being concluded at the end of January, 1801, Malcolm set out at once on his return to India, *viâ* Baghdad, Bussorah and Bushire; and after various adventures, and a stormy voyage in a leaky ship, he reached Bombay on the 13th of May.

On his arrival at Bombay, Malcolm was summoned to Calcutta to give an account of his mission, and had the satisfaction of receiving from the Governor-General assurances of his unqualified approbation of his proceedings. Lord Mornington, now become Lord Wellesley, also promised him the first appointment worthy of his acceptance, that might be vacant. *En attendant*, he appointed him to act as his own private secretary, during the absence of his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley. This office is one whose holder may be every thing or nothing, according to the disposition of his chief. With Wellesley Malcolm was every thing, "*dimidium melius sui.*" Honored and trusted by his Lordship, sharing with him the cares and the labors of the government of a great empire at a critical time, it is refreshing to see the constancy with which Malcolm's thoughts reverted to the old parlour at Burnfoot. It was now in his power to contribute handsomely to the increase of the material comforts of his parents and sisters; but we may be sure that his liberal remittances had little share in the production of the intense joy that his letters diffused in the old home. It is said that success is, with the public, the sole test of generalship. With the public it may be so, but not with mothers and sisters; and if Malcolm had been, not the most prosperous man in India,—as he was—but suffering under reproach and penury, these kindly judges would have brought in a verdict, finding him, as an Indian Court, at a later period, found a notable character, "the victim of circumstances." But when they learned that "Jock," who twenty years before had been "at the bottom" of half the boyish mischief in the parish of Westerkirk, was now very near the top of the government of a vast empire, they could only wonder and thank God.

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Shortly after Malcolm's appointment to the Private Secretaryship, he accompanied the Governor-General on a trip to the N. W. Provinces; the main object of which was the settlement of Oude, that "Ireland" of India, whose management has, for half a century, been the grand test of the powers of each successive administration. In the course of the slow journey up the river, Malcolm was the confidential adviser of his Lordship, in regard to matters of great moment, which were then pressing upon his mind. These related not only to the settlement and administration of the country, but also to the relations between the home and the local authorities. We may state generally, —for we cannot afford to enter at all on the discussion of the matter—that the Court of Directors had conceived a strong prejudice against the officials at Madras; especially against Lord Clive, the Governor; Mr. Webbe, the Chief Secretary; and Mr. Cockburn, the president of the Revenue Board. Lord Wellesley was led, both by principle and interest, to stand by these men;—by principle, because he regarded them as the victims of injustice,—by interest, not selfish but patriotic, because he considered their remaining in the country to be essential to the good of the country. It was too evident that a most disastrous collision between the Court and the Indian Governments might ensue. Thus there were long and earnest conferences, every day and all day, between the Governor-General and his private secretary. At last it was deemed necessary that Malcolm should proceed to Madras; and he parted with the Governor-General at Allahabad, and returned by dâk to Calcutta, whence he sailed at once for Madras, and reached it on the 26th of January, 1802. Employed there in a matter of exceeding delicacy and considerable difficulty, Malcolm acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of the Governor-General who had sent him, and of those to whom he was sent. One point in the negotiations involved no little self-denial on Malcolm's part. It was Lord Wellesley's earnest desire that Mr. Webbe should remain in India. But as chief secretary at Madras he could not remain, because the Court of Directors had sent out a gentleman expressly to supersede him. Now the Residency of Mysore was about to become vacant, by the removal of Col. Close to Poonah. It had been fixed that Malcolm was to succeed to this office, one of the best in point of remuneration, and one of the most honorable in point of distinction, in the service. Now Malcolm was instructed to urge upon Mr. Webbe the acceptance of this office, to which he had himself been all but appointed; and he did plead with Webbe to accept the office, and pleaded so earnestly that he prevailed. We do not give him extravagant praise for this self-denying conduct; because we have never in India

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been without men willing to sacrifice their own interests to those of the public service. But we ought to mention that there were two circumstances which made the sacrifice peculiarly trying to Malcolm. The first was that Lord Wellesley did not intend to remain long in the country, and there might probably be no other vacancy to which he could appoint Malcolm, and certainly none so desirable in every way as this. The other was that he had already informed his friends in Scotland of his nomination to this office; and it was impossible to make them understand the reasons why the appointment had not taken place:—

"I know, my dear Colonel," said he, writing to Col. Kirkpatrick, "that you will feel this arrangement most severely in many respects, and in none more than as it affects me. This you must explain, particularly to Mr. John Pasley and my other friends. As they are under an impression, from letters which I cannot now re-call, that I am actually fixed as Resident at Mysore. Assure them that I consider my interests as little affected by the circumstances that have occurred, and that I continue to preserve—what Mr. Pasley knows has ever been my primary object—Lord Wellesley's favor and confidence."

As we shall not advert to this matter again, we may mention here that Mr. Webbe, in the course of a few months, hearing that Mr. Henry Wellesley was about to return to the Private Secretaryship, sent the resignation of his office to Lord Wellesley, for the express purpose of enabling His Lordship to make a permanent provision for Malcolm before his departure from India. But ere this, Malcolm was occupied in other matters.

Having brought his negotiations at Madras to a satisfactory termination, Malcolm set off at once for Calcutta, and thence to join the Goveror-General, who was then on his return from Lucknow. Early in March, he joined his Lordship, and again took possession of the Private-Secretary's seat. And so, through the hot weather of 1802, he labored at his desk in Calcutta, winning golden opinions from all descriptions of men. But this was not long to continue.

The King of Persia had sent an ambassador to India, to return Malcolm's visit to Teheran. At Bombay, a body of Company's sepoys was appointed to attend on him. A quarrel ensued between them and his own Persian attendants. The quarrel led to a scuffle, and the scuffle to a fight. Musket-balls were flying "quite promiscuously," when the ambassador unwisely went out to attempt to quell the disturbance. No sooner had he appeared on the scene than a bullet struck him, and down he fell

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dead. This was an emergency. The effect produced by this disaster is thus described by Mr. Kaye :—

"It would be difficult to describe the sensation which this incident excited in the minds of all the European inhabitants of Bombay, from Governor Duncan down to the youngest ensign in the service. The whole settlement went into mourning. A frigate was despatched immediately to Calcutta to bear the melancholy tidings to the seat of the Supreme Government, and to seek for counsel in so unprecedented a conjuncture. The strongest minds in India were shaken by this terrible intelligence from Bombay. Even Lord Wellesley for a time was stunned and stupified by the disaster. A general gloom hung over the Presidency. Some spoke of the danger, some of the disgrace. To Malcolm the accident was peculiarly afflicting. He could not help feeling that the ambassador, though the guest of the nation, was peculiarly his guest. It was Malcolm's visit to Persia, which Hadjee Khalil Khan was returning, when he thus calamitously and ingloriously lost his life in a broil at the hands of one of our own people. He knew and he liked the man; but, beyond all, his heart was in the object of the Persian's mission. He saw now that all his own work was undone at a blow, just as the crown was about to be set upon it, and he knew not how long a time it might take to remedy the evil, even if the outrage did not lead to a total rupture with the Persian Court. "It brings sorrow to all," he wrote to Lord Hobart; "to me it brings the most severe distress. I see in one moment the labor of three years given to the winds (and that by the most unexpected and unprecedented of all accidents) just when it was on the point of completion."

Now Malcolm was the favorite adviser of Lord Wellesley on all occasions; and of course on a matter relating to Persia, his opinion was of the highest importance. So, after long and earnest conferences, it was agreed that the Private Secretary should proceed to Bombay, with a *carte blanche*, to do all that he might think necessary, in order to avert threatened calamity; and on the 30th of August, he embarked at Calcutta for Masulipatam. Thence he went at once to Hyderabad, where he had some work to do in conference with the Resident, Mr. Webbe. From Hyderabad he proceeded to Poonah, where also he had to hold conference with the Resident, Col. Close. In the course of his journey from Poonah to Bombay, an incident occurred, which would have tried the temper of most men; but Malcolm had the secret of being "jolly," under the most creditable circumstances. As he was quietly proceeding on his journey, dreaming of Burnfoot and Teheran, his palankin was surrounded by a body of cavalry and infantry, and he was made prisoner. It appeared that a petty chief, expecting a general action between Holkar and Scindiah, had conceived the idea that the possession of a man of Malcolm's standing would enable him to make ad-

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vantageous terms with the victor, and so he had sent out a party to apprehend him. He was taken to a remote village among the hills, where only one inhabitant had ever seen a white face. He managed to get a note sent off to Poonah, and remained, without fear as to the issue. As this was the first time since he left Eskdale, that he had had an opportunity of witnessing unsophisticated village-life, he entered with great zest into the spirit of it; and perhaps the time that he spent here, passed as pleasantly as any that he ever passed out of Eskdale. He ingratiated himself with men, women, and children; and we should not wonder, if any traveller should now visit this village, though he found a tradition handed down through the half-century that has passed since then, of the sojourn of such a guest among them. But such pleasure could not last long. Fifteen hundred men were sent from Poonah, and Malcolm was allowed to proceed on his journey. He promised to the chief to inform the resident at Poonah, that, though detained, he had been treated with kindness. For the detention this Rob Roy was condemned to a fine; for the kindness, to a fine only.

Without further adventure, Malcolm reached Bombay on the 10th of October, and found the Persians very clamorous on account of the death of their master, and the Europeans very much alarmed at their clamours. But Malcolm's arrival soon put matters to rights. He understood the Persians, and they partly understood him, or were soon made to do so. By the end of the month, he had sent off the body of the ambassador to Persia, had expressed in a letter to the king, and in letters to many of the nobles and the relatives of the deceased, the extreme regret of the Governor-General, the Governor of Bombay, himself, and the whole community, at the melancholy occurrence, and had liberally expended presents and promised pensions to relatives and attachés. Perhaps the last step was the most effective of all. The Persians, king and people, acknowledged that the death of the Hadji was such an accident as *will* happen in the best-regulated families, and the *entente cordiale* suffered no interruption. Having brought this matter to so satisfactory a termination, Malcolm left Bombay about the end of November, and the close of the year 1802 found him in deep conference with Lord Wellesley in Calcutta.

Matters of no ordinary magnitude formed the prevailing subject of these conferences. The great Mahratta war was about to blaze out, and Malcolm was to have his fair share in the dangers and the glory of it. Mr. Webbe had resigned the Residency of Mysore at the end of the year, and Malcolm had been appointed to succeed him. But he was destined for a time to be a non-resident Resident. We must now endeavour, as

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briefly as may be, to give our readers an idea of the position of the pieces on the board in the great game that was about to be played. Lord Wellesley was Governor-General; Lord Clive was Governor of Madras; General Lake was Commander-in-Chief in India; General Stuart was Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army; and under him General Arthur Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson were in command of divisions of the army; Colonel Close was Resident at the Peishwa's court at Poonah; Colonel Collins (our old friend Jack Collins*) at that of Scindia; Mr. Webbe had been appointed to the Residency at the court of the Boonsla, or Raja of Berar, at Nagpore; and Major Malcolm stood appointed, as we have said, to succeed him as Resident at the court of the Raja of Mysore. Now some time before this, Scindia and the Peishwa had gone to loggerheads with Holkar, who had defeated their united forces in a smart action in the neighbourhood of Poonah. Holkar took possession of Poonah, but respected the flag on the British Residency. The Peishwa fled, and after various adventures, threw himself on the protection of the English, by whom he was conveyed in a British ship to Bassein. Here, on the last day of 1802, he signed a treaty, which was intended to be the basis of a great league of the chief Indian powers, the English, the Peishwa, Holkar, Scindia, the Boonsla, and the Nizam, on the footing of the English being acknowledged the paramount power. The first step to be taken was therefore to re-instate the Peishwa at Poonah; and it was hoped that this might be effected by a mere demonstration of force, without actually letting slip the dogs of war. General Wellesley therefore marched for Poonah, and was joined on the way by Col. Stevenson from Hyderabad. Holkar had quitted Poonah, leaving it in charge of Amrut Rao, one of his generals, with orders to burn it, if a British force should approach. General Wellesley prevented this by the rapidity of his movements, and Amrut Rao marched out with his garrison of 1,500 men. This was on the 20th of April, 1803. On the 27th, the Peishwa left Bassein, attended by Colonel Close, and escorted by a body of British troops under the command of Col. Murray, and on the 13th of May, he took his seat on the Musnud in Poonah.

Malcolm had left Calcutta in the beginning of February, but did not reach Madras till about the end of the month. After a short stay there, he joined General Stuart's camp, and after spending two days with him, he pushed on to join General Wellesley, who was on his march for Poonah. With him he remained in a non-descript position. He was nominally Resident at Seringapatam, and in that capacity he had no business in

* See *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXIV. Art. "LORD METCALFE."

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General Wellesley's camp. But both from his knowledge of the position that Malcolm held in the Governor-General's confidence, and from his own respect for his judgment and skill in oriental diplomacy, General Wellesley desired to have him with him. It is evident also from the Governor-General's letters addressed to Malcolm at this time, that he expected of him the performance of the duties of Governor-General's Agent, though it does not appear that he was formally appointed to this office. His official position was not very clearly defined, but he had abundance of work to do, and that was enough for him.

The position of the "pieces" was now this: The confederation was complete between the English, the Peishwa, and the Nizam. Holkar was hovering on the frontiers of the Nizam's territory, which Stevenson had been detached by General Wellesley to defend. Scindia and the Boonsla were each in the field, and it did not yet appear what steps they were to take. The months of May, June, and July were spent in negotiation; but without effect. On the 3rd of August, Colonel Collins quitted Scindia's court; on the 6th, this intelligence reached General Wellesley; Scindia and the Boonsla had thus deliberately chosen to stake their fortune on the hazard of the die of war. On the 8th, General Wellesley took up his position before the walls of Ahmednugger, and on the 12th, the British bunting was floating over the citadel. But Malcolm had no share in this capture. He was on a sick-bed. He had been for months suffering from dysentery, and although he had been now up and now down, and had been able to do a vast amount of most important service, the insidious foe had been steadily gaining ground. After struggling long, sustained by his constitution, his spirit, and the excitement of his work, he yielded at last to the solicitation of his friends, and left the camp on the day after the capture of Ahmednuggur. He proceeded to Bombay, and there he speedily recovered, so far that we find him writing to General Wellesley on the 7th of September: "I have been at my desk, writing letters to England, for six 'hours, and am not fatigued. I am not yet permitted to ride." Whether the favorable symptoms had been deceptive, or whether he had over-taxed his strength and brought on a relapse, we do not know; but it was months after this ere he was able to rejoin Wellesley's camp; and he missed the glorious battles of Assaye and Argaum. It was indeed a sore trial to a soldier to be doomed to inactivity while Lake fought Laswari, and Wellesley fought Assaye and Argaum. But these trials are not without their uses, and we doubt not that this trial was useful to Malcolm in various ways. At length, better but not yet well, he rejoined his old friend on the 16th of December. He was just in time to be too late, and too late to be in time. He heard from a

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distance the firing at Gawilghur, and pushed on with all possible speed; but the fort had fallen before he came. And this was the end of the war. Two days after the Boonsla acceded to terms similar to those granted to the Peishwa. "Malcolm's arrival 'in camp," his biographer informs us, "was like a sudden 'burst of sun-shine." And we can well believe it. All work and no play was making dull boys of General Wellesley and those about him. But the Man Malcolm lessened the work by sharing it, and the Boy Malcolm greatly augmented the play.

The Boonsla had now joined the league, but Scindia had not yet. He now, however, began to treat, and after more than even the usual oriental amount of wriggling, evasion, and falsehood, a treaty was, at last, on the 30th of December, concluded on terms proposed by Malcolm, to whose judgment General Wellesley had on some points sacrificed his own. This treaty was concluded by Scindia's agents, and there was no doubt of its being ratified by himself. It was agreed between Malcolm and General Wellesley that as soon as the ratification was completed, Malcolm should proceed to Scindia's camp, in order to "conclude a 'supplementary treaty for the establishment of a subsidiary 'force in the Maharajah's dominions." To the camp he accordingly resorted, and a very difficult piece of work he had to perform. He was sick, and Scindia was sick: or when he was well, he would not attend to business. Add to this that there were two parties among his advisers, who always, as a matter of course, pulled in opposite directions, and agreed in nothing but in opposing each other. Take an instance of the way in which native diplomacy was conducted in those days, and would be conducted now, if there were any native powers with whom to diplomatize. Malcolm had given to the ministers of Scindia a draft of a treaty, containing only such articles as he had understood to have been already agreed on in conference. When it was returned to him, he found that "almost all the expressions, 'and some of the most essential principles," had been altered, and that the following article had been added to it:—"That the 'English Government agreed, out of respect for the *firman* of 'the king,—out of regard for the tribe of the Peishwa,—out 'of friendship for the Maharajah,—and with a view to increase 'its own reputation with the natives of the country, to allow 'no cows to be killed in Hindostan!" With thus making and rejecting proposals, shifting, winding and wriggling, about two months passed over, and it was not till the last day of February that the negotiations were brought to a close. Malcolm had the gratification of receiving from the Governor-General privately, and from the Governor-General-in-Council publicly, the most cordial assurances of entire satisfaction with his services, and

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approbation of the treaty which he had concluded. This was an immense relief to his mind; for he had received assurances that Lord Wellesley was not disposed to be easily satisfied. Even after the treaty was concluded, but before it reached Calcutta, his Lordship had written to Malcolm, threatening that if the treaty contained certain articles which he supposed it to contain, but which fortunately it did not contain, he would have recourse to the extreme measure of disowning the act of his own agent, and refusing to sanction Malcolm's proceedings.

This supplementary treaty being concluded, it now fell to Malcolm's lot to arrange some important details, in order to the carrying into effect of the original treaty, concluded by General Wellesley. In the interpretation of that treaty a great difficulty arose. It had reference to various points of lesser moment, but mainly to the possession of Gwalior. If we understand aright the nature of the dispute,—and we have earnestly endeavoured to do so—it arose in this wise. By the treaty it was agreed that "such countries formerly in the possession of the Maharajah, 'situated between Jyepore and Joudpore, and to the southward 'of the former, are to belong to the Maharajah." By another article it was stipulated, "that whereas certain treaties have 'been made by the British Government with Rajahs and others, 'heretofore feudatories of the Maharajah, these treaties are to 'be confirmed; and the Maharajah hereby renounces all claims 'upon the persons with whom such treaties have been made, 'and declares them to be independent of his Government and 'authority, provided that none of the territories, belonging to 'the Maharajah, situated to the southward of those of the Rajahs 'of Jyepore and Joudpore and the Rana of Gohud, have been 'granted away by these treaties." This article referred to the treaties which had been made with the feudatory chiefs by General Lake, and of which General Wellesley did not know the contents when he concluded the main treaty with Scindia. The questions for consideration then were these two: *To whom did Gwalior belong before the war?* If to the Maharajah, *Was there any thing in General Lake's engagements with the feudatory chiefs, which prevented our giving it back to him?* Now the facts of the case were these: On the breaking up of the Mogul empire, Gwalior had fallen into the hands of the Rana of Gohud. From him it was taken by the Mahrattas before their breaking up into the great rival houses. It was taken by the English in 1780, and given to the Gohud Rana. In 1784, it was taken by the grandfather of Scindia, with the tacit consent of the English, to whom the Gohud Rana had been unfaithful. We do not see then on what possible ground it could be denied that at the commencement of the war, Gwalior was in possession

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of the Maharajah. He had possessed it *de facto* for twenty years; and the English had never objected to his possession of it. This we think was tantamount in all fair reason to their acknowledgment of his right to possess it. There can be no doubt that Scindia signed the treaty with the understanding that it secured to him the possession of Gwalior; and if this were not the understanding of General Wellesley also, it seems almost incredible that nothing should have transpired in the course of the negotiation to rectify the apprehension of his astute plenipotentiary. This point then we consider settled.

How then did the treaties with the feudatory chiefs affect the settlement of the question? Two of these treaties touched upon it; that with Ambajee Inglia, and that with the Rana of Gohud. The account of these treaties we extract from Thornton's history, because it is fuller than that given by our author:—

"Ambajee Inglia was a powerful servant of Scindia. * * * Part of the territories which Ambajee had been authorized [by Scindia] to administer, formed the ancient possession of the house of Gohud, which had been conquered by Scindia some years before.* Ambajee made overtures to the British Government, offering to detach himself from the service of Scindia, and become tributary to them. It was desirable to afford him encouragement, and the difficulty of reconciling his claims with those of the Rana of Gohud, was got over by dividing the country, and assigning the independent possession of part to Ambajee, in consideration of his surrendering the right of administering the whole; a negotiation with this view was opened, and, after much evasion, a treaty was concluded, by which Ambajee agreed to surrender all the territory north of Gwalior, together with the fortress of that name, the British Government guaranteeing to Ambajee the remainder of the territory which had been under his management. A force was despatched to take possession of the fortress, and Ambajee readily gave an order for its delivery. The commandant, however, refused to obey the instructions of his master,† and measures were taken for the reduction of the place by force. When a breach had been effected, the garrison offered to surrender in consideration of the sum of Rs. 50,000. This being refused, they demanded the value of certain stores as the price of submission, which being granted, possession of the fort was obtained by the English.

"By the treaty with the Rana of Gohud, Gwalior was ceded to

* In 1784 as stated above.—Ed. C. R.

† Mr. Kaye says that this was by secret orders from Ambajee himself, whom he therefore designates "a double-dyed traitor." This is very likely; but it does not bear on the settlement of the question in hand.—Ed. C. R.

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the Company, by whom the territories restored to her* (him) under the arrangement with Ambajee were guaranteed."

It appears then that both Ambajee and the Gohud Rana had given up all rights which they might have possessed, or might have been supposed to possess, to Gwalior, and that it had been, so far as they were concerned, ceded to the East India Company. Now surely the meaning of the treaty with General Wellesley was, not that we should keep territory which Scindia claimed, on the ground of its being given up to us by his vassals, but only that we should be saved from the obligation to fulfil any portion of the treaty with him, whose fulfilment should put it out of our power to keep faith with those who had concluded treaties with General Lake. The article that we quoted above, would have justified the Company in withholding Gwalior from the Maharajah, if it had been by Lord Lake given over either to Ambajee or to the Gohud Rana; but not at all as the case really was.

On this point three distinct views were taken. Malcolm's was that it was both our duty, in terms of the treaty, and our interest politically, to allow Scindia's claim. General Wellesley's was that the duty was doubtful; but that in a case of doubt it was infinitely better to yield the point than to incur even the semblance of bad faith; and that, moreover, no harm could ensue from putting the Maharajah in possession of Gwalior. Lord Wellesley's was that good faith did not require our cession of Gwalior, and that policy imperatively demanded its retention. We give our vote unhesitatingly on the side of Malcolm, and cordially endorse Mr. Kaye's commendation of the firmness with which he sacrificed, what was to him a paramount object of desire, the friendship and favor of the Governor-General.

We know well what a "glorious little man" Lord Wellesley was; there never was a man whose friendship was more honorable or more delightful to those who enjoyed it. But his wrath was terrible. He would not have been a Wellesley else. And against Malcolm his wrath was fairly kindled. And then at this time especially he was peculiarly irritable. He was in bad health, and we all know that biliousness does not generally improve the temper. The Court of Directors were openly opposing the policy that he had so nobly and so conscientiously pursued. The ministry, from whom he had good reason to expect support, had abandoned him. He was about to leave the country, to save

* Mr. Thornton makes a lady of this potentate, evidently confounding the word *Rana* with *Rani;* a mistake which we should scarcely have expected on the part of one so conversant with Indian affairs.—Ed. C. R.

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himself from the ignominy of a recall; and he did not know but that he might be met on his return with an impeachment, and a second edition of Warren Hastings's trial. It was therefore peculiarly displeasing to him to have that very line of policy which was condemned by the Court, and not defended by the Crown, disputed and thwarted by one in whom he had placed such unbounded confidence as he had reposed in Malcolm. The controversy was only stopped by the arrival of Mr. Webbe, who relieved Malcolm of the office that had now become extremely distasteful to him. The Marquis afterwards wrote him a very long letter, which he intended to be conciliatory; but of which the plain English is simply this: "I have always encouraged you 'to give me advice, and have always had the highest possible 'opinion of you. But you must not give me advice which is dis-'tasteful to me." We dismiss this subject with the declaration that we do most thoroughly disapprove of Lord Wellesley's conduct in this matter, but that it was an exceptional case; indeed the only case we know in which he acted in a manner unworthy of himself.

We were anxious to place this matter in a clear light, and have therefore presented it in a single view, passing over events that occurred contemporaneously with its progress. Malcolm's health continued to be very indifferent, and it seemed impossible that he should get rid of his complaint without a change of climate. He was therefore desirous to be sent to England with despatches, announcing the termination of the Mahratta war. In this desire he was warmly supported by General Wellesley, who had urged it upon his brother; and it would most likely have been gratified, but for the unfortunate collision that ensued. But before this an event had occurred at home which deepened the gloom that had been induced by wearing indisposition, and the harassment of contending from day to day with chicanery and falsehood. "A letter from his uncle, John Pasley, an-'nounced the death of his venerable father. The sad tidings 'came upon him with painful suddenness. A few weeks before 'he had received a letter from his younger sailor-brother, 'Charles,* announcing that all were well at Burnfoot;—and now 'he learned that the head of the family had been gathered to his 'rest. Mr. George Malcolm died peaceably in his own home, sur-'rounded by his own people. He died as the Christian dieth, 'with an assured belief in the efficacy of his Redeemer's merits. 'To John Malcolm this thought—confirmed as it was by some 'beautiful letters from his sisters—brought great consolation. 'But still how deep was the sorrow which these tidings struck

* The late Sir Charles Malcolm.

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' into his heart, may be gathered from "—a letter which his Biographer quotes at length, but which we need not quote, seeing that both we and the majority of our readers are exiles as he was, and know, without being told, the effect of such tidings from our distant home. It is a solemn thing under any circumstances to lose a father, recalling as it does all the instances,—long forgotten, it may be, by the son, and heartily forgiven by the father,—in which the thoughtlessness, or indiscretion, or sins, of the son may have grieved the heart of the father. He must have been a better son than probably any of us have been, who has not many such instances to recall; he must be a worse son than, we hope, any of us have been, who does not on the occasion of his father's death, recall them. But if it is a solemnizing and a saddening thing to stand by the death-bed of a parent, it is ten-fold more so to hear long after that a parent has died in our absence. How we reproach ourselves with every laugh and jest that we have uttered, every gaiety in which we have indulged, even the eagerness with which we have engaged in our ordinary studies or business, as if it were an insult to the memory of those for whom we ought to have been mourning. All this, it will be said, is unreasonable. It may be so; but it is not of reasoning, but of feeling, that we are speaking.

Very glad was Malcolm, we may be sure, according to the measure of gladness that is competent to a man suffering under chronic dysentery, and mourning the death of a revered and beloved father, and lying under the severe displeasure of a master whom he has served with intensest zeal, when Mr. Webbe's arrival allowed him to quit the camp of Scindia. Immediately he took leave on sick-certificate, and went to pay a visit to his brother Robert at Vizagapatam. It was a great thing for Malcolm to be able at this time to hold quiet conference with his elder brother. A sister or a more excitable brother might have unmanned him; but Robert was grave and sensible, perhaps rather common-place; but kind and warm-hearted, and equally with John venerating and loving the father whom they had lost. In his society, and with nothing to do, Malcolm recovered his health and spirits insensibly. But it is proverbial, how difficult it is to get out of "mournings;" and although we do not in India indulge much in "the trappings and the suits of woe," the mere millinery and tailory of grief, yet it would seem as if there were truth in the proverb. We suppose that it is with this as with many matters of the same kind. People note the cases in which such coincidences occur, and disregard the cases in which they do not occur. Be this as it may, the two brothers learned at Vizagapatam of the death of another brother, William, a London merchant.

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Meantime public events were running their course. There had been more change in the names than in the position of the "pieces" on our board. General Lake had become Lord Lake; General Wellesley was now Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. C. B., and Major Malcolm had become Lieut.-Colonel Malcolm. The only substantial change was that Lord Clive had left Madras, and had been succeeded in the Government of that Presidency by Lord William Bentinck. Holkar, who had unaccountably and most accommodatingly kept quiet while we had Scindia and the Boonsla on our hands, threw down the gauntlet when we had nothing to interfere with our "polishing him off." Lord Lake was, as before, kept in the north: and Sir Arthur Wellesley, as before, was sent to the south. Being in Calcutta, he wrote to Malcolm that he wished to take him with him into the Deccan, and that he would pick him up on his way down the Bay. Accordingly, early in November, Malcolm joined his friend on board the *Bombay* frigate off Ganjam. Thence they proceeded to Madras, and after a few days' stay there, to Mysore. Malcolm found that things were getting on swimmingly under the able superintendence of his Assistant Major Wilks, and that there was nothing requiring his presence at the Residency. But it became more and more evident that there was to be no fighting in that part of India. Although the opening of the campaign was inauspicious for us, Lord Lake was now pressing Holkar so hard, as to require him to concentrate his forces towards the north. So Sir Arthur resolved to go to England, and Colonel Malcolm resolved to settle down in his Residency, and to occupy himself with the composition of the History of Persia. But this was not to be,—at least not yet. At the close of the year he took formal charge of the Residency, intimating the fact to Lord William Bentinck on the 23rd of December; but Lord Wellesley required his services elsewhere, "so in the month of March, Malcolm quitted 'Mysore, and in the course of April (1803) again found himself 'deep in the councils of Government House in Calcutta." The matters under discussion are brought clearly into view in the following passage:—

"To what extent and in what manner it was desirable to interfere with the concerns of the Holkar family;—whether it were expedient to apply to the state of things which had arisen in consequence of the growing power of Jeswunt Rao (Holkar) the principle of counterpoise, and to depress Holkar by elevating Scindia;—whether it were advisable to interfere in the internal relations of the former family, and by supporting another member of it to the injury of Jeswunt Rao, secure the allegiance of the former;—or whether it behoved us to regard Holkar as any other prince, and deal with him for good or for evil, for peace or for war, as the circumstances of his

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own conduct might suggest, were questions which at this time were warmly discussed by Lord Wellesley and his advisers, and debated by the authorities at home."

The first of these lines of policy Malcolm had proposed and advocated in letters from Scindia's camp, and the idea had then been scouted by Lord Wellesley. But at that time Scindia was on friendly terms with us, and had evidently a disposition favorable to the maintenance of peace. In the course of little more than a year that had elapsed since then, he had fallen entirely under the influence of his father-in-law and prime minister, Surjee Rao Ghautka, who had contrived to convert him from a somewhat thoughtless, but withal not a disingenuous youth, into a depraved and hopeless scoundrel. The advice that Malcolm gave in 1803, was therefore altogether inapplicable in 1805. But unfortunately Lord Wellesley, who had scouted it then, was too willing to act upon it now. Even Mr. Kaye, who has for Lord Wellesley a veneration and an affection of no ordinary strength, is obliged to differ from him. He can only apologize for him; and the apology must, to a certain extent at least, be sustained:—

"Lord Wellesley was now on the eve of retirement from office. He was every day expecting to hear of the appointment of his successor. He was weary and heart-sick of the long-continued strife which he had maintained with the authorities at home. It was easy to say that the "glorious little man" was losing all his old courage, was shaken in his high resolves. But it was not easy to bear up against the irritating assaults of his enemies, and the galling desertion of his friends. Whatever may have been the sympathy and support which a steady adhesion to his old policy would have secured to him from the statesmen of India, he knew that he could look for neither sympathy nor support from England; and to England he was now carrying his reputation. The "great game" may have suited those who were not responsible for its success or failure. And Lord Wellesley would still, perhaps, not have shrunk from it, if he could have seen it played out. But he knew that he would have been held responsible for measures initiated, but not prosecuted to their completion, by himself; and there were many considerations which enveloped the issue of another war with a mist of doubt and uncertainty."

We have said that this apology must be sustained, to *a certain extent*, but to a certain extent only. In fact it would have been more applicable to the close of 1803, than to the beginning of 1805. At the former of these dates, no less than at the latter, Lord Wellesley supposed himself to be on the eve of retirement. And his unpopularity at home had greatly decreased in the interval. While the thanks of parliament had been cordially given to all engaged in the war, on purely military grounds, so far as

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regarded its *conduct*, there had been but a slight grumble uttered by a few members against its *origination* on political grounds. The Crown had raised General Lake to the peerage, and General Wellesley to the knighthood of the Bath. "I am not certain," we find him writing to Malcolm on the 2nd of November, 1804, "of the views of the present administration with regard to the 'system of government and policy in India, although I have 'received a very kind and flattering letter from Mr. Pitt." This surely indicates that the tide had turned in his favor, and shews a different state of things from that which prevailed in 1803, respecting which General Wellesley wrote to Malcolm on the 21st of January, 1804, as follows,—"The Governor-General has 'received a letter from Henry, in which Henry informs him 'that he had had a long conversation with Mr. Addington 'on the subject of the support which the Governor-General was 'to expect from ministers hereafter, in which Mr. Addington said 'plainly that they could not support the Governor-General 'against the Court of Directors."

Be all these things as they might, Lord Wellesley was glad to remain at peace with Scindia, if it could be maintained without dishonor; and Mr. Jenkins, (afterwards Sir Richard Jenkins, who died lately) then acting Resident at his court, was instructed to inform him, if he thought fit, that either Col. Malcolm or Mr. Græme Mercer, or both, would probably soon be deputed on a special mission to his court. And so, after a fortnight's residence in Calcutta, Malcolm proceeded to Lord Lake's camp, with discretionary powers to act as the course of events might render expedient. In this mission, Malcolm rejoiced on various accounts; but mainly because it showed him that he still retained, or had completely regained, that place in Lord Wellesley's confidence, which had been his joy and his pride, and the loss, or supposed loss, of which had grieved him so bitterly.

And so Malcolm set out from Calcutta, to attempt to unravel the tangled skein of Mahratta politics. After visiting Lucknow, he joined Lord Lake on the banks of the Chumbul, and shortly after proceeded with him to Muttra, "He now found himself among 'new friends, and, for the first time, on service with the Bengal 'Army. His arrival had created no little sensation in the camp. 'There were many there familiar with his name and his reputation, 'who had long desired to see the man of whom they had heard 'so much, and who were not disappointed. He was doubly welcome at Lord Lake's head-quarters. He was welcome on his own 'account. His fine personal qualities ever rendered him popular 'both with young and old; and his presence contributed much 'to the cheerfulness of the camp. But he was welcome also 'as one who was believed to be at the head of the war-party—

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'or rather one who would not willingly consent to any peace 'but an honorable and a lasting one.'' In laying plans for vigorous action in peace or in war, the hot months of 1805 were passed away; when Malcolm was put to a severe test by a request from Lord Wellesley that he should accompany him to England. What his Lordship's purpose might be in making this request, we cannot quite understand, nor does the work before us give us any aid. Being left to conjecture, therefore, we suppose that his Lordship, expecting to be assailed with a storm of censure on his return to England, was anxious to have one with him, on whose talents and whose hearty sympathy he could count with certainty, as at once an able and a zealous vindicator of the policy that he had pursued. It was a difficult matter for Malcolm to decide whether he should or should not comply with this request; he decided in the negative; and we think few will doubt that he decided wisely.

On the 30th of July, 1805, Lord Cornwallis arrived in Calcutta, and Lord Wellesley shortly afterwards took his departure, carrying with him the respect of all, even of those who did not approve of the principles of his administration. At this distance of time we can judge impartially of those principles. They have given its character to the history of India during the last half-century; and we do not hesitate to say that an opposite line of policy would have produced a worse result. By saying this we do not intend to commit ourselves to the advocacy of a "war-policy" in all circumstances. But at the end of last century, and the beginning of the present, it was a question of our existence or non-existence in India. It is to Lord Wellesley that we owe our existence as a great Asiatic power; and he would be a bolder man than we who would venture to say that our exisence in that character has not been advantageous both to England and to India.

One of Lord Cornwallis's first acts was to forward to Malcolm an explicit outline of the course of policy which he intended to pursue. He was avowedly sent out to alter that of his predecessor, and to introduce a peace-policy,—mainly on financial grounds. He therefore frankly asked Malcolm whether he were willing to co-operate heartily with him in effecting his purposes. Perhaps some may think that Malcolm's office was so far a political one, where so much was necessarily left to the judgment of the actual officer, that it would have been wiser for him to have resigned it, and either to have returned to his Residency at Mysore, or to have volunteered for military service under Lord Lake. And Malcolm soon felt that this was the only course left to him to pursue. He therefore determined to beg to be relieved of his office. But at present he did not feel this; and

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he replied to Lord Cornwallis, that he would, as a public servant, render a cheerful obedience to His Lordship's commands, and do all that he could do to merit his approbation. But he soon found that the views of Lord Cornwallis, and indeed the conditions of his appointment, were still more directly opposed to the policy of his predecessor than he had at first supposed; that they were not only opposed to annexation, but that they comprehended the cession of whole kingdoms already annexed. His views as to the nature of his office, and the necessity of its being held by one whose sentiments were in accordance with those of the Governor-General, are very clearly stated in a letter to his friend, Mr. Edmonstone, part of which we extract:—

"Your station and mine are, my dear friend, widely different. As an officer of Government, acting immediately under the Governor-General, you have in fact, only to obey orders, and are never left to the exercise of your own discretion and judgment, as you have a ready reference in all cases that can occur to the superior authority, with whom, of course, every responsibility rests. Under such circumstances, a secretary that chooses to be of a different opinion—that is to say, to *maintain* different opinions—from a Governor-General, has, in my opinion, no option but to resign; and his resignation would, on such occasion, appear extraordinary to every person acquainted with the nature of his office, which is obviously one of an executive, not of a deliberative nature. Now look at my situation. Placed at a great distance from the Governor-General, and acting upon instructions of a general nature—obliged constantly to determine points upon my own judgment, as there is no time for reference—liable to be called upon by extraordinary exigencies to act in a most decided manner to save the public interests from injury, it is indispensable that the sentiments of my mind should be in some unison with the dictates of my duty; and if they unfortunately are contrary to it, I am not fit to be employed, for I have seen enough of these scenes to be satisfied that a mere principle of obedience will never carry a man through a charge, where such large discretionary powers must be given, with either honor to himself or advantage to the public."

On the day before this letter was written, Lord Cornwallis died at Ghazipore,—"one of the best and noblest of men who 'ever gave his life to his country." Colonel Malcolm, on personal grounds, deeply lamented this event. Lord Cornwallis was his earliest patron. Even in the days when he was in reality, as for so long he was in name and in feeling, the Boy Malcolm, his Lordship had befriended him. And now, in the few weeks of his second tenure of the Governor-General's office, he had treated Malcolm with that frankness and manly confidence which is alike creditable to the man who displays it, and to the

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man towards whom it is displayed. Lord Cornwallis was a gentleman, and knew that, in dealing with Malcolm, he had a gentleman to deal with. But while Malcolm shared the grief which all India felt at the loss of the venerable veteran, and shared in addition the grief which his personal friends felt with double keenness; he did not conceal his belief that, for the interests of the public service, especially as regarded the conduct of those difficult negotiations in which he was himself engaged, it was better that the vice-regal sceptre had passed into another hand. The hand destined to receive it was that of Sir George Barlow, a man who had been deep in the confidence of Lord Wellesley, and who had supported him in those measures which Malcolm believed to be essential to the good of India. Malcolm therefore hastened to recall his resignation, and to assure Sir George of his willingness to be employed in his present situation. But Sir George was in a difficult position—one of the most difficult in which a public or a private man can be placed. Nothing can be done without money, and the Indian Government had no money, nor the means of procuring any. "Why don't you rob the butler?" said Sheridan to his son Tom. "I have robbed him already," was the lugubrious answer. "Then rob the cook." "It is done, sir." The story is true with respect to the Government of India at that time. With reference to this subject, we have already written at some length in our Review of the life of Lord Metcalfe, and can add nothing to the following sentence which we then wrote. "We believe that peace was in 1806 a necessity. With-
' out money the war could not be carried on, and money there was
' none. It was not a question of giving or withholding what was.
' It was the necessity of not giving what could in no way be pro-
' cured." Still we were not reduced to the ignominy of suing for terms. Malcolm concluded with Scindia a treaty which, if it would not have pleased Lord Wellesley in the days when he was in the heart of the "great game," was yet upon the whole advantageous to us. Lord Lake pursued Holkar so closely that his army was discomfited without a battle. He sued for peace, and it was granted to him on terms, which, while more favorable to him than would probably have been granted, had there been a few crores of rupees in the treasury at Calcutta, were yet advantageous to the British interests. There is no doubt that it is mainly to Malcolm that we owe that these treaties were so favorable to our interests as they were. His services on this occasion were of the most laborious and the most disinterested kind. He had done all that could be done to raise money, and had succeeded to a certain extent; and had not been convinced that both the butler and the cook were "cleared out." In a word he was a

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soldier and a diplomatist; but he was not a financier. He probably did not know the full extent of the financial difficulty with which Barlow had to contend; and if he had known it, he probably would not have been willing to acknowledge that it could not be surmounted.

But while we are prepared to vindicate Sir George Barlow thus far, we cannot but think that he passed over the line that separates moderation from pusillanimity, when he resolved to withdraw the shield of British protection from those petty states with whom we had been in alliance. This was simply ceding their territories to Holkar; and was, in our estimation, at once a crime and blunder. So thought Lord Lake and Colonel Malcolm; and many a "wigging" was administered to the latter for the freedom with which he expressed his sentiments. That these sentiments were always expressed with perfect temper, and with due official deference, we will not assert. Malcolm was indeed a Tory, and therefore well disposed to submit to legitimate authority; but still he had stood his ground unflinchingly against the man in all the world whom he most venerated, and whom he regarded with feelings which, in these days of independence and "the points of the charter," will probably be regarded by some as verging upon servility; and it was not very likely that he would defer more, or so much, to a man whom he must have regarded as belonging to his own class, and with whom he had been accustomed to associate on terms of familiarity and equality. Moreover Malcolm must have regarded Barlow as a renegade from the principles of the Wellesley administration; and this was what he could not tolerate. The "wiggings" that he received, therefore, fond as he was of approbation and applause, and sensitive as he was of blame or censure, he learned to regard as honorable to himself, and thought himself, in some sort, a martyr for those principles to which he was "faithful found, 'mid many faithless." It was with sore hearts that Lord Lake and he heard the remonstrances of the agents of the native chiefs against our breach of faith, and could not deny that the accusations were just. "It is the first 'time," said the agent of one of these chiefs, "that the British 'Government has ever abandoned an ally from motives of mere 'convenience." And Malcolm echoed the sentiment with a bitter sense of shame and humiliation. "This is the first measure of 'the kind," he wrote, "that the English have ever taken 'in India, and I trust in God it will be the last." With these feelings, obliged to act ministerially in a case against which his heart and his judgment alike revolted, with his health broken by incessant toil, it may be easily supposed that Malcolm longed for the time when he might return to Mysore, and occupy himself with the history of Persia.

"Malcolm himself was eager to return to Mysore, and be quiet.

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His health was failing him again; he had overworked himself, and he could look only to rest as a restorative. But there was one special and highly important duty which detained him in Upper India. After the conclusion of the peace with Holkar, the army had marched back to the provinces, and Malcolm, still at the elbow of the Commander-in-Chief, had accompanied it. Not merely were the final arrangements of which he was the unwilling agent, with respect to the Western Alliances, to be carried out, but the great work of reducing the irregular troops was to be accomplished under his directions. Among the many services which he rendered to the State, this—though it makes little show in a work of biography—was not the least arduous in performance, or the least important in result. His efforts in this direction were unwearied, and they were crowned with a success which exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the Government. By the 1st of April, little remained of the immense body of irregulars which had so encumbered our finances, beyond a single corps (Skinner's), and the monthly expenditure had been reduced from four lakhs to 35,000 rupees.

"At the same time the provincial battalions, to which the internal defence of Upper India had been entrusted, were being disbanded. A vast amount of other detail-business also devolved upon Malcolm—business connected with the numerous claims of individuals for reward or compensation for services rendered or injuries sustained during the war. Jagheers were to be granted to some; pensions or gratuities to others. Every man's claim was to be sifted to the bottom. The Governor-General might differ in opinion from Malcolm regarding the political system most advantageous, in its application, to the interests of the State, but he could not withhold his approbation from the zealous and successful exertions which that good and faithful servant was making to wind up all the multitudinous affairs, political and financial, which remained to be adjusted,—the *sequelæ* of a three years' war. Lord Lake had ever delighted to acknowledge the important assistance he had received from Malcolm; and now the Governor-General-in-Council declared that "they had great pleasure 'in expressing their high approbation of the activity, diligence, 'ability, and judgment manifested by Colonel Malcolm in discharge 'of the arduous, laborious, and important duties connected with the 'arrangements for the reduction of the irregular troops, and for the 'assignment of rewards and provisions to such individuals as had 'received promises, or had established claims upon the Government 'by their conduct during the war, and concur in opinion with his 'Lordship (Lord Lake) that Colonel Malcolm has accomplished 'these objects in a manner highly advantageous to the interests, and 'honorable to the reputation, of the British Government; and con-'sider that officer to have rendered essential public services by his 'indefatigable and successful exertions in the accomplishment of 'these important arrangements."

At the end of June, Malcolm left Lord Lake at Cawnpore, and proceeded by boat to Calcutta. Here his reception by his numerous friends was cordial, and by the Governor-General

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polite and respectful. Between Barlow and Malcolm, there was decidedly what is very conveniently termed a misunderstanding, which, while it prevented any great amount of personal cordiality between them, made them both doubly careful to fail in no point of public and official recognition. Malcolm's desire and intention were to proceed, without delay, to Mysore, and Barlow would have been glad on some accounts to have him there. But he could not dispense with his presence in Calcutta. Holkar was shewing his teeth again; and although Barlow would not consent to act upon Malcolm's advice, he felt that he would not be justified in declining to avail himself of his knowledge. "I do not think it probable," says he, in a letter to Lord Wellesley, "that any opinions of mine will ever be adopted 'in a manner beneficial to the public interests; every statement 'is favorably received, and its truth and justice acknowledged; 'but it is first modelled with a view of reconciling its adoption 'to prior proceedings, and next with that of suiting it to the 'palate of the Directors; and after undergoing this alterative 'course, it cannot be supposed to retain much of its original 'character." Altogether, Malcolm was at this time under a cloud; and his main consolation seems to have been in unburdening his mind in long letters to the Marquis and Sir Arthur Wellesley. In addition to the apprehensions that he felt for the safety of the state as threatened by Holkar, he shared with all men in those days, the alarm excited by the mutiny of Vellore. The threatenings without, and the troubles within our borders, led him to look with eager desire to the Wellesleys, and he earnestly desired that Sir Arthur should be sent to Madras, as Governor and Commander-in-Chief. This measure he agitated with characteristic zeal. "Sir Arthur Wellesley would have 'returned to India if he had been invited; but his friends 'thought that he could render more essential service to his coun-'try nearer home." The following extract of a letter from Sir Arthur has an affecting interest in these days:—

"Alas! my dear Malcolm, what is come over the army of Fort St. George? What are we to believe? Is it possible that the princes at Vellore can have corrupted the detachment at Hyderabad at the distance of 500 miles? Surely these princes, in confinement, and possessing but limited pecuniary means, could never have had the power of creating a general interest in their favor throughout the whole of the native army of Fort St. George, dispersed as it is over thousands of miles! I am all anxiety upon this subject, and yet I have not received a line from a soul. Nobody believes the accounts which have been received from India upon this subject, notwithstanding the character and credit of those who have transmitted them; and the mind of every man is filled with suspicion

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and alarm. Surely the brave fellows who went through the difficulties and dangers of the Mahratta campaign, cannot have broken their allegiance! I can never believe it till I see it proved in the clearest manner."

Thus in these latter days, men have been reasoning *a priori*, believing in part, yet striving to unbelieve, considering things to be impossible whose possibility has been vouched by their actuality. In the same letter from which this extract is taken, Sir Arthur intimates that the Government had some thoughts of sending an embassy to Persia, and that Sir Arthur was exerting himself to secure that the ambassador should be, not Mr. Harford Jones, as was proposed, but Colonel Malcolm.

At length, nothing loth, Malcolm left Calcutta, reached Madras on the 14th of January, 1807, and on the 21st of March, left it for Mysore. His purpose now was to remain quietly at his Residency for a year, recruit his finances, which had been somewhat impaired by the expenses which he had been obliged to incur in northern India, and then retire to old England and *otium cum dignitate*. We cannot, at this stage of our article, afford to indulge in disquisition, else we might shew that Malcolm was in error; that the true *otium* for him was *negotium*; that the *dignity* that was most suited to his taste, was what is called in these days the *dignity of labor*. He soon felt this himself. Mysore was too quiet for him. He was not the kind of man who, when there was nothing to do, could do it well. And in Mysore there was nothing to do but to let well alone. We find him therefore suggesting that he should be sent at the head of a small force to Bussorah, in order to divert the attention of Turkey, and compel the Sultan to withdraw from his connexion with Buonaparte. This proposal was made on the 6th of May, and repeated on the 25th. How then are we to account for the change that seems to have come over the mind of the writer, when Lord Minto arrived at Madras in the course of the following month, and when he wrote to his son and private secretary, begging him not to put him in the way of active employment, as his desire was now to spend a short time quietly in Mysore, and then to retire to a cottage on the lovely banks of the Eske? The solution is not difficult. There was to be love in that cottage. To make a long story short—and after the manner of India in those days, it was not a *very* long story—Malcolm had become acquainted with Miss Charlotte Campbell, daughter of Colonel Campbell, of H. M.'s 74th regiment, (afterwards Sir Alexander Campbell, Bart. and K. C. B., and Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army.) The acquaintance had sprouted up into friendship, the friendship had grown up into love,

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and the love was about to efflorese into the orange-blossoms of marriage. And accordingly on the 4th of July, Miss Charlotte Campbell became Mrs. John Malcolm, the soldier's daughter became the soldier's wife,—an help-meet for her husband. "After so many years of stirring and trying work, the enjoy-'ment of a few months of repose was, perhaps, the best service 'he could render to the state. But he soon felt that he was 'again ready for a life of action. There was a new incentive 'to exertion. The once cherished idea of a speedy return to 'England was abandoned. So Malcolm again turned his thoughts 'towards some extensive scene of action, on which new honors 'might be gained to ennoble the name he had given to his 'wife." And such a scene was soon to offer itself. The peace of Tilsit had brought France and Russia into alliance; and it was not doubtful that they contemplated a combined attack upon India. To resist such an attack, Lord Minto determined to strengthen our alliance with the powers on our western and north-western borders; and in order to this end he resolved to send Charles Metcalfe to the Punjaub, Mountstuart Elphinstone to Affghanistan, and Colonel Malcolm to Persia. A few pages back we stated that it was the design of the Home authorities to send an ambassador to Persia, and that Sir Arthur Wellesley had exerted his influence to secure the nomination for Malcolm in preference to Mr. Harford Jones. Mr. Kaye, after stating that it seemed a mere matter of course that Malcolm should be selected for the Persian embassy, goes on to say:—

"But there were other and higher authorities, and it *was* possible for them to ignore, or to reject, Malcolm's claims, and to think of another ambassador. Lord Minto, before leaving England, had urged those claims upon the King's ministers and the Court of Directors, and Sir Arthur Wellesley had done the same. But they had failed. The fact is that Malcolm, though perhaps the most popular man in India, was not popular in the regions of Leadenhall-Street and Whitehall. He had the reputation of being an able, an energetic, but an unsafe man. By *unsafe* they meant *extravagant*. They believed that on his former mission to Persia he had spent a large sum of public money; and they determined now to despatch to Teheran one with less magnificent notions of the greatness of England and the dignity of an ambassador. There was a gentleman then in England ready to their hand and fit for their purpose. Mr. Harford Jones had resided for many years in a mixed political and commercial capacity on the shores of the Persian gulf; he was not without a certain kind of cleverness, but it had never obtained for him any reputation in India, and among the Persians themselves his standing had never been such as to invest him with any *prestige* of authority, or to secure for him general respect. What it was

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that particularly recommended him to the authorities at home—except that he was in almost every respect the very reverse of Malcolm—it is difficult to say; but they made him a Baronet, and despatched him, with large powers from the Crown, as ambassador to Persia, to counteract the influence of the French, and to conclude a treaty with the Shah. It was at first designed that he should proceed to Teheran by the way of St. Petersburg; but the peace of Tilsit necessitated the abandonment of this project, and when Lord Minto arrived in India he was altogether ignorant of the manner in which, under these altered circumstances, the representative of the Court of St. James would shape his movements in the east.

"In this state of uncertainty the Governor-General believed that there was still room for Malcolm to be beneficially employed (pending the arrival of Jones at Teheran) in that part of the country, which the influence of the latter would hardly reach. It was proposed therefore, to despatch him at once to the Persian Gulf, with a commission of a somewhat general and not very defined character."

We must say that we question the wisdom of this. Had Lord Minto not proposed in England the mission of Malcolm to Persia,—had the matter occurred to him for the first time in India, it would have been different. But the Court of Directors and the King's Government having distinctly refused to send Malcolm, nothing but the most pressing necessity could have justified the Governor-General in exposing his envoy to the collision which must have infallibly ensued. And we do not think that such necessity existed. It is true that the French had already an embassy in Persia, and it may be true that Russian diplomacy was at work in a less open manner. But it is also true that the Shah had hitherto valued the English alliance, and that there was no reason to believe that the habits of the Persian Court would permit a very speedy change of his policy.

Of course Malcolm accepted the appointment. On the suggestion of Sir George Barlow, who was now Governor of Madras, and who seems to have forgotten the little "tiff" he had had with Malcolm while he temporarily held the office of Governor-General, he was gazetted as Brigadier-General, with a view to the increase of his influence in Persia. On the 17th of February, 1808, Malcolm, accompanied by his wife, embarked at Madras for Bombay. He reached this port in the first week of April, and here he made the acquaintance of Sir James Mackintosh,—an acquaintance which soon ripened into a lasting friendship. On the 17th of April, he embarked on board the *Psyche*, a frigate lately captured from the French. Mrs. Malcolm was left at Bombay. It appears that Malcolm's spirits were not high when he set out on his mission. The counteraction of French influence was all in the way of his duty, and not incompatible with his

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tastes. But it was no pleasant prospect that was before him, in having to maintain his position as affected by the presence of Sir Harford Jones, about who semovements he seems to have been uncertain, and who might arrive in Persia before him, or while he was there. And then he was a man and a husband as well as a public officer; and it was not pleasant to leave his wife, after nine months of married life, among strangers.

Why dost thou look so pale?
Or dost thou dread a French foeman?
Or shiver at the gale?
Deem'st thou I tremble for my life?
Sir Childe I'm not so weak,
But thinking on an absent wife
Will blanch a faithful cheek.
* * * *
Enough, enough, my yeoman good,
Thy grief let none gainsay.

But his depression did not last long. At Muscat he did not land, but received a kind message from the Imaum, which was brought by an old friend, whose kindly remembrance of his former visit was very gratifying to his feelings. From Bushire he sent Captain Pasley and Mr. Bruce to Teheran with a letter to the King. But they were not allowed to proceed further than Shiraz. The French influence had prevailed. While their embassy was at court, Malcom was instructed to negotiate with the Prince Regent at Shiraz. To this he would not consent; and immediately set sail for Calcutta. His mission had failed; but he had done his duty, and he was not dispirited. Writing to his wife on the day of his leaving Bushire, he says:—

"I have determined to proceed to Fort William, and sail for that place to-day. The resolution to pass Bombay, believe me, was not taken without pain; but my duty called for the sacrifice, and you will be pleased that I had virtue and firmness enough to make it. I hope to be at Calcutta about the 1st of September. I shall leave it for Bombay about the 1st of October, and arrive with my dearest Charlotte about the 10th of November. How long I stay there is a speculation; but, believe me, the present step is the only one I could take to enable me to do justice to the great interests committed to my charge. These, by the blessing of God, will yet prosper; and I shall have the credit, if the victory is won, of having not been sparing of exertion. A month with Lord Minto will do wonders."

We suspect our readers are finding that we have become dull in this narrative. We shall therefore present a specimen of the "Boy Malcolm." The following is from his journal kept for the perusal of Mrs. Malcolm:—

"We sailed this morning for Karrack to get water for the

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voyage. As we were nearing the island, I fell into conversation with a confidential servant of the Sheik of Bushire, who had been sent to facilitate our getting water at Karrack. This poor fellow became quite eloquent at the idea of my going to India, which he had just heard. It foreboded, he said, ruin to his country. He then abused the King, the Prince, and his master the Sheik, who was, he said, a weak young man, who was ruled by some vile Persian advisers. 'He has now,' said the Arab, 'put the seal to his folly by disgusting you with his unworthy suspicions.' He then launched out into a grand account of my last mission, which he graced, in the true Arab style, with personal anecdotes. Nothing could be more entertaining than for a man to listen to anecdotes of himself, particularly when these were partly true, partly accidental speeches and occurrences which had been framed into regular stories, and had reached in that shape the lowest classes. To give you a short specimen of the Arab's conversation: 'Do they keep a parcel of vile French vessels,' said he in a rage, 'while they send away a man of whose wisdom and munificence, children speak, as well as fellows with white beards? Have they forgot what you did at Bushire, Shiraz, Ispahan, and Teheran? When Abdul Hamad, that half-merchant, half-minister, came to Bushire, deputed from Shiraz to find out by his wonderful penetration the objects of your mission, did you not closet him, make him swear secrecy, and then tell him that in the times of the Suffavee Kings, the Persians had no beards, but the English had; that the latter had since lost that fine ornament to the face, and that as it was rumoured the Persians had found it, you were deputed to try and recover your right? That Hamad said, he became a laughing stock all over Persia, when the manner in which you treated him was made public. And at Shiraz, when that sly Persian minister, Chiragh Ali Khan, asked you what your business was at Court, you replied that, if you told him, you should have nothing to say to his master, the king.' 'At Ispahan,' continued the Arab, 'Mahommed Hussein Khan, the governor, who was the richest man in Persia, came to see you, and with a view of dazzling you, he wore a *kubah*, or upper garment, made of the celebrated *zerbaff*, or golden cloth, which is only worked in one loom in Persia. He found you dressed quite plain; but next day you went out a hunting, and it was reported to him that one of your favorite greyhounds was clothed in a cloth of the same stuff.' 'The fellow,' said he, 'has worn a plain chintz jacket ever since he received this rebuke. When you went one day to see the king, he put on all his richest jewels to excite your wonder. You looked him in the face, and you looked at his sword; but your eyes never once wandered to his fine diamonds. He was disappointed, and told Hadjee Ibrahim to ask you, as you retired, if you had not noticed them. The Hadjee returned to the presence, and was silent. The King was angry and said, "Repeat what Malcolm Saheb said." The Hadjee hesitated, till the King grew impatient. He then said, "Please your majesty, when I asked Captain Malcolm what he thought of your diamonds," "Nothing," he said, "what use are diamonds except as ornaments for women? I saw

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the King's face, Captain Malcolm told me, with pleasure: it is the countenance of a man. And I admire his fine scymetar; steel is the lord of jewels." 'The King,' said the talkative Arab, 'though he was disappointed, could not help admiring such sentiments.'

"All the Arab's stories are pretty near the truth. The dog's fine jewelled coat I recollect. It was made out of a dress of honor I had received, and put on to please my head huntsman, who used to lead this favorite greyhound himself; but God knows it was not meant to ridicule the magnificence of the Governor of Ispahan, from whom I received a thousand civilities."

So Malcolm left Persia, and returned to India. At the mouth of the Gulf, he met a vessel from Bombay, and received a parcel of letters, bringing him intelligence of the birth of a daughter, and the perfect recovery of his wife. Gladdened by these good news he proceeded to Calcutta, and received a most cordial welcome from Lord Minto. After much earnest consultation it was agreed that Malcolm should return to Persia, at the head of a force sufficient to enable him, if it should seem desirable, to take possession of the island of Karrack, in the Persian Gulf. It seems to have been considered that the refusal of the Shah to receive our envoy, while the ambassador of France was actually at his Court, was tantamount to a declaration of war, and that our possession of that island would enable us to keep Persia in check. Malcolm's own reasons for this step are plausible enough, as are generally the reasons for "most just and necessary wars." They were such as these; that we must have the means of preventing Persia from assisting any European Power in the invasion of India; that Persia, Eastern Turkey, and Arabia are to be regarded, not as national governments, but rather as tools which any European power might use. That it was for the manifest advantage of Persia to be on our side, since if she sided with our enemies, we should have no alternative but to blow her "into the middle of next week," whereas if she were on our side, it would not be the policy of any power wishing to invade India to attack her;—and so forth. These arguments, and such as these, convinced Lord Minto. Sir Harford Jones, who was now at Bombay, was ordered to remain there, and General Malcolm set off, as one of old to Baratraria, "seeing in the distance, as he wrote playfully, a lordly castle, 'himself lord of the isle, and his lady-love looking out of a 'window and smiling approval of his acts."

Now Sir Harford Jones had come to Bombay after Malcolm had left that port for Bushire. When he heard of Malcolm's departure he was "in a fix." He did not well know what to do. He took advice of Sir James Mackintosh and of Colonel Close; and they were of course thorough "Malcolmites."

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They recommended him to remain at Bombay, waiting for what might turn up; and he, like a sensible man, did wait. But when the tidings of Malcolm's having left Bushire arrived at Bombay, he considered that the embargo was taken off, and started for Persia, before Lord Minto's order directing him to remain, reached him. The intimation of his having started reached Calcutta while Malcolm was on his way down the river; and at Kedgeree he received a letter from the Governor-General requesting him to return. So Malcolm returned to Calcutta, not, we fear, in an amiable mood. But he found the Governor-General and the Council unanimous in the opinion that they must not consent to be choused out of their island by the accident of Sir Harford's having sailed; and it was at once resolved that "Malcolm was to take ship for Bombay; to muster his 'force; to prepare his equipments, and to make all things ready 'for his descent on the island, from which he was to menace 'Persia, Arabia and the Porte, and baffle the designs of Napo-'leon and the Czar." With this prospect again before him, of course his amiability soon returned, and we find, in his correspondence with his wife, such stories as the following, which seems to us to be well worthy of preservation, as a specimen of the graceful and gentleman-like manners which made the Governor-General peculiarly fascinating in private life:—

"Your acquaintance Mrs. W— happened not to have been introduced to Lord Minto when she dined here (Government House), and mistaking him for another, she said, "Do you know the cause of General Malcolm's return to Calcutta?" "I believe I can guess," was the Lord's reply. "Pray, then, tell me," said the lady. Lord Minto hesitated till after we were seated at table, and then said, "We had better give the General plenty of wine, and we shall get this secret out of him." The lady, who had now discovered his rank, began to make apologies. "I assure you, my Lord," she said, "I did not know you." "I am delighted at that compliment," he replied. "Not to be known as Governor-General in private society is my ambition. I suppose," he added, laughing, "you thought I looked too young and too much of a puppy for that old grave fellow Lord Minto, whom you had heard people talking about."

Once more General Malcolm turned his back on our Palatial city, on board the *Chiffonne*, and employed himself, as active men employ themselves on board ship, writing a discourse on "the 'career of Nadir Shah, to be submitted by his friend Mr. Cole-'brooke to the Asiatic Society,"—telling stories to, and romping with, Johnny Wainwright, the Captain's son, a fine boy of ten years, "who soon discovered Malcolm's wonderful fund of anecdote;"—remembering all his pleasant intercourse with Lord Minto, in Calcutta—and anticipating the far more pleasant

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intercourse which he hoped to enjoy with Charlotte and little Margaret at Bombay. "At last, on the 30th of November, the 'vessel entered Bombay harbour—and Malcolm was happy." The sculptor cast a veil over the face of a father about to be deprived by a ruthless superstition of his daughter, and this is imputed to his despair of being able to express such grief. This, we take upon us to say, is a mistake. It was not that he could not, but that he would not, that he felt that he ought not; he instinctively respected the sacredness of parental grief; and in like manner do we respect the sacredness of conjugal and parental joy.

In all the delights of genial intercourse with his Bombay friends, of that sacred intimacy to which we have alluded with his amiable and accomplished wife, of incessant wonderment at the discovery of the various beauties of his wonderful baby, and of exciting occupation in the organization of his little army, six weeks did not seem long; and on the 3rd of January, 1809, he wrote to Mr. Henry Wellesley that he expected to proceed to the Gulf in ten days, with an admirably well-appointed little force of about 2,000 men, to be followed, if necessary, with 3 or 4,000 more. Lord Minto had written to Sir Harford Jones directing him to return from Bushire; but as he had left Bombay before he was ordered to remain there, so he had left Bushire before he was ordered to return thence. Now if Malcolm had been merely bent on his own gratification, or if he had studied merely his own interests, he might have got great *kudos* by hastening his departure, and taking possession of Karrack before Jones could present himself in "the presence" at Teheran. But while this would have been congenial to the feelings of the "Boy-Malcolm," and would have been as good as what Sir Arthur Wellesley could only describe by a proverbial phrase as a "proper Malcolm riot," he neither on this, nor on any other occasion, allowed his dashing spirit to gain the ascendancy over his duty as a man entrusted with weighty responsibilities; and he therefore halted till he could refer to Calcutta. Before this reference reached Calcutta, the Government there had received intelligence respecting the relations of the European powers, which had caused Lord Minto to write to Malcolm to await further orders, and to suspend the expedition, if it should not have sailed. Lord Minto also expressed his desire, if the Military expedition should not be found necessary, to place a resident minister at the Persian Court, and hinted that the minister should be General Malcolm. But this was not to Malcolm's taste. Six years before this he had written from General Wellesley's camp to General Stuart, "a political agent is never so likely to succeed as when he negotiates at the head of an army;" and he was of the same mind

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still. From his letters it would appear as if he had understood Lord Minto to contemplate the sending of him as "political," and a military force under another General; but it appears that what was really contemplated was not to send the military force at all. And this contemplation in due time ripened into a resolution. The whole scheme of the mission, political and military alike, was for the present abandoned. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of extracting the concluding paragraph of the private letter from Lord Minto, which accompanied the official intimation of this resolution. If a man do not himself particularly care for such graceful compliments, he is always sure that his wife will be gratified by them, and he is pleased if it were only that they give pleasure to her.

"For these reasons, and for others which it is not necessary to enumerate in this letter, I think we are at liberty, and it is therefore our duty to renounce the proposed expedition, and, so far as Persia is concerned, to resume our peace establishment. Knowing how your mind and all its powers have, for such a length of time, been devoted to the great interests involved in the affair of Persia, and generally in the Persian Gulf—knowing how instrumental I have myself been in disturbing the tranquillity, public and domestic, of your permanent station at Mysore, and in kindling the very ardour which this letter is to extinguish—I cannot but feel extreme regret and discomfort at a termination which, on one hand, withdraws such talents as yours, with all the energy which belongs to your character, from the great field on which they were to be displayed, and, on the other, may seem to blight the rich fruits of honor and distinction which you were on the point of gathering. These are sentiments, in which I hope and *am convinced* you firmly believe, while I rely on the rectitude as well as strength of mind which distinguish you for feeling that they are sentiments which may be permitted to follow, but which could not be allowed any share in forming, our resolution on this great public question."

On receipt of this letter, Malcolm would of course have turned his face at once towards Mysore; but there was no steam in those days, and the monsoon was against him; and so he remained a few weeks longer in Bombay, collecting materials for his contemplated Political History of India and his History of Persia. In the month of May, "he embarked with his family 'for Madras; but he arrived there only to find the Government 'in alarm, the Presidency in commotion, and the army in 'rebellion."

We need not inform our readers that the rebellion of the army was the cause of the alarm of the Government, and of the commotion of the Presidency. Upon the history of this rebellion, we cannot enter now; but shall probably, ere long, make it

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the subject of a separate article. We shall only state in general that almost all the regimental officers of the Madras army assumed an attitude of determined defiance to the Government, and many of them declared themselves ready to fight in defence of their rights to the last drop of their blood. This was a state of things which has no parallel in the history of a British army. That English gentlemen and soldiers, with or without cause of complaint, should have comported themselves as these men did, we believe that few in these days would deem possible. We all know, alas! too well, what is the misery of a sepoy mutiny; but the mutiny, or rather rebellion, of the English portion of our army, is a misery of a still darker character. The chief *foci* of the rebellion were Hyderabad and Masulipatam. To the former station, Colonel Close was despatched, and to the latter, General Malcolm. It is with the latter that we have to do. He started from Madras after long conferences with Sir George Barlow, with the distinct understanding that the plan of proceeding, which he had sketched out, of firmness tempered with conciliation, had the full sanction of the Governor. If he were right in this understanding, we think it impossible to doubt that he acted his difficult part in an admirable manner. He made no promises to officers with arms in their hands, which they professed themselves ready to use against the Government whom they had sworn to serve. But he reasoned with them in public and in private, represented to them the atrocity and the madness of their conduct, and was in a fair way to bringing them to submission. He then recommended to Government the issue of a proclamation, offering a pardon to those who should, within one hour after its receipt, return to their duty, and threatening the utmost severity of military law to those who should hesitate to return. This course was rejected by Sir George, who trusted to the loyalty of the Royal troops, and considered that the time had come to turn British bayonets against British breasts. This awful alternative was adopted by Sir George, and a bloody conflict ensued at Seringapatam. Malcolm's advice having been rejected, he asked permission to proceed to Madras, in the hope of being able to convince the Governor of the propriety of adopting it; and when in this he failed, it was of course out of the question that he should return to Masulipatam. The mutiny was quelled by other means than those that Malcolm had recommended; but whether it would not have been better quelled by gentler means, and whether it were favorable to British *prestige* to exhibit the spectacle of a civil war before the newly conquered natives of Seringapatam, may well be questioned.

While Malcolm was yet at Madras, in the month of Septem-

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ber, Sir George Barlow despatched a letter to the Secret Committee on the subject of the mutiny, into which he introduced very grave reflexions on Malcolm's conduct. Of the existence of this letter, Malcolm knew nothing till it was laid before parliament three years after, and printed in a Blue-Book. He then wrote and published a plain statement of the facts of the case, and left his conduct to the judgment of the world.

Malcolm had left Masulipatam on the 22nd of July, and reached Madras on the 26th. By this time it had been resolved by Lord Minto's Government to send him to Persia; and he was again summoned to Calcutta to receive his orders. Before he could obey this call, he was informed that Lord Minto was about to visit Madras, and would see him there. Accordingly, on the 11th of September, the Governor-General arrived at Madras, and Malcolm was soon ready to proceed to Persia. At this point Mr. Kaye's first volume closes, and at this point we shall close our present article, believing that the life of Malcolm is so germane to an *Indian Review*, that it may well bear to be made the subject of more than one article. We intend therefore to trace his subsequent career in our next issue.

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ART. VIII.—1. *An Introduction to the study of Universal History, in two dissertations:* I.—*History as a study,* II.—*On the Separation of the early facts of History from fable.* By SIR JOHN STODDART. (Encyclopædia Metropolitana.) London, 1850.

2. *History of England, from the fall of Wolsey to the death of Elizabeth.* By J. A. FROUDE. London, 1856.

THE human race has been compared to an ever-green tree, which, amidst continual change in every successive portion, still preserves an identity of verdure throughout these ceaseless renovations. Generation after generation passes, but the human race remains, age by age advancing in collective knowledge and power,

"And the individual withers, and the world grows more and more."

And just as in the tree the leaves fall in irregular though certain succession, and some from the previous summer will linger on amidst the next spring's more vigorous offspring, so we see it to be in man. The generations do not pass away at once; the law that periodically changes the entire population of the globe, acts by a gradual and irregular influence; and long after a new generation has risen to occupy the places of the former, a few representatives of other days linger amongst it, to bear witness to the events of their youth, like Horace's *laudator temporis acti.* It is this interlacing of generations, which renders history possible. If the change were sudden and abrupt between one generation and another (as we see it to be in many insects and plants), an impassable chasm would lie between every age, and those which preceded or followed it; and the growing experience of mankind would be impossible. The treasures of one age would be no longer transmitted to another, to accumulate with thought's compound interest; each would struggle on, with its own hardly won pittance of knowledge,—born itself in intellectual beggary, and leaving the same destitution to its sons. But such could never be the condition of man, if this life was to be a stage of mental as well as moral discipline,—if the human race was to be self-trained, by a long process of culture, to the maturity of their powers, and complete dominion over the blind forces of nature around them. For this, it is essential that every age should advance,—that it should inherit the discoveries of all its predecessors, and transmit them with usury to its successors.

And yet without *books* how faint and uncertain is the link

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between the present and even a comparatively recent past. Year by year, not only of persons but of things

> ——— "The memory fades
> From off the circle of the hills;"*

and the events which were once known to every one, become ere long confused and uncertain, and unless perpetuated in writing, inevitably fade into a shadowy fiction. Year by year lessens the number of surviving witnesses; even those that linger on lose the remembrance, under the wear of age and the constant pressure of new objects on the attention. We cannot stop the current of life, but are inevitably borne on to new associations and circumstances, which gradually obliterate and falsify our recollections.

There is a deeply real sketch in Dickens's "Old Curiosity Shop," of Kit's taking his children in after years to see the house where little Nell had lived with her grandfather; "but 'new improvements had altered it so much, it was not like the 'same. The old house had been long pulled down, and a fine 'broad road was in its place. At first he would draw 'with his stick a square upon the ground to show them where 'it used to stand. But he soon became uncertain of the spot, 'and could only say it was thereabouts, he thought, and that 'these alterations were confusing."

Years bring the same confusion to the memories of us all; and if the interlacing of generations renders history possible, by thus preserving witnesses of past events and representatives of a vanished age, it is contemporary narrative only, which can really make that history authentic.

In fact, what is all history at bottom, but an attempt to solve an impossible problem, which yet admits of an indefinite approximation to the truth? We can never wholly recall a bygone age, or re-produce it in all its colours and lineaments; but its representation may vary between almost infinite limits,—between the barren lists of the dynasties of Magadha, and a Gibbon's Decline, or Grote's Greece. Sir Robert Walpole's celebrated saying, "don't read me history, for that must be false," is thus far literally true; but it involves a practical fallacy. We can never express the exact area of a circle, because we can never exactly express the ratio between the radius and the circumference; but we can indefinitely approach it for every practical purpose; and thus, though we can never exactly attain to the full historic truth, there are no limits to our progress in its pursuit.

* Tennyson's *In memoriam*.

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But still, as we said, the exact attainment is beyond our reach, because the age *is* past. No efforts of the reason or imagination can recall the age of Queen Elizabeth in all its circumstances, because we can never bridge over the innavigable sea of three centuries, "which washes with silent waves between us." We cannot call up from the dead any witness to clear our doubts,—we are left entirely to silent monuments, which tell us their written message, but are dumb, if we question them farther. We have nought but the memorials which the age itself may have left us,—we are entirely dependent on the faithfulness and capacity of their authors for all that we can ever know. One hour's converse with Pericles or Augustus might clear up a thousand difficulties in Greek or Roman History, but that hour is a hopeless wish; we must be content to grope our way amid conjectures and doubts, where any contemporary could solve our difficulty in a moment. An Athenian cobbler could settle at once the disputes of scholars about the *ecclesia*, and the legislation of Solon and Cleisthenes; but alas! the witness has absconded, and our court's *subpœna* has no power to produce him. The carelessness or inaccuracy of contemporaries entails an endless task on their successors, and hence history is so filled with conjectures that can never be proved or disproved, and chasms that no erudition can fill up.

Let us look for a moment at India, and her early history before the Mohammedan conquest.

Every early glimpse of India reveals to us a teeming and busy population, separated into numerous small kingdoms, which are of course in constantly changing attitudes of friendship or hostility to each other. Civilization was highly advanced, and knowledge and literature were extensively cultivated, as is amply witnessed by the mass of ancient writings which we still possess. The chain of writings, in fact, runs up in an almost unbroken series, age beyond age, to the earliest times; but throughout that long series there is no such thing as history. The stream of thought flows on, but it never receives any image from the scenes through which it passes; the interests of the present are absorbed in gigantic dreams of the far distant past and future. Hence pre-Mohammedan India has no history; its annals are a lost chapter in the story of mankind. For the facts of history, unlike the facts of science, never repeat themselves; if the contemporary observer do not record them, no after age can recover them. Over that busy world of human life, between the era of the Vedas and Mahmud's invasions,—with all its triumphs and failures, its vices and heroisms,—there hangs an impenetrable veil. We can see that there was plenty to tell, but there was no one who cared to tell it. The establishment of the Brah-

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manical tribes; the rise of the laws of Manu; the disputes between the hierarchy and the warrior caste, whose records we can dimly trace in the legends of Jámadagnya and Viswamitra; the rise of Buddhism and its subsequent overthrow,—these are subjects as deeply interesting as any in ancient history, but they are now enigmas which we can never solve. European erudition may pore over the epic legends, until it fancies it can decypher some older writing under the palimpsest; by the aid of coins and inscriptions we can settle a few dates and names of dynasties; but these at their best are but a barren substitute for the living story of human interest, which, but for contemporary apathy, we might have possessed.

Happily, however, all countries are not like India; other civilised nations have been proud to commemorate the deeds of their ancestors and contemporaries; and with them the muse of history has taken her place, a daughter of memory, with the sister eight. The earliest note of European history opens on this string. "This is the publication of the researches of 'Herodotus of Halicarnassus, that past actions may not vanish 'from among men by time, nor the great and marvellous achieve-'ments, displayed by Greeks and Barbarians, lose their meed of 'praise." Every other civilised people, except India, have had some form of chronicle amidst their other literature, which preserved, however imperfectly, some features of the vanished generations,—some remembrance of their deeds and sufferings, to interest posterity. Even in the thickest darkness of the middle ages, there were hands found, which could write, however dully, some record of the events transpiring around them, little as the writers may have detected the nature of the general movement, or realised the goal to which it was tending. The voluminous collections, which comprise the successive annals and chronicles of mediæval England and France, attest the existence, however faint, of some historical impulse even in the dark ages. Men were not even then content to perish forgotten; they too wished in their way that their present, however rude and barbarous, might still "not vanish from among men by time."

These early chronicles are of course always uncritical; the writer puts down as he hears, and thinks only of preserving his details without further sifting or examination. The whole race of chroniclers are but the heapers of facts,—they are valuable, simply because they rescue from oblivion those countless traits and details, which, unless preserved by a contemporary, are for ever lost, and which in the historian's hands are invaluable as materials. It remains for the historian, properly so called, to use these materials for his work, to change the rude and undigested mass into order and regularity, and to shew the true

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meaning and connection of those events which to his predecessor were bare and isolated incidents. And with the historian arises a new need,—historical criticism.* It is not enough that a fact be stated, he must examine the proofs of its authenticity. He must endeavour to trace the various stories to their original source, to unravel the threads of fiction which successive repetitions have woven into the original tissue, and to strip off all those later additions which form no part of the genuine narrative.

With the Greeks, among whom history sprang almost like Minerva, in full maturity, in the work of Herodotus, there was something like criticism from the very first; even in Herodotus, there is some weighing of evidence, and a definite expression of opinion. But we see it in its full in Thucydides.

The difference in years between Herodotus and Thucydides was less than one generation, but in tone of thought they are separated by ages. The one belongs to the ancient world, with its child-like wonder and trust, moving among the powers of nature with an unreasoning eye which

> Has sight of Neptune rising from the sea,
> Or hears old Triton blow his wreathed horn,

While in Thucydides, we find ourselves transported abruptly into a modern world of thought and feeling. Thucydides is the only modern ancient; much of his history may be cast in an antique mould, much of it may seem rude and unskilful, but the tone of thought is essentially modern. If we only compare the way in which the two speak of the oracles and the prodigies which to the common belief foretold the coming struggles, when we pass from the one to the other, it is as though centuries intervened. No ancient historian writes with the severe criticism of Thucydides, and hence the difference strikes us so strongly. If we pass from Herodotus to Livy, there is no such shock, we can at once realise and understand both.

But that which in the rapid development of the Greek mind came out in the next generation, in the ordinary routine of the human mind takes centuries; it is only through a long line of tedious chroniclers that we reach at last a genuine historian. Thus in French history we must wade through a long series of monkish annals, from Gregory of Tours, for more than nine

* Whether the historian treat of past or contemporary events, really makes no difference, as in either case he must depend on the testimony of others; for even in contemporary events, he cannot have been personally present at one-tenth of what he relates. In the following pages, we have considered the historian of the past, who compiles from contemporary writers; but the same rules apply for all.

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centuries, before we come to Philippe de Comines,—the first writer who has something of the historian, with whom to write history was to think and to weigh, as well as to recollect and narrate.

For our present purpose all history may be divided into four classes, characterised by a greater or less amount of evidence; and it is by examining these that the rules of historical criticism may be determined.

I. Where there is abundance of contemporary evidence, writers of all parties and opinions, and evidence of all kinds, as letters, speeches, &c., besides proper histories. This is only found in modern times, as for instance in our Parliamentary struggle with Charles I.

II. Where there is contemporary evidence, but all on one side; thus in Roman history, we have no story from the Carthaginian side. The best Mohammedan history never rises above this class.

III. Where there remain no contemporary writers, but only later compilers from popular traditions, backed however by contemporary monuments; as the history of the Roman republic to the age of Pyrrhus, and pre-Mohammedan India from the fourth century before our era.

IV. Beyond this lies the mythic period, where there is no basis of historical proof at all, but only unsupported legends, as in the regal period at Rome, and the heroic age of Greece and India.

Let us examine each of these in an inverse order; for it is by an induction from these that the rules of historic evidence are to be framed, and to each of them are the rules to be applied, if our history is to be worthy of the name.

With the last mentioned, or mythic period, that cloud-land of heroic fable, which lies at the dawn of history, stretching back as far as the national memory or imagination may have ventured to explore, historical criticism has nothing to do. The vexed questions of the siege of Troy, or the wanderings of Æneas, or the Mahábhárata war, lie beyond her province,—her instrument has no power to analyse them. There doubtless is some portion of truth contained in all these ancient heroic poems; the national enthusiasm of those simple times craved some basis of reality on which to ground its lawless inventions; but in which part of the poem that truth is to be found, we have no power to determine,—we cannot resolve the nebula. Poetic fiction has thrown her glamour-light over all alike, and we must be content to resign it all to her. There is no substratum of fact apart from the poems, by which to test and reject the overgrowth of fiction; we have no contemporary records

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or monuments; and therefore criticism is powerless. What can be a more hopeless task than that which Bishop Thirlwall has attempted in the earlier chapters of his 'Greece,'—to sift the few grains of truth from the conflicting legends of an unhistoric age,—where we have no possible criterion except our own preconceived associations, to guide us in the search? We find the same also in Indian history. In the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata, there doubtless is an historic basis, on which the national fancy has erected its enormous superstructure of fable; but which is fact and which is fable, it is hopeless at this distance of time to determine. The story of ancient India is lost for ever, and we cannot re-produce it. All that we can attempt is to give the representations of the people, where any such are preserved to us, as in Manu's code and the Greek accounts; and by these scattered notices to form some combined picture of what India was in its social aspect at these two different epochs.

In ancient times (and even in modern too,) there was a favourite method of extracting the truth from the mythic period, by stripping the legend of all its marvellous adjuncts, and reducing it within the limits of probability, as if all that was rendered *vraisemblable* must therefore be *vrai*, and as if the legend contained all the history, only in an exaggerated form. But few processes are more erroneous; the very marvels which are thus eliminated, are too often the one point of life in the legend, without which it collapses at once into dull commonplace. Our method has reduced the poetry to prose, but we have not changed the fiction into truth,—we have only changed beauty into deformity, without gaining any thing for history by the transformation. Those legends which are found in every nation at a certain period of its growth, represent a phase of mind, not the events of an age; and we read them hopelessly wrong, if we think to decipher there any record of the events of that time. So far as the historian is the philosophic observer of national manners and habits of thought, these legends offer a boundless store of materials, and in every legend he has a contemporary and unconscious witness to represent the intellectual growth of the people. For the history of facts, they are valueless, but for that of thought they are pregnant with meaning. The story of 'Troy divine,' or the family war for the throne of Hastinapura, remains a fable still, after all the efforts to unravel its truth; but the phase of national character and civilization therein pourtrayed, has a never-dying truthfulness and interest; and it is in this, and this alone, that the historic value of the Homeric poems or the Mahábhárata consists.

Leaving the mythic period, our next division in the reverse order which we adopt is that which, though it possesses no con-

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temporary annals, but only compilations of a much later date, and from dubious original sources, has yet certain genuine monuments, which remain as witnesses for the historian. And here, we think, historic truth begins. It has escaped from the land of shadows, where every object eluded its grasp, and vanished into air at its touch, like the vision of Anchises in Hades;* it here finds itself face to face with certain realities which will bear handling and examination. Much of the surrounding detail is still fable. The national invention has been busy to adorn its favorite heroes with impossible exploits, or to fill up chasms of oblivion by long histories of circumstantial fictions; but with it all we have certain truthful evidence, on which, as far as it reaches, we may safely take our stand. For the rest of the period we are at a loss as before, and speculation gropes blindly as ever; but in each contemporary witness, be it law, or treaty, or inscription, we have sure ground for our hypothesis, and so far as these may explain or suggest, we may even venture to deal with the surrounding fables themselves. The monuments may explain or confirm them, or may themselves receive new light from the comparison. Thus in Indian history, we have a few certain monuments to attest the intercourse between the kings of Magadha and Greece, as the treaty of Seleucus with Sandracottus, Megasthenes' residence at Palibothra, and the treaty of Antiochus with Asoka; and when this is established, what a light is shed on the Mahábhárata, which represents the king of the Yavanas (Ionians) as the ally of the king of Magadha. For the era of the war of Hastinapura, it is a childish anachronism; but for the age of the poem itself, it is truthful evidence. The triumph of historical criticism, as applied to this period, is seen in Roman history, as for instance in the story of Porsena, where, by a few extant monuments,† we have not only detected the falsehood of the Roman account, but have constructed something like the truth.

We pass on to the second of our classes, and here we find ourselves with something of historic certainty within our reach. We have no longer the cloud-land of the mythic period, where fact and fable are intermingled beyond any power of human analysis; nor are we toilsomely groping our way by the light of

* Ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago,
Par levibus ventis, volucrique simillima somno.

† The treaty with Carthage, preserved by Polybius, which gives the extent of Roman territory, as it was in the first year of the Republic, the numbers of the tribes given in Livy, and the remarkable extract preserved by Pliny from the actual treaty with Porsena. How many generations of scholars had studied Livy and Pliny, and yet the value of this extract had never been noticed until M. de Beaufort pointed it out.

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a few extant monuments, which too often only serve to render the darkness visible, and to make us realise the more vividly, how little we can ever really know. In our present period, we find ourselves amply provided with materials,—it is the quality rather than the quantity which embarrasses our search. The contemporaries of the events which we study have left us their written accounts, and from these we can compile our own narrative, and, as we read them, we may feel sure that they are leading us by a real road. It is no will-of-the-wisp which is guiding us, but a hand of flesh and blood; and the events which we are witnessing, are not the dreams of a poet who only sought to embody a prevailing sentiment or idea of his own time; nor the fictions of a later chronicler who sought to conceal under his interpolations the hiatus which time had left,—we are in the midst of real scenes, enacted by living men, moved by real human passions. But our danger here lies in the very intensity of those human feelings, which give such reality to the page. The contemporary's passions must blind his judgment, the enthusiasm for his own party must render him partial; and unless we can correct his statements by those of the other side, unless at any rate we can compare the relative plausibility of the two, we can scarcely avoid drawing a false estimate of the time, and stereotyping a view which was necessarily distorted and incomplete. The error which the historian here commits, is not the substitution of falsehood for fact, the mistaking for a real event something which never had any existence, except in the inventor's brain; but he is perpetuating to posterity the deficient perspective which must mar the landscape of the contemporary. Our representation of the age is thus incomplete rather than false,—we deal in half-truths and half-views of persons and things. But every one knows how perilous these half-views are, when we come to generalise the lessons of history into social philosophy; and hence however plausible our histories may be, when they are thus drawn from partial sources, they bear with them the marks of inaccuracy, and we must use all heed when we apply them. The more earnest the age which we study, the more intense its passions and contests,—the more certain it is that any one-sided view must be blotted and mutilated. It is not the Cavalier who can understand the Roundhead, or the Roundhead the Cavalier,—the Athenian and the Spartan have no sympathies with each other; and unless we have the accounts of both, to compare and contrast, our history is doomed to be incomplete, and the lessons which it might teach proportionably enfeebled and indistinct.

Ancient history almost entirely belongs to this class,—party-hatred extinguished its objects, and at the end of a struggle,

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every trace of the conquered was swept away. Who can now re-produce the age of the Gracchi or of Augustus in its full features? The literature which remains is the voice of the conquerors, and carries only their distorted feelings and views; and we look in vain for any record of the hopes and feelings which strung the nerves of their antagonists. They were crushed, and their watchwords perished with them; and we can only gather faint traces of what they were by the casual hints or unconscious expressions which may drop from their enemies and maligners. To this class also belongs Mohammedan history even at its best; —we have only the records of Islam, not of the nationalities which Islam crushed. Thus the great blank in the history of Mohammedan India is the utter absence of any Hindu accounts of the struggle; we have only the annals of the invader. Not one voice from the millions that were conquered has dared to tell us his countrymen's struggles or despair. Even when a Hindu has written, he only writes as a Mohammedan. "From one of that nation we might have expected to learn what were the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears and yearnings of his subject race,— but unfortunately he rarely writes unless according to order or dictation, and every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Mohammedan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except perhaps a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which show how ill the foreign garb befits him."*

One period yet remains—the only one to which the historian can really turn with comfort and hope; and even this will reveal sufficient ground for caution and care, to make us feel how difficult it is to recover the past from oblivion at all. In this we have every resource at our disposal, to recall the bye-gone age, so far as books and writings can recall it; those features only are absent, which the 'litera scripta' is powerless to pourtray. Most modern history is of this kind; and it is to the discovery of such literary and antiquarian treasures as the documents relating to early English history, published under the direction of the Record Commission, "the Close and Patent Rolls," the "Parliamentary writs," &c., the sixteen volumes of letters, relating to the times of Thomas à Becket, published by Dr. Giles, and many similar works, that modern history chiefly owes its success in its treatment of the later mediæval times.† For the later periods of modern European history, we are amply supplied with contemporary narratives, written with all shades of opinions

* Sir H. Elliot's Bibliographical Index, Introd. p. xviii.

† Similarly for French history, we have the "Collection des Memoires relatifs à l' histoire de France" in 31 volumes, and the various volumes of "Documens Inédits," published by the ministry of Public Instruction.

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to bias them and with every degree of partiality; and from these, by comparison and mutual correction, we may re-produce a tolerably exact picture as the events appeared to the various contemporaries. But much is still undone, while we are dependent on written narratives only,—no contemporary is present at one-tenth of what he describes, and is necessarily dependent on others for his information, and is limited by their accuracy and honesty. It is to those stores of letters and despatches, which reveal the actors themselves in their unguarded moments, the publication of which has formed a new feature of literature in our day, that history looks as her final resource. Here if anywhere will the real truth be found; if the confidential communications of private intercourse reveal it not, the search is hopeless indeed. Such publications as the letters of Oliver Cromwell, or the Stanhope correspondence, are not like the letters of Cicero and Pliny in old times,—inestimable as the letters to Atticus are to the historical student,—for those were written with an eye to publication, and we feel that the writer never entirely unbosoms himself,—he is thinking of a future reader, besides Atticus, and checks his outpouring confidence, as at the entrance of an intruder. The pre-eminent value of the publications of our day, over all the ancient collections of letters, lies in their perfect genuineness and spontaneity,—they were written with no thought of after publication, for no third eye to see; and when we read them, it often seems a half sacrilege to intrude into such a sanctuary of private feeling. These are some of the highest kinds of historical evidence, and it is only in modern times that such have been rendered available; so that we have some good reason for hoping that modern history will be more truthful and valuable, from the better means placed at her disposal.

Such then being a progressive view of the several phases of history, as we pass from the absolute uncertainty of popular tradition, through a gradually increasing clearness to the day-light of modern times,—our next question is, what are the rules of historical evidence, to be applied with more or less severity to all these periods in turn?

The historian sits as the judge of an epoch, and he summons to his bar all the actors in its busy drama. His verdict is their future fame,—praise or blame may be said to hang on his voice. The rules of evidence therefore will be such as the upright judge demands; but a degree of laxity is necessarily allowed to the historian, which we deny in the court of law. The historian is a private individual, and he is armed with no powers to enforce the production of testimony; he is necessarily obliged to be content with the best that his researches can discover. Hence

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arise two important differences between his court and that of the judge. In the first place, he regards *all* evidence as admissible, he excludes no deposition; he only reserves to himself to discriminate between their relative merits. In the second place, evidence which would be hearsay in a court of law, may be in his eyes original, if he can but satisfy himself as to the accuracy of the copy or repetition. The rules of evidence established in our courts of justice, are too strict to bind the student in his library, but they may always furnish him hints in the examination of any doubtful authority. "He must be guided, not, indeed, by their rules, but by *the reasons of their rules.*"*

To constitute the highest testimony, it must be *original* and *contemporaneous;* unless both these conditions be fulfilled, it is uncertain and of inferior value.

It must be original,—i. e., the narrative must rest on the authority of an eye-witness to the fact. The writer himself on whom the historian relies, or some person† with whom that writer has spoken, and whose testimony that writer has taken down, must depose to the relation, or we introduce an element of uncertainty, whose subtle poison, like quicksilver in gold, will loosen the cohesion of the whole. There is no limit to the uncertainty, if this witness' evidence is derived from hearsay. In all evidence, where our own senses did not inform us, we are necessarily dependent on another's word; and of the truthfulness of that word we must ourselves determine by his bearing and character, if we are personally examining him, and by the internal evidence (which is a book's bearing and character) if it be only his written testimony. In either of these two ways, we come in direct contact with the witness. We saw not the event ourselves, but we have seen and tested one who did. But when the evidence is on hearsay, we lose this personal control altogether; we are dependent on the testimony of a man, who is not produced in court, and of whose trustworthiness we have no means of judging. It is this which forms one main element of uncertainty in the boasted authorities of Arabian tradition: the historian who gives the chain and hangs his narrative thereon, has no means of testing the separate links. In evidence especially does the maxim hold that nothing is stronger than its weakest part; and here we have no means of determining where the flaw, if any, may lie. When Herodotus tells us of that famous dinner party at Thebes, which Attaginus gave to Mar-

* Sir G. C. Lewis, 'Method of Observation in Politics,' vol. i., p. 196.

† Strictly speaking, this is hearsay to the historian,—but the writer must be considered as the magistrate who has taken the deposition of a person not produced in court. In a court of law, this may not be admissible, but in that of history we are forced to receive it.

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donius and the other Persian nobles,—when one of the Persians prophetically with tears told the Greek who reclined with him on the same couch, that of all those nobles, and the army which then lay encamped on the river, hardly a man was fated to escape the coming crisis,—he tells it on the personal authority of that very Greek to whom it happened,—"the sequel which 'I am about to relate, I myself heard from Thersander, a native 'of Orchomenos, and one of the first men in that city." Herodotus himself was not present, but he had talked face to face with one who was; and Herodotus has sufficiently proved his own truthful character by the internal and external evidence of his book, to carry conviction to the reader that he has faithfully reported the deposition. It rests on the trustworthiness of Thersander; and that we must take on the authority of Herodotus, as we must every thing else in his book.

Where the original documents are preserved, or as long as the witnesses themselves live, we can test the historian or writer's accuracy; but in the historical court, time is continually removing both these sources, especially the latter; and hence we are obliged to consider as our *original* authority, the writer who records the deposition. Thersander in the narrative of Herodotus has been dead for more than 2,200 years, and the tablets in the Capitol, from which Polybius made his translation of the Roman treaties with Carthage, have long since perished, so that we cannot test their accuracy; this must rest on the general character which they possess for diligence and care. Diodorus Siculus, on the contrary, is a hasty writer, and we can often prove his inaccuracy; hence suspicion attaches to him throughout, because we can never feel sure that his quotations and repetitions are to be relied on.

But the Arabian evidence, as we said, is of a totally inferior kind, and can carry no conviction at all to the reader. We read of the care which the compilers exercised in rejecting spurious traditions; thus Abu Dáúd, out of 500,000 traditions respecting the Prophet, selected only 4,800; but this criticism was only guided by the character of the *names* of the witnesses. If the character of each link in the chain was deemed unimpeachable, the tradition was received, whatever its inherent improbability.* Thus, "I have been informed by Mohammed b. Bashshár, that he had been informed by Yahyá b. Sayd, who said that he had been informed by Hishám b. Hassán, who said that he had it from Al Hasan Baçriy, who said that he heard from Abdallah b. Moghaffal, 'that the Prophet had been forbidden by God to comb more frequently than every

* See the *Calcutta Review*, No. xxxvii. "Sources for the biography of Mohammed."

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other day.'"* The same system is pursued every where in all Arabian history; every author gives us these chains of names, as if they were demonstrative evidence.

As we said before, the historian rejects *no* evidence, however far removed from the original authority; a mere popular rumour may possess a certain weight and credibility; but it is important that he should fully realise to himself and impress on his readers the uncertain character of such testimony when received. Some of it *may* be true, but much of it is certainly false; and it is the impossibility of testing how much that renders it so suspicious and dangerous.

The evidence must also be contemporary; it must be written down at the time, before the impression has been suffered to grow faint or be effaced. Life is like a long procession, and new faces and objects are continually appearing, while the old vanish from our sight; and the claims and interests of the present must inevitably confuse and alter our recollections of the past. If any long interval has been suffered to intervene before the facts are committed to writing, and stamped in a lasting form, so far is an element of inaccuracy and uncertainty admitted; new events and combinations have risen meanwhile to influence and modify our recollections, and we are insensibly colouring the past by the prevailing hues of to-day. Here again the historian does not reject any evidence, however suspicious; he may receive it all for its worth, and test it by other and better kinds. We are speaking now of the *highest* evidence, which the historian is bound to find if possible, and if such be not forthcoming, the age is defective in one main ingredient of history, and its record therefore in the page of the historian is thus far defective also.

Tried by this test, again, the Arabian traditions do not stand. Far from being committed to writing from the first, the great mass of tradition remained for generations only oral, transmitted from year to year, and inevitably growing as time went on, so that we cannot, with confidence, or even with show of likelihood, affirm of *any* tradition that it was recorded till nearly the end of the first century of the Hegira.†

We may here mention two of the principal sources of error, which may influence even the best kinds of evidence,—the counteracting forces, for whose effects we must make continual allowance and correction; and of course it will be understood that with the inferior kinds these influences will be still more pernicious.

Contemporary evidence is liable to be partial and prejudiced.

* Dr. Sprenger's Life of Mohammed.

† *Calcutta Review*, No. xxxvii, p. 27.

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To a student in after times the past seems tranquil; it has lost its heat and unrest, and has settled into a deceptive aspect of repose. But to the men who lived in the sound of the busy hum of its voices, it wore a very different appearance; to them all was real and living, and every event enlisted on its side strong sentiments and earnest convictions. To us these are all past; we can look on the scene with dispassionate eye; nay more, in many of the conflicts and crises we can sympathise with the better portion of both parties. But to the contemporary this is impossible; he must, nay he ought to feel strongly, and the man who could write in cold blood about the Persian war in which he himself had fought, or the Reformation struggle in which his dearest friends had suffered, would be below, not above, the level of human nature. The contemporary should write with a desire to do broad justice to all, and he should consciously allow himself in no deviation from the truth; but he cannot alter his point of view; he must see "in section," not "in plan." No one blames Clarendon for his Royalist prepossessions; these in him were natural and right; we honour him for his loyalty and fidelity, and they make us the more ready to trust him. But we have a right to demand conscious truthfulness, and in this Clarendon fails; and, as Hallam says, "No man can avoid con-'sidering his incessant deviations from the great duties of an 'historian as a moral blemish in his character." An honest contemporary may sometimes mislead, but it will be by an unconscious bias; and wilfully to misrepresent an antagonist is to forfeit that honesty. A contemporary record therefore, however honest its aim, will necessarily require caution in its use; we must test it by other accounts, especially those of the opposite party, and existing letters and public documents. But inasmuch as too large a proportion of mankind are habitually careless of truth, we must lay our account to find some degree of intentional perversion of facts in the mass of contemporary writers; and this is a serious drawback to historical accuracy in general.

Again, to the contemporary the future is unknown. This may at first seem a matter of little importance, but in reality, we can hardly over-estimate its effects. To us, the fears and hopes of a past age are over, its triumphs and dangers are equally past, and it is only by a strong effort of the imagination that we can realise them, as if still in the womb of futurity. Especially must we bear this in mind in the great crises of a nation; to the contemporaries the final issue, which to us is known from the lessons of childhood, was uncertain and alarming, and in this twilight of the future men saw shadows of terror, which we know to have been illusions, however real to *them*. Now this bright or sombre hue from an uncertain future colours the

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contemporary's page; while at the same time his ignorance of the goal, to which the events of his age are tending, leads him to violate all relative proportion in his estimates. It is only the after historian who can reduce the events to their proper standard,—who can read the whole as a whole, and so duly subordinate the parts.

Contemporary evidence will vary in kind. This might seem a truism, but no rule has been so often and habitually violated. Our histories of Athens, for instance, have been hitherto compiled on an almost opposite principle. Our scholars have written Greek history,* as if every contemporary record were of equal value; and they have drawn their conclusions from the sneers of the satirist, as unhesitatingly as from the gravest statesman. To the historian satires and libels are often invaluable aids; they may sometimes throw a new light on a period, and they will always illustrate its manners and views. Thus every classical scholar, who has read Thucydides and Aristophanes, hand in hand, taking each comedy in its order, as he reaches the corresponding year of the Peloponnesian war, will know how vivid the interest is, which the comedy throws on the sober history. Thus,—to give only one instance which occurs to us,—we learn from Thucydides that the Athenians who had lived in the country, were loath to be torn from their family homes, on the breaking out of the war, and to be cooped up in the crowded city; but to realise this to the full, we should read the comedy of the 'Peace,' where these very old citizens form the chorus, and hear them lamenting in person for the pleasant farms and vineyards they have left:

> Glad day for honest country folks,—oh Peace, how you remind me!
> You make me think directly of the vines I left behind me,
> And the fig trees which I planted,—ah I was younger then!
> How I long to bid good morrow to their honest heads again!

But satire and comedy are to illustrate, not to prove; and when we use them as evidence, they must mislead. Mr. Grote's chapter on the Sophists is a memorable illustration of this. For ages men have accepted satire as proof, and of course it has prejudiced their views. The Punch of our day will be an invaluable aid to the future historian, as representing the present time in its lighter traits and feelings; but alas for historic truth if he forgets what Punch is, and treats it as many a grave scholar has treated the Greek Punch, Aristophanes.

* "There has been a time, when every Arabic, Persian or Turkish work, containing the history of Mohammed and his successors, or any part of the history of the East, was considered as a source of information, the authenticity of which was above all doubt and question."—*Dr. Sprenger.*

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We need not here classify all the different kinds of contemporary evidence, but we may notice a few of the more important.

First, then, we would put the contemporary historian, who writes with an honest wish to tell the story of his own time. We can forgive him a hearty partiality for his own side, if he can resist its temptations to wilful perversion of the truth. Of such writers, prejudiced it may be, but honest in the main, there are many degrees, varying with the shades of moral and intellectual strength; but in this class, though in different ranks of it, we would place such writers as Thucydides, Froissart, Comines, and Burnet. In a far lower class would we rank those who often intentionally deceive, such as Julius Cæsar and Clarendon, because, however high their merits as authors, they have violated the cardinal rule of history, truth; and no powers of thought or beauties of style can atone for this crime.

Next to these comes the dull plodding chronicler, such as the monkish writers of the middle ages; and below these the mere partizan, who upholds his side through thick and thin, the indiscriminate laudator or abuser, such as Abu'l Fazl in his history of Akbar, in which "an uniform strain of panegyric and triumph 'is kept up, which disgusts the reader with the author, and al-'most with the hero. Amidst these unmeaning flourishes, the 'real merits of Akbar disappear, and it is from other authors 'we learn the motives of his actions, the difficulties he had to 'contend with, and the resources by which they were surmount-'ed."*

From these we pass to works not historical in their form, but abounding with the raw materials of history; and foremost among these are the letters of the leading men of the age,—where we talk with the minds which ruled the course of events, and see them undisguised and without reserve. Such evidence, as we have before observed, is of the highest value,† and it is the great advantage of the modern writer that stores of such letters have been published, and stores, relating to every modern period, yet await an editor.‡ With these may be classed the documents of the time, such collections as Rymer's Fœdera, the Statute Book, and those various papers in the Rolls house, which have recently proved such a rich mine, when worked by Mr. Froude. His history of Henry VIII. will be variously judged by different readers, and we may all dissent from some of his conclusions; but one thing seems certain, that it must remain *the* history of the times, unless

* Elphinstone's India.

† "Surely this testimony," says Hallam, speaking of the Paston collection of letters, "outweighs a thousand ordinary chronicles."

‡ "The library at Besançon contains sixty volumes of the letters of Granvella, Charles the Fifth's great minister."—*Dr. Arnold's Lectures on History.*

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some one digs deeper in the same mine. "I have taken my 'story," he says, "almost exclusively from contemporary letters, 'state-papers and acts of Parliament. In examining each sepa-'rate transaction, my plan has been to arrange the materials 'relating to it in chronological order; and when this has been 'done closely and carefully, it has seemed to me, as if the history 'has written itself, and can be read in its main outlines without 'difficulty."

Next to these are the various fugitive works, the pamphlets and controversial treatises, out of which such an artist as Macaulay can pick all those vivid traits which light up his pages. Ample collections of these are found in all our great public libraries in England; and little to be relied on as such productions are for their own authority, they sometimes contain imbedded facts and allusions of great value.

With these we may mention the satires and libels to which we have already alluded—those ephemeral bubbles, which are lashed into existence by party conflict, and whose interest expires with the hour that gave them birth. To the general reader, few things are more stale and unprofitable; but they are often full of interest to the historical and antiquarian student, whose researches enable him to revive the forgotten jest. It is indeed singular that works of wit in general, which are the readiest understood in their own time, and appeal to the immediate perceptions of their original readers, become of all books to after times the most obscure and uninteresting. Charles Lamb, in one of his essays, remarks that a joke cannot be transmitted by letter to Australia, —"It is a merchandise that above all re-'quires a quick return,—a pun and its recognitory laugh must be 'co-instantaneous!" Open any of the political satires of former times, and how flat and spiritless they seem; even Hudibras, Absalom and Ahithophel, and the Dunciad, have an obsolete and forgotten air. Such books must pass away as works of humour; their only chance of perpetuity is the Antiquarian interest, which attaches to these vivid pictures of the past, and always leads a few minds to such studies.

To this catalogue, the future historian will have to add one most important item, which has only lately risen into significance—the daily newspaper. He will have no longer to complain of any dearth of materials,—he will rather be overwhelmed by their accumulation; and the impossibility of reading one-tenth of the mass will bring in new sources of error and confusion. The files of the *Times*, with their daily rumours and contradictions, will give him a most vivid picture of our age; but his will be a steady head which does not turn giddy amidst the hubbub and whirl. Still the newspaper will be a most valuable aid;

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especially for confirmation and proof; and above all, our reports of all public meetings and Parliamentary debates. Great indeed will be the change to pass from the fictitious harangues of ancient authors, or the hardly more trustworthy debates of the senate of Liliput, to the verbatim reports in any number of the *Times*. The lost speeches of Bolingbroke, for which Pitt would have exchanged so many an extant classic, would *now* be preserved for ever; and though our present Parliamentary debates may lack the sententious eloquence of former oratory, we can hardly doubt that, for business-like grappling with the subject, and lucid exposition of its details, (the real points of interest to the future historian) the orators of the present day are far superior to their predecessors, and their speeches therefore far more worthy to be preserved.

The "organon" of historical criticism, which we have thus imperfectly described, has already changed every field of history to which it has been honestly applied,—especially that classical field which every one had previously pronounced to be clipped bare, and barren. Mr. Grote's twelve volumes are professedly written under its laws; and however we may dissent from some of his opinions, none can rise from their perusal without new views of that subject in some of its most essential features. Greek and Latin had been read for centuries, and their histories studied and commented on by successive generations of scholars; but the soil was a virgin one to the husbandman after all. Mitford and Thirlwall had already shewn its fertility, but it has been reserved to Mr. Grote's life-study to reap the full harvest. Similarly the three great provinces of modern history (to use Dr. Arnold's division,) European, Colonial and Oriental, must be all examined* and re-written with this strict attention to evidence; and wherever it is tried, new discoveries will be the result.

In many things the effect will be startling and disagreeable. Much that has been received on tradition for ages will be found untenable, just as our school-boys are now taught to reject the Roman history which their grand-fathers implicitly believed; and much that we now reject may be weighed and proved true. The process will be distasteful; but after all, truth is best. If history be not *true*, it is worse than the idlest fiction, because it deceives. Our history may become less picturesque; we may find some of our heroes dethroned; but the result will be something to be relied on; and if historical philosophy is to be ever better than a dream, it is only by an induction from real facts that its laws and principles are to be gained.

* Thus Dr. Sprenger was the first writer who submitted the sources of the biography of Mohammed to a critical enquiry.

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That history will become less picturesque we may readily own, if we restrict that term to the vivid anecdote or the brilliant rencontre; but there are other elements of deeper meaning which are not so easily invalidated. A village custom, a clause from an ancient statute, or a time-worn inscription, may possess as vivid an interest, if we have but the key to decipher them. As our researches extend, and our knowledge becomes deeper, we are continually turning up new relics of the past. Thus of how recent a date is Comparative Philology, which has unveiled to us the mysteries of language, and shewn that our words are not only the ready money of daily life, but historical medals as well.

The anecdotes and incidents *will* go, we fear,—for how many have already gone! Thus the long cherished story of the recital by Herodotus of his unfinished history at the Olympian games, with the boy Thucydides among his audience, has vanished before closer scrutiny; dates are insuperably stubborn, and Herodotus and Thucydides were born too near each other to allow of such a rencontre. The story in fact rests on the authority of Lucian, who lived six hundred years after the event, if it happened,—in itself suspicious enough; and Lucian's character for accuracy is too low to warrant any extraordinary trust.

Again, Belisarius begging for bread with "give an obol to Belisarius," was long received as a fact, but when traced to its source, it seems quite untrustworthy, as it first appears in a random compilation by that poor "Greek witling" (as Milton calls him) Tzetzes, a monk of the twelfth century. The legend of Fair Rosamund's fate is undoubtedly false, and can be traced up to no contemporary authority; in fact the further back we carry our search, the less of the story is known; and in this instance, we can distinctly trace the growth of the fable through successive chroniclers.

We need hardly remind our readers of the parallel instance in oriental history, in the story of Mahmúd and the jewel-filled idol at Somnath, which has been proved to be in itself impossible, as the idol was a solid stone block, in fact a common Linga column. It is encouraging to find that the story is equally overthrown by a scrutiny of authorities, and Professor Wilson (in the Asiatic Journal, May, 1843) has traced it back to its earliest extant mention, in Abulfeda, at the commencement of the thirteenth century. Every later author adds something of his own, until the idol, which in this writer was only five cubits high, two of which are set in the ground, and which is destroyed by a fire lighted round it to split the hardness of the stone, becomes in the gradual growth of fiction an idol in human figure, which Mahmúd bursts open with his axe, and thus discovers an immense

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store of jewels in its belly. This is the account in Ferishta (A. D. 1600), whence it has been copied into our general histories.

The whole history of the early Mohammedan conquests, as we have it in Gibbon, and the popular writers who follow him, abounds with apocryphal stories. The only authority accessible to the general reader, and which Gibbon mainly consulted, is Ockley's history of the Saracens, a work displaying great learning and diligence, but unfortunately chiefly based on an author who little merited such confidence. The history by Wákidi, which he has incorporated into his work, is now considered a mere romance, by some writer, who lived between the close of the eleventh and the middle of the fourteenth century.*

In conclusion, we would take as a further illustration of the method of historical evidence an instance treated at length by Isaac Taylor in his excellent though scarce work on the process of historical proof.† We have taken this especially, because we are for once enabled to prove the correctness of the verdict, by later discoveries unknown at the time to the writer.

The question is the authenticity of the account that Xerxes cut a trench through the narrow isthmus of the promontory of Mount Athos, that his second fleet might coast from gulf to gulf without doubling the dangerous headland, where his former fleet was wrecked. Several modern writers have rejected the story altogether, relying on its inherent improbability, and on the language of the Roman satirist, Juvenal, who expressly adduces it to support his epithet, "Græcia *mendax*," and whose words imply that it was generally disbelieved in his time.

Let us examine the evidence in favour of the account. The primary witness is Herodotus, who gives a detailed account of the whole undertaking, entering minutely into particulars; and Thucydides, who possessed estates in the neighbourhood, and had commanded the Athenian fleet there, alludes to the canal as still in existence, and well-known to his readers. Similarly, the orators Lysias and Isocrates confidently affirm the fact; and in later times, the historians Diodorus Siculus and Justin relate it without hesitation, though of course their evidence will weigh but little in the scale. Lysias and Isocrates, as orators, lose their advantage of proximity to the time by the suspicion of

* Ergo libri isti nec seculo undecimo exeunte antiquiores, nec medio seculo decimo quarto juniores.—*Hamaker, Pref. ad Incerti Auct. Lib.*

† We are glad to see that the Calcutta University has introduced the subject of historical evidence into its course of study for the B. A. degree; and that Isaac Taylor's two works (the one mentioned above, and that on the transmission of ancient books,) are recommended as text-books. Sir John Stoddart's reprint at the head of our article, contains some valuable remarks on early history; and there is an admirable summary of the subject in chap. vii. of Sir G. C. Lewis' "Methods of observation and reasoning in Politics."

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rhetorical exaggeration; but here our cavils must stop,—we can challenge no other witness. The testimony of Herodotus and Thucydides remains distinct and unshaken, and is alone sufficient to establish the point. The Athenians, by their possessions at Amphipolis and elsewhere, were constantly in communication with those coasts; and it is impossible that two such writers could have joined in mentioning as a fact, what so many of their readers could have at once disproved, if it were false. Of course Juvenal's sneer is put out of court as evidence by the 500 years which had intervened; and the internal improbabilities can weigh little in themselves, when we remember an eastern despot's caprices, and his unlimited power to gratify them.

Judging therefore by the rules of evidence alone, Isaac Taylor gave an unhesitating verdict for Herodotus.

But in this case, we are not left to criticism; the verdict has been unexpectedly confirmed by different evidence. Modern travellers, in this, as in a thousand other instances, have confirmed the truthfulness of the father of history, and we read the following in the latest edition of his works: "The canal was traced 'by Carlyle (*ap.* Walpole's Turkey, i., p. 224,) throughout the 'whole of its extent. It is about a mile and a quarter long, 'and twenty-five yards across. It has been much filled up by mud 'and rushes. Its bottom is in many places very little above the 'level of the sea, in some parts of it corn is sown, in others there 'are pools of water." It runs in fact from the Gulf of Monte Santo to the bay of Erso in the Gulf of Contessa. Other travellers speak of a singular mound, which rises as a natural citadel over the village of Erso, the ancient Acanthus; and there, Herodotus tells us, Artachæes died, the superintendent of the canal, and a man of royal blood, whom Xerxes ordered to be buried with royal pomp, and "the whole army raised his mound."

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1857.

ART. I.—1.—*Zend: Is it an original Language?* By JOHN ROMER, late E. I. C. C. S. and M. R. A. S. London, 1855.

2. *Outlines of Comparative Philology, with a sketch of the languages of Europe arranged upon philologic principles, and a brief History of the Art of Writing.* By M. SCHELE DE VERE of the University of Virginia. New York. MDCCCLIII.

3. *Christianity and Mankind, their Beginnings and Prospects.* By CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAH BUNSEN, D.D., D.C.L., D.P.H., *in seven volumes. Philosophical Section—Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History applied to Language and Religion.* London, 1854.

4. *Twelve Lectures on the connexion between Science and Revealed Religion delivered in Rome.* By CARDINAL WISEMAN. Fifth edition, 1853.

5. *Bibliothecae Sanskritae sive Recensus Librorum Sanskritorum hucusque typis vel lapide exscriptorum critici specimen concinnavit* JOANNES GILDEMEISTER, PROFESSOR MARBURGENSIS. Bonnae ad Rhenum. MDCCCXLVII.

6. *Modern Investigations on Ancient India, a Lecture delivered in Berlin, March* 4, 1854. By Professor A. WEBER. Translated from the German. By FANNY METCALFE. Leipzig, 1857.

IT is true of Sciences as well as of individuals, that eminence and acknowledged value must be reached through obstacles of no common magnitude, and trials of no common intensity. Through suffering is the soul perfected, through much tribulation only is it allowed to enter into the hidden arcana of truth, and to understand its revelations, humbly yet hopefully, without

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passion, prejudice or sloth. The ancient philosophers were right in principle at least, when they demanded as the price of those instructions which they communicated, that their disciples should purge their souls of the dross of earthly passion, and the errors of too hasty generalization, ere being allowed to gaze upon the full display of the mysteries of those esoteric doctrines, a knowledge of which was reserved for only a favoured few. What this kind of 'noviciate' effected for the ancient systems, and many of the secret societies of the middle ages, has been brought about in more modern times, and especially since the days of Bacon, by the persecution which infant Sciences have had to bear, by the opposition that they have invariably met with, from men of limited, conservative and prejudiced minds, or from bigotted religionists, who, assuming that their own interpretation of Scripture was correct, denied the truth of facts that in nature seemed opposed to it. Thus Truth has ever had to undergo a baptism of fire, which disengaged from it the counterfeit that so often passed under its name or in company with it, and fitted it for the high function of reconciling doubts and contraries, and elevating man to that position for which his Creator originally destined him.

The recent and rapid birth of new Sciences, during the last sixty years, is one of the most striking features of modern times. We are now reaping the fruits of that silent and toilsome elaboration of first principles which engaged the schoolmen, and finally resulted in the principles on which modern civilization is based. And not merely have new Sciences sprung into being, but those that formerly existed, have received new additions to their evidences, a new extension of their facts, and a clearer manifestation of their principles. Time is an all important element in the development of truth. It was not enough that the Genius of Science fled from Europe for ten long and dreary centuries, or hid herself and wrought secretly in the womb of mediæval times, but even when she gave birth to Bacon, and such exponents of his principles as Newton and Boyle, the first had to throw himself on posterity and look to the future for that reputation which was denied him by contemporaries. That future, which, with a consciousness of greatness and prophetic eye he saw, came only so late as the end of last century. Then it was that his principles became more fully appreciated, the spirit of his great 'Instauratio' understood, and the rules of his inductive philosophy carried out carefully into practice. Then it was that new Sciences were evolved under their application to nature, and through Reid and Kant, even mental philosophy received an impetus, and was placed upon a basis, which all the quibbles of sophists and the doubts of sceptics shall never injure nor overthrow. The principle which has led to such important results, has been denoted by

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the term 'comparison,' or an application of the great processes of observation and experiment to a wider sphere, and a greater number of objects than previously. Men had moved within the narrow circle of a few facts, or had confined themselves to the isolated study of each distinct *genus* by itself, but had seldom gone to the higher step in generalization, of comparing *genera* with each other, and forming still more comprehensive classes. Each had wrought at his own particular field isolated from the others, and each had hence come to wrong conclusions, while their conceit on account of what had been accomplished, was too often in proportion to the falsity or lameness of their results.

A master-mind was wanted, or rather a master-principle in many minds, which, leading the philosopher to take his stand in the wide field of the human Sciences, would enable him to see the points in which one harmonised with, or was related to, another, and also so to investigate the details of each, as out of a new understanding of them, to bring a new or at least a cognate Science. This master-principle was no fresh discovery, but merely a more accurate application of the whole spirit of the Baconian philosophy. The result has been that the unity of the truth, whether as manifested in the physical or mental Sciences, has been clearly demonstrated, and a new evidence gained from the united voice of human knowledge for the wisdom and personality of Him who created the heavens and the earth. By its aid Alchemy was developed into Chemistry, Astrology into Astronomy, and Surgery into Comparative Anatomy, while the foundations of Geology were laid on a firmer basis. By it too, the arbitrary rules and meaningless statements of Grammar have been explained, the confusion that existed as to man and his speech—their origin, their nature, their development, their derivation, their migration over the inhabited globe, has been cleared away. Grammars and languages have formed the data of the study of Grammar and Language, and have in their turn been purged of inconsistencies, absurdities and difficulties, and the principles and history of the whole have been discovered by Comparative Philology, which embracing, as it does, the whole subject of Ethnography, now ranks as one of the most important of the Sciences. On one side of it, it is connected with the mental Sciences and especially with Logic, being concerned with the expression of thought and the connexion between them, and on the other, it touches upon the Physical Sciences, and especially Physiology.

Our object, at present, is not so much to look into the laws on which it is based, and the character of the data whence these have been deduced, as to view it historically, and especially to see what part India has contributed, either in men, methods or lan-

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guages, to constitute it. The truth of the remarks above made, will be found all through its history,—that it has had to pass through much ridicule, opposition and trial, ere reaching the sure pedestal of general acceptance and scientific accuracy, where it now is.

We have placed the above works at the head of the article as representatives of the progress made by Comparative Philology in its last stages. The first is a pamphlet by Mr. Romer, consisting of three short papers, originally published at different times in the journal of the *Royal Asiatic Society*. To these is prefixed a preliminary notice by the author, and some excellent introductory remarks by Professor H. H. Wilson. The papers are entirely controversial, having it for their object to prove that the Zend and Pahlavi languages, as used by the Parsis and seen in their religious writings, are not authentic; that their character is entirely fictitious; and that consequently any attempt, such as that of Bopp in his Comparative Grammar, to base philological theories upon them, must be futile and absurd. The nature and value of Mr. Romer's arguments we shall presently consider.

The "Outlines of Comparative Philology," by M. Schele De Vere, is in itself a 'curiosity of literature.' It professes to supply what, with reference to the Science itself and to modern education, is certainly a great desideratum—"a work to which 'the student might resort with the hope of finding everything 'that pertains to the study of language, collected and arranged," a Manual of Comparative Philology in fact, where all information, as to what it is and what it has done, might be expected. That the author fails to supply this is to be regretted, and still more so that he does not supply even original materials for such a work. He has evidently read much of the literature of the subject, and has gathered together many facts, both historical and critical, from different authors. But his whole work is vitiated by the absence of two important things which would have made it otherwise most valuable—a philosophical method, and a sound criticism. The want of the former has caused him to scatter the various divisions of his subject in wild confusion over his pages, so that the fresh student would necessarily be lost in ignorance, the further that he went. It is true that in his preface the author professes to give "suggestion rather than complete information," but information of any kind, and especially on a scientific subject, to be useful, must be methodical. Such different subjects as the Origin of Language, Theories regarding it, the History of Comparative Philology, Writing Materials, the Connexion between Comparative Philology and History, Printing, America, and an account of the three great classes of languages, are mixed together in promiscuous profusion. Facts and statements are

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introduced into the middle of a chapter that have no connexion with its subject, and with an imperfect sketch of the languages of Europe, the first part of the book comes to a close. The second, as the History of Writing, is naturally more methodical, though incorrect in many of its statements. The absence of a sound criticism is destructive to the usefulness of the compilation. Accurately ascertained facts are nowhere distinguished from mere conjectures, and everywhere theory and fanciful hypothesis are mixed up with principles that are settled by all as the laws of the Science. No attempt is made to reduce the conflicting statements of different authors and schools to consistent harmony, nor are the latest results of the Science carefully gathered up, and its various uses and applications shewn. The work seems rather to be a "commonplace book" on Philology, an Index Rerum Linguisticarum (if we may be allowed the expression,) than scientific "Outlines of Comparative Philology."

How different the third work, that of the Chevalier Bunsen! Our late Prussian ambassador has distinguished himself alike in the fields of Biblical Criticism, Ecclesiastical History, Archaeology and Comparative Philology. In these few scholars can now be regarded as his equals, while he has carried into all his works the same large-heartedness, and manly generosity of life and opinion, that made him a favourite in the highest London circles, and now draw upon him many a visit from foreign scholars in his quiet and philosophic German retreat. The work before us is entitled in its totality, "Christianity and mankind, their Beginnings and Prospects." In its details, as spread over seven large octavo volumes, it consists of three distinct works—Hippolytus and his age, Sketch of the Philosophy of Language and Religion, or the Beginnings and Prospects of the Human Race, and the Remains of Ante-Nicene documents. The second seems to our Anglo-Saxon common-sense to be strangely thrust in between the other two, but Bunsen himself satisfactorily explains it.

The philological part is that only with which we have to do. We do not hesitate to say that it is the most important work on the subject that has been published since Bopp's Comparative Grammar. With the assistance of such scholars as Aufrecht and Max Müller, an account of the latest researches and results is admirably given, and a further generalisation of the three great families of languages is attempted, by shewing the proof of a connexion between the Semitic and Indo-European class. If further evidence of this is found, then will scholars at once recognise the improvement, and to Bunsen, assisted by these two great Hebraists, Fürst and Delitzsche, will be ascribed the honour of this farther step in the simplification of the Science.

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The fourth work that we have placed above—the Lectures by Cardinal Wiseman, is well-known to the scientific public. We are glad to see that it has reached a fifth edition, which is much improved, and contains corrections and additions, so as to keep it abreast of modern science. We here notice it only on account of its two opening lectures "On the comparative study of 'languages." As they appear in this edition, they are a most philosophical and accurate summary at once of the doctrines and history of the Science, and in default of a regular manual on the subject, we cannot point the tyro to a better introduction to it. With the exception of an admiring allusion to a Jesuit author, which any one might make, they are free from that bigotry which we might have been led to expect, and of which in its Popish form both Science and Revealed Religion are the determined enemies.

The "Bibliothecae Sanskritæ" of Professor Gildemeister is a catalogue of Authors Indian and European, who have edited or translated Sanskrit works, or treated of Sanskrit literature. It gives the titles of their works in full, occasionally accompanied by notes, and is followed up by indices of Sanskrit books published in India according to their chronological and alphabetical order, of Indian authors and editors, of Indian philologers, and lastly of European writers on Sanskrit. The whole is a most accurate and invaluable manual of Sanskrit bibliography, or of the literature of Sanskrit philology. We would take exception only to the Author's Latin, and his mode of Romanizing oriental titles of books. Who from "phortauleyam" and "gemsa prinsep" would discover Fort William and James Prinsep?

Professor Weber's lecture is in every way worthy of one of the most distinguished of recent German philologers. It is throughout at once popular and scholarly, and gives in small compass the results of the study of the Indian languages, literature and history, during the past seventy years. Beginning with the statement of a few facts in the history of Sanskrit scholarship, and alluding to such well-known works as the *Sakuntala* and *Bhagavad-Gita*, he at once excites the attention of his hearers to what might, in the case of a general audience, be otherwise dry and repulsive, and aided by it, goes on—to state the philological argument on which the whole of his remarks as to the migrations, early history, literature and manners of the South-Aryan race are based. We have never seen it so scientifically and yet simply put:—

"In the first rank stand the results already obtained with regard to the primeval history of the Indo-European race. The comparison of the grammatical formation of the Sanscrit, especially as it appears in its oldest form in the Vedas, with the Celtic, Greek and Latin,

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with the German-Lettish-Sclavonian and Persian languages, teaches us, that the structure of all these languages has one common foundation; moreover the gradation of forms and sounds directs us to the Sanscrit as the language which taken altogether has retained the most primeval form, and has adhered the most tenaciously to that parent ground. This original language thus disclosed by the identity of the grammatical form naturally supposes and demands that at the time when it was a living and spoken language, the people speaking it must also have been one; the different nations, as well as their languages appear thus, as the result of a gradual separation from the original Indo-European race and its language, indeed so much so, that the greater or less similarity of the sounds and forms of the several languages to each other and more exclusively with reference to the Sanscrit, gives us a clue as to whether this separation from the parent stock took place as an earlier or later period. The deficiency of all historical testimony for that early time is by this means made good for each people by the form of its language which affords a conclusive objective evidence distinctly confirmed by the geographical relations which meet our view when the historical period commences.—If the grammatical relations and inflexions are only the skeleton of the language and therefore afford us no direct picture of its life or even of the life of the people speaking it, the words themselves, the lexicographical treasure of a language, on the contrary are as it were the flesh clothing the skeleton, the nerves giving it vitality. In this way we may conclude that words, entirely or partly common to those languages, and the objects thus designated, were already either abstractly or positively the property of the earliest people, while the agreement of only some of those languages in words which are wanting in others, is a sign that the things or ideas thus designated belong to a time succeeding the separation already effected. Further from the circumstance that the Sanscrit has preserved a great number of roots which have been lost in the other languages, we are enabled to discover in a great mass of derivatives besides their traditional meaning up to this time purely metaphorical, also their primary signification, and thus we obtain an idea of our forefathers' style of thought, and see how naively they have given the most significant names to so many different objects. Finally an acquaintance with the old songs, habits and customs of the Hindoos at the Vedic era, promises even to afford us a means of determining the religious life of that early period, giving us an idea of their conception of the divine powers and forces in nature, in as much as there we find again a great proportion of such conceptions as are known to us from the Greek, Roman and German mythologies, the roots of which thus appear to have existed already in that common primeval time. Here certainly much is wanting in precision; and the investigations on this point are as yet the least conclusive, the greater part being still left to conjecture."

Trusting almost wholly to the facts given by a comparison of the various Indo-European or Aryan dialects, he draws an ex-

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quisite picture of the early life of our Aryan ancestors, ere yet it had degenerated into that state of apathy, superstition and obscene immorality in which we now find it. The whole sketch will be familiar to those of our readers who have read the interesting compilation of Mrs. Spier on ancient India, or whose studies have led them to that mine of Indian wealth, the Indische Alterthumskunde of Lassen. The lecture was delivered before one of those brilliant intellectual audiences that so often meet in Berlin, and is well worthy of the capital that the Schlegels and their school so often delighted with original speculations in poetry, philosophy and history. Taking then these works and the History of English Scholarship in India as our guide, let us look for a little at the history of this youthful Science, and see how far in its methods or materials, it has been assisted by the research and linguistic studies of our own countrymen and others in India.

The founder of Comparative Philology properly so called was undoubtedly Leibnitz. But previous to his time there had been many speculations among the ancient Greek philosophers, and the schoolmen of the middle ages, as to the origin of language, the logical connexion between thought and expression, and in short the reason for all those rules and forms which we term grammar. That mysterious existence—Pythagoras, in whom is mythically represented all the knowledge of antediluvian times, and who, in germ at least, is looked upon as having anticipated some of the greatest discoveries of subsequent ages, himself represented the two wisest among things as number and name-giving. Heracleitus and Democritus disputed with each other as to the nature of 'words,' and instituted that question which continued down through the middle ages to divide the logical world. As seen in the discussions of their disciples Cratylus and Hermogenes, and as brought out in the dialogue of their pupil Plato called by the name of the former, the matter resolved itself into this. Do words naturally (φυσει) correspond to the objects that they represent, or are they entirely arbitrary, and applied by the mere arrangement (θεσει) of men? The objective and the subjective schools thus arose, which taken up respectively by Plato and Aristotle, in course of time attracted Lucretius, Cicero and Caesar among the Romans, and many of the Alexandrian and Byzantine philosophers. In the middle ages, the question assumed more of a logical aspect in the great dispute between the Realists and Nominalists, and in the case of some became a practical one to be determined by lists of words and grammatical laws. At this point the logical and grammatical elements separated, and the latter henceforth divested of the subtleties as well as the support of the former, resolved itself into purely lexical

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enquiries which were disfigured and rendered formidable to enquirers by the jargon of the schools. Towards the approach of modern times, however, in the fifteenth century, light began to dawn, and travellers of intelligence and observation, as they visited lands, and had intercourse with tribes hitherto unknown, were led to attend to the new languages that met their ear, and were attracted by resemblances in them to their own. Here then was Philology rescued from the grammatical quibbles of doctors, and the element of comparison at once brought to bear upon it. In the time of Charles V, an Italian, called Antonio Pigafetta, was allowed to accompany the great voyager Magelhaens in his search for the Western Passage. While defending his leader, he was wounded at the Phillippine Islands, but escaped, with seventeen of his fellows, and two valuable MSS. The one consisted of an amusing journal which was presented to the emperor and afterwards to Pope Clement VII, the other of three vocabularies of the dialects spoken in Brazil, Patagonia and Tidore in the Moluccas. The custom of making out such vocabularies of words soon spread, especially among the Dutch, and from MSS. which were stored in the library of Leyden, Reland published more extensive ones. To such was Klaproth afterwards indebted, when engaged in drawing up his laborious work, the "Asia Polyglotta."

Another source whence light was cast on the subjects embraced by our Science was biblical criticism, as pursued during the middle ages, and the period of the reformation in the sixteenth century. The study of Hebrew naturally led to that of its cognate languages, and comparisons between them were occasionally but blindly made. Julius Cæsar Scaliger and Bochart most distinguished themselves in this way. The early Missionaries, too, of the Roman Catholic Church, like the travellers of whom we have spoken, were led to devote attention to the languages of the tribes among whom they lived, and soon, as most convenient for comparison, the Lord's prayer in the different languages was adopted, just as at a later time, the parable of the prodigal son was used for the same purpose. Hence we have many collections of Paternosters, the best of which in those early days is the Mithridates of Gesner, published in 1555, in which we find, in addition, a list of all languages then known to be spoken. A "more extensive series" was in 1715 published at Amsterdam by Chamberlayne. The data for such had meanwhile been gradually accumulating. Such were the dim beginnings of a Science which in modern times has accomplished so much for history and ethnology. Up to this point, it presents none of the lineaments of a Science, nor can we recognize it as such. But at the beginning of the eighteenth

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century, Leibnitz, equally great as a philosopher, a mathematician, and a philologist, directed his attention to it. For the purpose of carrying out investigations on the subject, he founded the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, and in a memoir read before it in 1700, as well as in a letter to Tenzel, he distinctly enunciates the principles of the Science, as they have since been developed, proved and evolved in detail. Rejecting the absurd hypothesis which rested the proof of the unity of language on the Hebrew, he at once took the immense leap of shewing the connexion between comparative philology and ethnology, as expressed in that memorable sentence, which Bunsen quotes: "Brevis designatio meditationum de originibus gentium ductis 'potissimum ex indicio linguarum." Henceforth the two are combined together as one Science, and shed a bright light on the early history of nations, and on the origin of all that constitutes their nationality, where otherwise there would have been thick darkness.

It is now that we can classify the details of the history of the Science, and slightly altering Bunsen's division, consider it under these periods.

I. From Leibnitz to Sir William Jones—the period of fact-collecting, 1700 to 1794.

II. From Sir William Jones to William Von Humboldt—the period of lexical or glossarial affinity—the Indian or Sanskrit period, 1795 to 1835.

III. From William Von Humboldt to Bunsen—the period of grammatical affinity, 1835 to 1855.

It is with the second of these that we have chiefly to do.

Looking for a moment however at the first period, we see Leibnitz to be the founder of Comparative Grammar. It was he who first shewed that it is of value only in so far as the element of 'comparison' is brought to bear on it, and that it is the only guide in the dim beginnings of history, and the early migrations of nations. With him the matter remained for a time, and his hints, which were almost prophetic, were neglected. Fifty years afterwards the first of our English philologers, to whom the name can, with any justice, be applied, arose. John Harris published his 'Hermes' in 1751, but evidently ignorant of what Leibnitz had suggested before him, he again went back into the error of confining himself to mere etymology and grammatical quibbling. Bunsen says, that "he laid the foundation of gram-'matical philosophy," but this we question. He no more did this than Plato and Aristotle, followed by the schoolmen, had done, for a philosophy of language properly so called, and not of individual languages, must be based on comparison. Much more clever and suggestive were the speculations of his opponent Horne Tooke,

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who, in his "Diversions of Purley," has given us a work that will be remembered long after the 'Hermes.'

The man who most marks the spirit and results of this period, is a Jesuit of the name of Hervas, or more fully Don Lorenzo Hervas y Pandura. With all the enthusiasm and energy of his order, he pursued the study, and derived large information from his own brethren who had been in foreign lands, and whose linguistic skill has ever been famed. He was essentially a collector of words, and most industriously provided materials from which, with fuller information, and a more liberal spirit, his successors might deduce great laws. We see this especially in his "Vocabolario Poliglotto con prolegomeni sopra piu di 150 Lin-' gue," which was published in 1787, as a supplement to his "Aritmetica delle Nazioni."

The hint as to the connexion between our Science and Ethnology, which Leibnitz had distinctly given, was taken up by Blumenbach in the course of his physiological researches. His investigations were contiuued with increased success; and the connexion between Ethnology and Physiology more fully developed by succeeding scholars to the time of Cuvier in France, J. Müller in Germany, and Prichard in England. It was he who first *scientifically* established the truth of the Scripture statement as to the unity of the human race, and in so doing, he was not a little indebted to linguistic Science. But for many years after Leibnitz, no philologers properly so called arose, and the Science was represented in England merely by such men as Harris and Horne Tooke. Efforts were however made in the North of Europe by the Empress Catherine II. of Russia, to direct the attention of the learned of her kingdom, then emerging from the state of semi-barbarism, to the Science. Herself taking the initiative, she made out large comparative lists of words, and having deduced from the affinities that she discovered many laws that have since been more fully established, she passed over the work to Pallas, that he might carry it out still farther. Hence the "Linguarum Vocabularia Comparativa" was published in 1787.

Still this was a mere "Vocabularium" and nothing more, and the Science wanted a philosophic spirit or principle to be applied to it, that would cause it to take its place in the foremost rank of the inductive Sciences. Its scholars had hitherto been like men groping their way in the dim obscurity of a mist, delighted by occasional gleams of light, but wandering on for ever in uncertain paths. One attempt was made to reduce languages to order, and to classify them according to some fixed standard by Adelung so late as 1806. It was then that he published his "Mithridates," afterwards continued by Vater, a work that has

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since been to the Science what the 'Sententiæ' of Petrus Lombardus were to the philosophy of the middle ages. Bunsen correctly characterizes Adelung, when he says that he was "merely 'a linguist, and neither an accurate philologer nor a deep philo-'sopher."

The clue to unravel the intricacies of language, and to lay anew the foundations of Comparative Grammar philologically, as Leibnitz had done philosophically, was found in India, in the Sanskrit. From the moment that its stores of wealth were opened up by the adventurous curiosity of a few Englishmen, it was studied with avidity by all scholars—especially by the English and Germans; it became a stable foundation on which the whole nomology of the Science might, under the guidance of a strict induction, be built, and threw a light upon early history, so bright and so clear, that we can now read with a full sense of certainty the life of our early Aryan ancestors, ere they left their provincial plains in Iran, ere the Celt, followed at distant periods by the Pelasgian and the Teuton, emigrated to Europe, and those of their brethren whom they left behind, branched off and became the founders of the glory of Persia and Hindustan. We may well then look upon this as the beginning of a second period in the history of the Science, and date it from the foundation of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, and the first publication of Sir William Jones in 1783.

The question as to who was the first European that studied Sanskrit in India, is we fear too difficult to be certainly answered. The credit of it, and in their case it is of a very doubtful character, most probably lies with the Jesuit Missionaries in India. We have already seen that they often contributed materials from which comparative lists and tables of words were drawn up, and spared no labour nor expense to fit themselves for gaining an ascendancy over the minds of the heathen of those countries in which they preached. It was in the year 1545, that the great St. Francis Xavier landed in South India, and began a career unprecedented in the history of Missions for folly, enthusiasm and disinterested unselfishness. Meanwhile his friend and contemporary was laying in Europe the foundation of the society of Jesus, which had for one of its special objects, to preach the Gospel, as taught by the Roman Catholic Church, in heathen lands. The history of their efforts in India is well known, and has been more than once described in these pages. The college of St. Paul at Goa, and still more at Madura, contained many who in their own land, had been scholars of no mean order, and who devoted themselves to the study of the various dialects of South India, and especially to their parent the Sanskrit, with wonderful assiduity and success. While there is no ground for believing the statement of Father

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Martin that he had been able in five months so to learn Bengali as, in disguise, to receive instruction in what he calls "a Brahminical university," we cannot but believe that the Jesuits devoted themselves to the study of native tongues with a zeal which is but rarely manifested now.

Of all the order, Robert de Nobili of the Madura Mission was the most famous, so much so as to be termed after Xavier the second Apostle of the Indians. In the course of his missionary operations, he however adopted a plan directly the opposite of that of his great predecessor, resolving to ingratiate himself with the higher classes, with the Brahmins, and so to accomplish himself in all that constitutes a Brahmin, as to successfully pass for one of the west. It was in 1606 that he began his career, and raised the Mission at Madura to the highest position of all the Jesuit stations. He scrupled at nothing to accomplish his end, and it is indeed to be regretted that learning so great, and zeal so inextinguishable as his, should not have been used at least more honestly. Failing at first in convincing the Brahmins that he was one of their class, his skill was so great as to enable him to forge a document in the old and sacred Nagree character, in which it was stated that his, or the Roman order of Brahmins, was of greater antiquity than the Indian, and finding that even this was unsuccessful, he swore that he was himself descended from Brahma. He called himself by the name of *Tutwa-bod, haca Swamy*. The first of the semi-heathen works that he wrote, was the *Myána Upadésan*, written in Tamul, in which the glorious revelation of a Jehovah and a God in Christ, is accommodated to heathen ideas, in a manner calculated to shock every true Christian. This was succeeded by a sort of translation of the Romish liturgy, termed *Mantra-Málei*, and intended for the use of his native converts, but written in a style that was much too classical for them. His next literary attempt was one that rivals his first forgery in audacity—a *fifth veda* in which again the pure truth of Christianity is diluted with Theistic Brahminism. It is best known by its French name, *L'Ezour-védam*. It was sent from Pondicherry, where the MS. had been kept for some time, and in 1761, was deposited in the King's library in Paris. In 1778, it was published, and so far deceived the learned that the sceptic Voltaire cited it as a proof of the superiority of Hinduism to Christianity.

Robert de Nobili died in the year 1656, aged forty-five. His colleagues in the mission wrought with a similar enthusiasm, and in the case of one, so far as our subject is concerned, with even greater success. R. C. J. Beschi, known by his heathen name of *Viramamuni*, composed an epic poem entitled *Temba-vani*. In it he so mixed Christian story and truth with Hindu fable, as to make it acceptable to the Brahmins. Mr. Ellis of Madras has in-

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vestigated these works, and proved their utter want of authenticity. The following may be taken as a specimen of the Temba-vani. The infant Saviour is speaking of the Egyptian Mary or Ejesia Mariyal. "On the flying chariot of desire she arrived at the 'desert of sin; on the flying chariot of fear she repaired to the 'mountains of penitence; on the flying chariot of resplendent 'wisdom, she entered the grove of growing virtue; and on the 'flying chariot of my name, she shall enter the Kingdom of 'Heaven."

In 1664, Heinrich Noth, a German, studied the Sanskrit, in order "that he might be capable of disputing with the Brahmins." In 1699, the Jesuit Hanxleden landed on the Malabar Coast, and laboured as a missionary there for thirty years. He wrote several works in the vernacular of the district, as well as Grammars and Dictionaries. He died in 1793. He is often referred to by succeeding authors.

The successes, as they appeared to the Church to be, of the Jesuits in Madura, directed the attention of the Pope to them, and also of their own order. The assertion of Cardinal Wiseman is, without doubt, true—that it was in Rome that the languages and literature of the Hindus were first systematically studied in Europe. Father Paulino returned as a missionary from India, and took up his abode in the Propaganda at Rome. He was a man of no common rank, and demands a moment's attention. Jean-Philippe Werdin, or as he afterwards styled himself "Frater Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo Carmelita Excalceatus 'Malabariæ, Missionarius" was born A. D. 1748, near Mannersdorf, in South Austria. His parents moved in a humble sphere, being mere peasants, but they did their utmost to gratify his passion for knowledge, which was developed at a very early age. At the age of twenty he became a Carmelite monk; and after studying theology at Prague, he resolved to devote himself to Missionary work in India, and, for this purpose, entered the Mission-college of his order at Rome. After some time spent in studying with avidity the oriental languages, he was appointed to the Malabar Coast, and set out in 1774. There he devoted himself with all the zeal of an enthusiast to the work, acquired a ready facility in the dialects of the district, mastered the difficulties of Sanskrit, a knowledge of which was not at that time easily attainable; and printed many works in the vernacular, for the use of the Mission. He was raised to the dignity of Vicar General, and subsequently to that of Apostolic Visitor. After passing fourteen years in India, he returned home, bringing with him a more accurate and perfect knowledge of Sanskrit, and the dialects of the South of India, than any European had previously entered Europe with. In 1790 he returned to Rome. He was subsequently librarian at

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Padua, and secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda. On his again taking up his quarters at Rome in 1800, Pope Pius VII. appointed him to the responsible office of "Consultatore de la 'Congregation de l' Index, et Inspecteur des etudes au College 'Urbain de la Propagande." There he died in 1806, after a life of simple and busy activity. His works, which are too numerous to be all mentioned here, gained for him a European celebrity, and caused attention for the first time to be devoted to Sanskrit and the dialects of India. They were however distinguished by a spirit of bitterness and a love of controversy, so different from the life of simplicity and amiability which he is said to have led. His French biographer speaks of his "grande pro-'pension à la polemique."

Shortly after his return to Europe in 1790, he published his "Sidharubam," seu Gramatica Samscrdamica cum dissertatione historica-critica in linguam Samscrdamicam." It is to be regretted that in this as in his other Sanskrit works, he uses the Tamil character throughout, and not always with accuracy. The year after, he published his great work on the Brahminical religion, which excited so much controversy, and was attacked by P. Georgi and Anquetil Du Perron, "Systema Brahmanicum liturgicum, mythologicum, civile, ex monumentis Indicis musei Borgiani Velitris, dissertationibus historico-criticis illustravit." He began to publish the famous Dictionary of Amarasinha, under the title of "Amarasinha seu Dictionarii Samscrdamici, sectio prima; de coelo, ex tribus ineditis codicibus Indicis manuscriptis cum versione Latina," 1798. The whole work was afterwards issued from the Serampore press (1808), under the editorship of Colebrooke. In the same year, he published a small work "De antiquitate et affinitate linguae Zendicae et Samscrdamicae Germanicae Dissertatio," and in 1802, a work philologically of still more importance "De Latini sermonis origine et cum orientalibus linguis connexione." In 1804, he issued his great work, the last of those on India, "Vyacarana seu locupletissima Samscrdamicae linguae Institutio." In all, in the short space of fourteen years after his departure from India, he published twenty works in volumes, most of which were large quartos, on subjects chiefly connected with India. It has been truly said, that had not his fame been eclipsed by the rising star of English scholarship in Calcutta, he would have held a higher position among scholars, than he now does. His great fault was theorising, neglecting the linguistic wealth, of which he was in actual possession, and a judicious use of which would have immortalized him, for speculations which were as absurd as they were mystical. There was much ground for the sensible advice given to him by his adversary Du Perron, "An lieu de passer le temps à donner de vingt-

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quatre pages, des trente, des cent pages qui ne prouvent rien ou tres peu, de mettre en opposition cent, deux cent mots de differents langues, le missionaire ferait mieux, d'enrichir le public d'une bonne et complete traduction de l'Amarasinha, ou bien de publier les dictionnaires de Hanxleden et de Biscoping."

Such a man as the adventurous and learned Anquetil Du Perron was well entitled to give such an advice to Paulinus, for he had preceded him in his researches into some of the languages of India. Born at Paris in 1731, he distinguished himself as a student at the University of that city, especially in the study of Hebrew, which of course introduced him to the cognate Arabic, and also to the Persian. Destined at first for the church, he studied for some time in the theological seminary at Auxerre, and afterwards at Amersfoort. But his pursuits were as little theological as possible, for he burned with a desire to go on with the oriental languages, and if possible, to visit oriental nations. Returning to Paris, he had access to the king's library, and, by his eagerness in study, attracted the attention of the keeper of the MSS. the Abbe Sallier, who introduced him into the society of the learned of the day. In the course of his researches, he fell in with a Zend MS. of the Vendidád, which to him was a sealed book, and at once fired his curiosity. The whole subject of the Parsees, their language and literature, was at that time enveloped in obscurity and almost mystery. Early in the eighteenth century such men as Dr. Hyde Bourchier and Dr. Fraser had brought Zend manuscripts to Europe, but they had long lain in forgetfulness. To the young Du Perron, a strange interest seemed to hang over the Parsees. Since the famous battle of Kádseáh in A. D. 638, when the brave Rustam Ferokhzad was routed by the Arabs and the imperial standard was lost, and the subsequent battle of Máhánund, when the last of the Sassanians—Yezdíjrid was driven from the throne of Persia, and his subjects massacred or led to seek safety in flight, the Parsees had been lost to history. With their king murdered in his fugitive wanderings, and their General Phíranzín slain by the pursuers; the exiled race hid themselves in the fastnesses of the hills of Khorassan, and soon after fled to Hormazd in the Persian Gulf; from thence they carried their sacred fire with them to Diu, and, after a stay of nineteen years, they settled permanently at Sanjan (St. John) in Guzerat in A. D. 717. From that time till the sixteenth century, there is silence regarding them, and many had been the speculations of the learned of Europe as to their fate. But as Europeans visited India, and gradually obtained possession of parts of it, this race attracted attention, and Henry Lord, the first Chaplain to the Surat factory, published an account of them in 1630. Allusions more or less correct are made to them in the works of most of the early European travellers in India, but all

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such are most unsatisfactory, and only served to heighten western curiosity. The young Du Perron was resolved to spare no trouble nor pains to solve the mystery of their language and their sacred books on the very spot.

A French expedition was at this time being fitted out for India, to strengthen their cause against both the natives and the British in the east. He at once enlisted as a private soldier, notwithstanding the representations of the recruiting Captain, who well knew who he was. With his knapsack on his back he set out in November, 1745, and was treated with the greatest courtesy and respect on board. After a nine months' voyage he landed at Pondicherry. He there acquired a knowledge of modern Persian, and at once set out for Chandernagore, as being the place where he could best learn Sanskrit. He was there however disappointed, while a severe fever by which he was seized, and the capture of the town by the English, determined him to return. Alone he set out, a penniless student, and with incredible zeal and energy, accomplished what few Europeans have ever attempted—a journey on foot from Chandernagore to Pondicherry. Notwithstanding, and often in consequence, of many dangers, he thoroughly enjoyed the opportunity that he ever had of mixing with the natives, and becoming acquainted with all the details of their life and religion. In 100 days he accomplished the distance, and, at the end of his journey, had the happiness of meeting one of his brothers. He embarked with him on board a ship bound for Surat, but preferring a pedestrian tour on the West Coast, as he had already had on the east, he landed at Mahè, and thence himself proceeded to Surat. Here he gradually induced two Parsee Desturs or priests from Guzerat, to give him instructions in Zend, in which he soon became proficient enough. He had now reached the object which he had so long and so earnestly desired, and formed a plan for studying, not only all the languages and dialects of India, but its whole history, literature and antiquities. He chose Benares, as the place best suited for his purpose, and was about to set out for it, when news arrived of the fall of Pondicherry. Forced to return to France, he sailed in an English vessel to London, and, after a visit to Oxford,* arrived in Paris in May, 1762, his only wealth being his much valued manuscripts.

* Du Perron, in his Zendavesta, alluded to the University of Oxford in no flattering terms, and spoke with disrespect of some of those who were friends of Sir W. Jones. Jones thereupon addressed an anonymous letter to him, characterised by the strong and somewhat intemperate language that might have been expected from a youth, but at the same time by great brilliancy and *esprit*. In Lord Teignmouth's Life of Jones will be found a correspondence between him and Dr. Hunt, the Laudian professor of Arabic at Oxford, on the subject. When Jones visited Paris in 1780, he thought that Du Perron studiously avoided meeting him.

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But honours awaited him. Through the interest of the Abbè Barthelemy, he was appointed to the post of interpreter of oriental languages in the king's library, and in 1763, was admitted as an associate into the Academy. In 1771, he published his "Zendavesta," in which were printed all his MSS., a life of Zoroaster, and an account of his travels. In 1778, he attacked some statements of Montesquieu in his "Legislation Orientale." In 1786, appeared his well known "Recherches historiques et geographiques sur l' Inde," which was followed by a treatise on commerce. But the revolution came and broke in upon that peace which as a student and a scholar he had now begun to love. Shutting himself up in his study, his biographer tells us that he had no friends but his books, no recreation, but in the recollection of his dear Brahmins and Desturs. In 1798, he published his "L"Inde en rapport avec l' Europe," and afterwards a Latin translation of one of the Upanishads. He was engaged in editing a translation of the "Voyage Du Pere Paulin de St. Barthelemy dans l' Inde" when death called him away in 1805. We have already alluded to his controversy with Paulinus.

He was the greatest linguist of his time, and all his erudition was used with a sound common sense and a correct judgment. As a student he was zealous and as a friend disinterested, while a certain eagerness of spirit, and conviction of the certainty of the philological results, at which he had arrived, combined with a hatred to the English, natural at that time to the countrymen of Labourdonnais and Dupleix, led him to fall into the errors of vanity and absurd speculation, which we have seen distinguished Paulinus. He was often attacked by other scholars, and his merit undervalued by the learned of his own day and city. The English are said to have offered him 30,000 livres for his MS. of the translation of the Zendavesta, but he declined it, reserving the honor for France. As a philologer he rather supplied material for future discovery than established any new philosophical principle. His name is best known as connected with the Zend.

At a period considerably later than he, in the year 1816, the great Danish Philologer, Rask, completed what Du Perron had begun. At first he devoted himself exclusively to his own native tongue, and to the class that contains it—the Scandinavian. But his success in it, as seen in his "Ursprung der 'Altner-dischen oder Isländischen Sprache," fired him with a desire to extend the sphere of his knowledge, and to gratify that curiosity, which, since a child, he had felt regarding foreign countries. He visited Petersburgh, coming south he went into the very heart of Africa, and then turned his steps towards India. He made philological tour of a large part of the world, studying grammatically

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and using practically, the language of every district through which he passed; until at last, with a view carefully to investigate the Zend, he settled for a time at Bombay. There he continued till 1821, amassing materials and information of immense scientific importance. He lived to realize but half his own designs and the hopes of his friends—he sank into a premature grave. But he was not taken away ere he had prepared a plan of classification for the two great classes of Turanian and Iranian languages, and anticipated many subsequent discoveries, especially the law of the transposition of sounds, called by Bopp *Lautvers chiebung*. He laid the foundation of Zend Grammar so firmly, and asserted its originality with such pertinacity, that he raised a long continued discussion on the subject, which has not been settled from the time of Du Perron to the present day. Mr. Romer's pamphlet takes up the side against the Zend, while the introductory notice of Professor H. H. Wilson seems to leave it still in the balance. A slight allusion to the controversy may not now be out of place.

An accurate knowledge of the Zend was, as we have seen, first introduced into Europe by Anquetil Du Perron. By means of translations of works written in it, especially of the Zendavesta and of separate papers on the subject in one of the French literary societies, he strove to propagate his own conviction of the fact that Zend and Pehlevi were authentic languages of high antiquity, through the medium of which, in the Zendavesta, Zoroaster handed down his religious system. He held that they were of equal authority in a philological point of view with Sanskrit, that they were affiliated with it, and not even derived from it. He was led to these views so strongly expressed, partly, no doubt, by an enthusiasm at first awakened by an inextinguishable curiosity which led him to undergo the greatest hardships for the sake of information, but also by internal evidence in the language itself. Professor Rask, without pledging himself to details as to the time of Zoroaster, follows Du Perron in most of his opinions, holding that the sacred books of the Parsees are written in a language that was spoken previous to the time of Alexander; Erskine, that great scholar, modifies this opinion so far, that while he believes in the antiquity and authenticity of the Zend, he holds that it was never a spoken language, but rather a composite of some peculiar dialect of Sanskrit, and spoken Persian, made by the Parsee priests, and used for the compilation of the Vendidád, which he believes to have been made about A. D. 229. Adelung holds that all the experience of philology is opposed to the *invention* of a language, and that even were such a thing possible, the results would not present the characteristics which Zend does. Bopp was fully convinced of the originality of the Zend. From the fact that in it, there are many archaisms and

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primitive forms, more ancient than Sanskrit, and many that are also occasionally met in the Vedas, he did not hesitate to base the greater part of his Comparative Grammar, on a comparison between Sanskrit and Zend. Dr. Wilson of Bombay, well known at once as a missionary and a scholar, and entitled to form an opinion from his familiarity with the Persian and Arabic literature and languages, holds that while the Zend may have been forged by the Parsees, it must have taken place before their emigration into India. He says, "viewing the matter in its 'general aspect, I have no hesitation in declaring that none of the 'exiled and depressed Parsee priests in India can be supposed to 'have had the ability to invent that language." Rask's masterly letter in defence of the authenticity of the Zend, written to Mr. Elphinstone, and printed in the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, settled the matter for Continental scholars, who have since, in all their philological researches, taken it for granted.

The first to dispute the title of Zend to this honour was Richardson in his Persian Dictionary. Sir William Jones distinctly stated that the Zend had been fabricated by the Parsi priests from many dialects, especially Sanskrit; that its literature is worthless; that the whole dates no further back than the Mahommedan conquest of Persia. Colonel Vans Kennedy is even stronger on this side, and Professor H. H. Wilson himself, while he seems to leave it in the balance, rather inclines to the last opinion. It is now very much a question between English and Continental scholars, and can only be fully decided by a more accurate knowledge of the documents in question. This we are sure, many of our countrymen in the Bombay Presidency might, at little cost and labour, obtain. Dr. Wilson, with his already great learning on cognate subjects, and his valuable collection of Zend, Pehlevi and Persian MSS., seems well fitted to settle the matter. It is to be regretted that none of the Parsees in India are so learned in their own language and literature, as to defend them against the attacks that have been made upon them, involving as they do in their truth the baselessness of their whole religious system and beliefs.

Mr. Romer, from his official position at Broach and Surat, was led to take up this question. His views are eminently controversial, and expressed in a rambling and unmethodical manner. This we regret, as he seems to have had both opportunities and ability for judging correctly in the matter. He was led to correspond with the great Lassen on the subject, and gives the following account of his own and the Professor's respective views:—

"The learned Professor had sent to the Asiatic Society a portion of the text (the first five chapters) of the Vendidád, then just published

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by him. Finding that the Pehlivi translation was not given with the text, or noticed in an accompanying short preface, the writer offered for the acceptance of Professor Lassen some extracts he possessed of the book, which contained, with the Zend text, a Pehlivi translation; forwarding with these papers three letters, which under the signature of "Kámgár," had appeared in *Allen's Indian Mail*. He also, in the letter addressed to Professor Lassen on the occasion, referred to the opinion of Professor Westergaard, as mentioned above, sending for this purpose the transcript of a few lines he had written to Dr. Wilson on the subject.

"Professor Lassen, in a courteous answer, expressed his regret at not being able to subscribe to the writer's views of the Zend language, 'which he considers to be a genuine one, chiefly on two grounds; first, that it agrees so intimately in its system of consonants with the ancient Persian, that it must be considered to have been a sister-language, chiefly distinguished by its vowel system, which exhibits several distinct traces of a modern date. And that it would, in the second place, be necessary to suppose, if the Zend language was fictitious, that the Pársis possessed a knowledge of comparative grammar, the Zend being rich in Indo-Germanic analogies.'

"To this it was replied, that putting the Zend and Persian, without adverting to some common progenitor, in the relationship of sisters, was new and worthy of consideration, taken in connection with the other distinct opinions on the question, those of Anquetil du Perron, of Colonel Rawlinson, of Sir W. Jones, and other English Orientalists. That it was far from clear how the agreement of the Zend in its consonantal system with that of the Persian, was proof of the relationship assigned to them. The same alliance might be said to exist between the Persian and the "Asmáni Zabán," for both use the same alphabet, and the letters have the same powers. And further it was remarked, there could be no doubt, that for some time after the Arabian conquest, the Persian language continued to be written in its ancient indigenous character, (eventually superseded by the modern Arabic alphabet, itself an off-shoot of Syriac,) the same character which is now employed in writing Zend, and is sometimes used for writing Persian at the present day. But above all, it was observed, that as the vowel system of the ancient Persian character was identical with that of the Sanskrit, it must have lent its aid, in no small degree, to facilitate the presumed composition of the Zend.

"It has been said that analogy exists, in regard to the loss of inflexions, between the English language and Persian. I have not been able to discover this, but rather the reverse. From, we will say, the age of Alfred to that of Shakespeare, an interval of about seven hundred years, the rude Anglo-Saxon, gradually dropping most of its inflexions, and adopting foreign words to an unlimited extent, has become in the process of time the copious, expressive, polished, and flexible English in use. But the speech of Persia, we are sure, for the last thousand years, has remained the same perfect tongue, unaltered in its grammatical structure, we read in the Sháh-Námah. And judging from proper names found under Greek forms in the his-

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torians of Alexander, such as "Parysatis" for "*Pari-zadah*," fairy-born; "Roxana" for "*Raushanak*," little spendour, and others, there appears no reason to doubt that the Persian of that day was the same tongue in which Firdausi wrote. The use of the diminutive *k* in "Raushana*k*" as the same letter, with similar effect, is employed in "Marda*k*," manikin, "Pesara*k*," little boy, in modern Persian, affords a pregnant instance of their identity.

"In the sequel, Professor Lassen mentioned, that, having no accurate knowledge of Pehlivi, he declined offering any opinion on Professor Westergaard's views of it. This is unfortunate, for M. Burnouf considers the Pehlivi translation to be an indispensable adjunct to the Zend text, but if ultimately considered as spurious, Zend must run the risk of undergoing the same fate, unless some adequate cause can be found or imagined for joining a fabricated translation to a true text, and acknowledging both with equal religious respect."

He holds moreover that the Parsees of India were sufficiently learned to have forged the Zend and its books, for three centuries ago they translated the Pehlevi version of the Vendidâd into Sanskrit, that with the aid of the Sanskrit, it was perfectly possible to invent the Zend; that if the Zend contains so many more primitive forms than the Sanskrit, greater results might have been expected from it in a literary point of view; that many of these archaisms may be "nothing better than the clerical errors 'of ignorant copyists," and finally that, if we are to believe the authenticity and antiquity of the Zend, its supporters must tell us when, where and how its books were produced, and remove the obscurity that rests over its early history. In whatever way this question may finally be decided, it will not affect the general laws and conclusions of Comparative Philology, however much its decision in the negative may render obsolete such a laborious work as Bopp's Grammar. If proved to be authentic, then will India have contributed to Science two of those glorious sister-tongues, spoken by our Aryan ancestors, ere yet they emigrated from their provincial seats, and, as they colonised, civilized the world.

While up to nearly the close of last century, the honour of having studied Sanskrit and the vernacular dialects of India must be awarded to the Romish missionaries of the Jesuit order and to the French, there seems to have been a spirit of enquiry into them gradually springing up among the English servants of the Company. As rulers of an increasing territory, over almost every inch of which they had to fight, they had too much to do to search after the hidden in either language or literature. Plassy was fought in 1757, and Bengal, Behar and Orissa became British property fully by the treaty of Allahabad in 1765. The peace and government and revenue of this country must be settled,—and settled too, by men who in point of numbers and

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often of *morale* were quite unfit for the task. The majority of the British then in India were content with a perfect familiarity with the various vernacular dialects, and aimed only at a thorough facility in using them, so that by intimate intercourse with the natives, they might the better discharge their duties. Cut off from European society, separated, by correspondence, from England by a distance in time of nearly two years, they were driven to find in native society what we now have in all the luxuries and amenities of English civilization. Never since these have been so largely introduced overland, and added at once to the comforts and inefficiency of both branches of the Service, have they known the natives so well, or been so much beloved by them. At the same time, this state of things was accompanied by evils of the very worst character, dissipation and debauchery of all kinds, and concubinage of a thoroughly oriental character. The absence of a middle Anglicised class of natives, who might save the trouble of personally attending to the details of duty, put many of our countrymen in positions, where, as we know, the tendency was to become so enamoured of native life, and so well acquainted with the native language, as to forget the dignity and nationality of the Briton, the responsibility and duty of the Christian. Hence all the linguistic likings and power of the British were diverted into a vernacular and utilitarian channel, and a facility acquired in it which we shall look for in vain now. With the vices and follies of our early rule of India, have we not also given up much of the manliness and common sense? Do not passing events teach us that Clive was wiser than his modern successors, that his policy of ruling Asiatics on oriental principles, was wiser than that of white-washing them with semi-Anglicism?

So early, however, as the time of Warren Hastings did the English begin to attend to the languages and literature of India, and he was the first, with a rare wisdom and a sound policy, to encourage the study of them among his subordinates. Though not himself a learned man in the highest sense of the term, he created such. He was the Maecenas of the English Government, and but for him the way would not have been prepared, as it was, for the brilliant discoveries of the Asiatic Society. In 1765, Bengal became ours. In 1776, or eleven years afterwards, the first fruits of the efforts of Hastings were seen in the code of Gentoo laws. The following sentences used by Hastings in that letter which he wrote to the chairman of the Court of Directors, recommending them to undertake the publication of Wilkins' translation of the 'Bhagavat Git,' shews the nature of the policy which was pursued even at that early period of our history, and which raised so many men of learning and utility to the state. "I have 'always regarded the encouragement of every species of useful dili-

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'gence in the servants of the Company, as a duty appertaining to 'my office, and have severely regretted that I have possessed such 'scanty means of exercising it, especially to such as required an 'exemption from official attendances, there being few emoluments 'in this service, but such as are annexed to official employment, 'and few offices without employment. Yet I believe I may take 'it upon me to pronounce, that the service has, at no period, more 'abounded with men of cultivated talents, of capacity for business, 'and liberal knowledge, qualities which reflect the greatest lustre 'on their possessors, by having been the fruit of long and labour-'ed application at a season of life, and with a license of conduct 'more apt to produce dissipation, than excite the desire of im-'provement. . . . Nor is the cultivation of language and 'science, for such are the studies to which I allude, useful 'only in forming the moral character and habits of the Service. 'Every accumulation of knowledge, and especially such as is ob-'tained by social communication with people, over whom we exer-'cise a dominion, founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the 'state: it is the gain of humanity; in the specific instance which I 'have stated, it attracts and conciliates distant affections, it lessens 'the weight of the chain by which the natives are held in subjec-'tion, and it imprints in the heart of our own countrymen the 'sense and obligation of benevolence."

It is said that the first Briton who acquired from the Pundits a correct knowledge of Sanskrit, was a gentleman of the name of Marshall. Beyond the fact that he was engaged in the extensive silk filatures of the then flourishing Cossim Bazaar, we have no information regarding him. We believe the general impression that the Pundits were unwilling to reveal the literary and sacred wealth stored up in the mysterious Devnagari character, to have been a mistaken one, or at least founded on insufficient methods, and to have been a misapprehension of the fact, that *among the Hindoos*, the knowledge of it was confined only to the higher castes.

In 1776, Nathaniel Brassy Halhed published "A Code of Gen-'too laws or Ordinations of the Pundits, from a Persian transla-'tion made from the original, written in the Sanskrit language." It is strikingly characteristic of the Anglo Saxon character that the first work, produced under the patronage of the British Government in India, was one having reference to law and not literature proper. This gave a tone to all the early researches of the first scholars, and even although Wilkins' translation of the 'Bhagavat Git' was shortly after published, it was not for some time that the early poetry, the literature of early history, was given forth to the world. Hence too it was that Persian and Arabic were studied before Sanskrit, Persian being then the lan-

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guage of the courts. For the purpose of making as perfect a translation of the Hindu laws as possible, learned Pundits were invited from all parts of Bengal. From them a true text was first of all procured. This was of course a difficult matter, as the work of no special individual author was wanted, but selections from all sources of those laws, under the operation of which the Hindus had lived from time immemorial. The laws when selected were by them translated into Persian, and from Persian into a literal English version by Halhed. With a becoming modesty, so unlike the conduct of some modern scholars, whose learning, almost entirely that of their Pundits, they have boasted to be their own, the author stated that all was the work of the Brahmans, save only the English dress in which it was clothed. The work was important with reference to a sound policy in Government, and to the wise administration of justice among the natives. To us, in the present day, it is invested with immense interest, as in the preliminary treatise prefixed to it, we have the first full and philological account of the Sanskrit as a language.

The work of Paulinus was published in 1790, this in 1776—fourteen years previous. The native compilers began their work in May, 1773, "answering to the month *Jeyt*, 1180 (Bengal 'style) and finished by the end of February, 1775, answering 'to the month Phañgoon, 1182 (Bengal style.") Hastings was accused by some of the Continental *Savans* of having forced the Pundits to give up their legal and religious treasures, of having offered very high bribes. So far was this from being the case that, as he himself says in the preface to 'Wilkins's Bhagavat Git,' the information "was contributed both cheerfully and gratuitously by men of the most 'respectable characters for sanctity and learning in Bengal, 'who refused to accept more than the moderate daily subsistence of one rupee each, during the time that they were 'employed on the compilation." It is fitting that we should here give the names of those Pundits who were the first to display the riches of their language before the curious eyes of Hastings and Halhed: They were Ram Gopaul Neeáyálunkár, Bereeshur Punchánun, Kisshen Juin Neeáyálunkár, Báneeshur Beedyálunkár, Kerpa Ram Terk Siedhant, Kisshen Chund Sárel Bhoom, Goree Kunt Terk Siedhant, Kisshen Keisub Terkálungkár, Seetá Rám Bhet, Kalee Sunker Beedyábágees and Sham Sunder Neeáy Siedhant.

Two years afterwards, Halhed published his Grammar, and when in England an English version of Martial, and a translation from the Persian, illustrating the Researches of the Asiatic Society. After the full details of his life already given in the

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Review,* and that so recently, we need not do more here than say that he was the school-fellow of Dr. Parr,† Sheridan, and Sir William Jones, under Dr. Sumner; that after distinguishing himself as a classical scholar, he went to India in 1771, continued seven years engaged in hard work, in which time he acquired an independence, spent a life partly of literary effort, the fruits of which never passed beyond his own circle, which embraced the families of Hastings and Impey, and of political excitement, being in Parliament for some time, made himself notorious by advocating with blind zeal the cause of the prophet Brothers, lost all his fortune in the French funds, took office in the India House, passed the close of his life in ease and comfort in London, and finally died in 1830. He was a man fitted to do much more than he accomplished, to take up the whole field afterwards so well occupied by Jones and Colebrooke, and introduce the Indian form of orientalism to Europe. As it was, he was no unworthy predecessor of these men, and may well be considered the father of Sanskrit philology. His nephew, of the same name and in the same service, is perhaps as famous as himself. So perfect was his knowledge of the vernacular tongue and habits of the natives, that he could pass among them for one of themselves, without the slightest fear of suspicion. Like "Hindu Stuart," he might well have been called "Hindu Halhed."

If the elder Halhed introduced the dawn of English scholarship in the east, Sir W. Jones may be well said to have brought in the full noonday. It is out of our province to enter into the details of the life of a man so well known, and of whose genius every Anglo-Indian must be so proud; but a notice of the outlines of his life may be necessary. Born in London in 1746, he lost his father when only three years of age, and the education of his childhood thus devolved on one of the best of mothers. She was well fitted to be the mother of a philologer, from the wise and successful methods that she pursued in his instruction. At the age of seven he entered Harrow school, then presided over by Dr. Thackeray, and set himself to his new studies, at first with diligence and moderate results, soon with enthusiasm and

* Vol. XXVI. Art. III.

† At page 468 of Dr. Johnstone's life of Dr. Parr, will be found an interesting letter from Halhed to Parr on the subject of his leaving India, written November 5, 1773, two years after his arrival, when he felt himself compelled to use the following language: "Give me then leave to inform you that India (the wealthy, the luxurious and the lucrative) is so exceedingly ruined and exhausted, that I am not able by any means, not with the assistance of my education in England, and the exertion of all my abilities here, to procure even a decent subsistence. I have studied the Persian language with the utmost application in vain." Hastings had not yet taken him by the hand.

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brilliant success. He had arrived at his fifteenth year when Thackeray was succeeded by Dr. Sumner, and a turn was at that time given to his studies which influenced his whole future life. Satisfied with Greek and Latin, his attention was directed to Hebrew and Arabic, and the door once opened, he pursued the path which led him to discover the literary wealth of India. At the age of seventeen he was matriculated in Oxford (1764.) Here he pursued the study of Arabic with avidity, being encouraged by a fellow-student, and assisted in the pronunciation by a Syrian of Aleppo, whom he discovered in London. The Arabic led him to the Persian, and between these two languages, historically and geographically connected, though belonging to different families, he soon discovered a close affinity. His Latin and Greek were not neglected, and in the vacation he added to his linguistic stores a knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese. So successfully had he even then prosecuted his study of the oriental tongues, that the Duke of Grafton offered him the post of interpreter of eastern languages. He declined it in favour of his faithful Syrian Mirza, to whom, after all, it was not given. He now began the study of German, and in his twenty-first year, his Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry; this labour was soon followed by an attempt to master the Chinese. He was honoured by the English Government in being chosen to translate literally into French an eastern MS., containing the life of Nadir Shah, which the king of Denmark had brought with him to England for the purpose. This he soon accomplished, the work was published in 1770, with a treatise on Oriental Poetry, written in the same style, prefixed to it, and he received the thanks of his Danish Majesty, with the honour of being created a member of the Royal Society of Copenhagen. This was his first publication. His fame as an Orientalist began to spread, and his friendship was sought for by Count Reviczki, at that time Polish Ambassador at the English Court. The correspondence between them, given by Lord Teignmouth in his life of Jones, is thoroughly oriental in subject.

He early turned his attention towards India as the place where he could best carry out his design in the study of the eastern tongues. He had long looked for an appointment there, and after in vain attempting to enter Parliament for his own University, he at last, in March 1783, received from the Ministry of Lord Shelburne, the appointment of Judge in the Supreme Court of Fort William, and having been knighted and married, he set sail a month after, and landed at Calcutta in September. His arrival was most opportune. The fostering patronage and intelligence of Warren Hastings had, as we have seen, raised not a few scholars, who, in obscurity and silence, had set

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themselves to Indian studies. They wanted but a guide, a head, a spirit of power and enthusiasm, who would help their weakness, and direct their scattered efforts into one channel. In all respects Sir William Jones was fitted to accomplish this, and though, so far as India was concerned, but a learner himself, he immediately received from the scholars of Calcutta that homage and admiration which his past achievements and his all-embracing genius entitled him to. Even before landing, the idea of a Society similar to those of the learned in most of the European capitals had struck him, and he found admirable materials for it already existing. The month of January, 1784, just one year after his arrival, saw the Asiatic Society established. The Governor General, Warren Hastings, and the members of Council—Edward Wheeler, John Macpherson, and John Stables, Esquires, at once agreed, on invitation, to become patrons, Hastings declined the office of President, which was naturally conferred on Sir William Jones. The list of the first members who constituted the society may not be uninteresting. It contains the names of some great English scholars, and may serve as a good accompaniment to that already given of the Pundits who assisted Halhed in compiling his Gentoo Laws:—*President* Sir William Jones, Knight; *Secretary*—John Herbert Harington; David Anderson, Esq., Lieut. James Anderson, Francis Balfour, M. D., Geo. Hilaro Barlow, Esq., John Bristow, Esq., Ralph Broome, Esq., Reuben Burrow, Esq., General John Carnac, Sir Robert Chambers, Knight, William Chambers, Esq., Charles Chapman, Esq., Bunish Crisp, Esq., Charles Croftes, Esq., Major William Davy, Jonathan Duncan, Esq., Francis Fowke, Esq., Francis Gladwin, Esq., Thomas Graham, Esq., Lieut. Charles Hamilton, Thomas Law, Esq., Nathanael Middleton, Esq., John David Paterson, Esq., Capt. John Scott, Henry Vansittart, Esq. and Charles Wilkins, Esq.

Among those who joined it soon after its formation, were Warren Hastings, Wilford, Hyde, Fraser, &c. The Society soon became a means, not only for publishing the researches of scholars already made, but of increasing that spirit of linguistic and scientific curiosity, which Hastings had just created. Whilst Sir W. Jones was the very life of it, and took a very large share in its duties and exercises, it was by no means to the exclusion of others. Had the Society done nothing more than publish its invaluable volumes—the Asiatic Researches, its end must be looked upon as having been accomplished. Amid much that is crude and hasty, amid not a little that is hypothetical and contradictory, there is a mine of wealth, a treasure of oriental lore, to which there is no parallel, in the twenty-one volumes that compose the work, and also in the early numbers of the

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Journal. The object of the Society was a wide and glorious one, and well was it carried out in these early days. In his discourse delivered on the institution of the Society, Sir W. Jones tells us that the design of it occurred to him while still on his way to India, with the land of his ambitious longings before him, Persia on his left, and a breeze from Arabia on the stern. The position, which to a man of his acquirements and refinement was so pleasing, was surely full of suggestion. In the centre of orientalism, in the focus of Asiatic lore, with streams of the associations of old converging upon him, why should he not establish among the English in Bengal a society into which all eastern life and thought should pour their wealth? And nobly did he and his successors, on whom his mantle fell, carry out the idea—Colebrooke, Prinsep and Wilson. The services rendered by the Society to Comparative Philology have been vast, as these names testify. We must refer the reader to a former article of this *Review** for a critical digest of the works of Sir W. Jones. An accomplished judge, he yet in his leisure hours found time to raise a monument to himself of a splendour, and an extent, which will never pass away. He crowded into the comparatively short period of his Indian career—eleven years from 1783 to 1794, when he died,—more than any other man has accomplished for India during a life-time. If he did not advance the Science of Comparative Philology by the discovery of new laws, or the enunciation of new principles, he gathered together a collection of data from which others have with philosophic skill generalised, and applied his discoveries to the elucidation of history, with a zeal and a success before unknown. He was a linguist, comparative philologist, mythologist, archæologist and historian, all in one; while his attainments in Natural History and the Physical Sciences were for his day most respectable.

Charles Wilkins was the warm friend and supporter of Jones in his efforts to establish the Asiatic Society. His is the high honor of having first critically studied the Sanskrit,—an honor ascribed to him by Sir W. Jones himself, whom he sometimes aided in his studies. Born in 1749, at Frome, he gave evidence in his very infancy of a mind superior in energy and power to that of most youths. His uncle, who was a London banker, obtained a writership for him; and in 1770, he arrived in Calcutta. He set himself to the study of Sanskrit immediately on his arrival, and produced the first direct translation from that language, rendering faithfully and attractively into English the 'Bhagavat Geeta.' It was published in a quarto volume in 1785, under the title of "The Bhagavat-Geeta or Dialogue of Krishna and

* Vol. VI., p. 209.

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'Arjoon, in eighteen lectures, with notes. London." In 1778, as we have seen, Halhed's Bengallee Grammar was published. All the efforts of the Calcutta orientalists were at first baulked by the impossibility of obtaining, either in India or England, types of the various characters. The inventive and persevering genius of Wilkins soon surmounted the difficulty, and with his own hand he cut the types from which Halhed's Grammar was printed, and soon after also a set of Persian types.* Warren Hastings was not slow to appreciate the extraordinary energy and ability of Wilkins. His health having given way under the pressure of his official duties, combined with his oriental studies, he allowed him to go to Benares.

There, amid learned Pundits, he assiduously pursued these studies. He was, however, soon forced to return to England; and at Bath in 1787, he published a translation of the 'Hitopadesha of Vishna Sarma.' Removing soon after to Hawkhurst in Kent, he set himself to the writing of a Sanskrit Grammar. He again repeated in England what he had done in Calcutta, making a set of Devanagri characters in steel, as well as the matrices and moulds, from which he cast a whole fount of types. With these he was proceeding with the printing of his Grammar, and had accomplished twenty pages of it, when his house was burnt down to the ground, and his types destroyed. Had Wilkins been a less persevering man, this would have been a great loss to oriental literature. But he soon repaired it, and in 1806, the Grammar was finally issued from his press.

Having thus gained for himself a great reputation as a scholar, the Court of Directors availed themselves of his services in England. In 1801, they appointed him their librarian, and in this capacity he rendered them great service, and made the library attractive to many visitors. In 1805, he became oriental examiner at Haileybury and Addiscombe. In these offices, he continued till his death, which took place in 1836, when he had nearly attained his eighty-seventh year. Scientific societies both at home and abroad were not slow to recognize his merits; and George IV., in 1833, made him "Knight Bachelor, and Knight Commander of the Guelphic order." Sir Charles Wilkins, L. L. D., was well worthy of the title applied to him by the Royal Society of Literature, and engraved on the gold medal with which they presented him "Carolo Wilkins, Literaturae Sanskritae Principi."

* In the Asiatic Annual Register, for 1801, some doggerel verse occurs, entitled "Literary Characteristics of the most distinguished members of the Asiatic Society, by John Collegins, Esquire." Wilkins is thus spoken of:—

"See patient Wilkins to the world unfold,
Whate'er discovered Sanskrit relics hold,
But he performed a yet more noble part
He gave to Asia typographic art."

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While the names of Jones and Wilkins stand highest in the roll of English scholarship in the east, that of Henry Thomas Colebrooke is not far behind them. Known in Europe rather as a philosopher than a philologer, he was none the less a linguist, because his success in the former department eclipsed his attainments in the latter. In the field of antiquities and philosophy, he was, till H. H. Wilson arose, the only authority; but his extensive knowledge of these was obtained only by an accurate and intimate knowledge of the language in which they were couched. He was born in London in 1765. His father, Sir George Colebrooke, was chairman of the East India Company; his brother, Edward, afterwards Sir Edward Colebrooke, was a Writer in India, and thus everything pointed out the East to him, as the scene of his future life and pursuits. Naturally of a retiring disposition, he was educated at home under a tutor, who seems to have done his abilities full justice. In April, 1783, he landed in Calcutta, where he spent the usual period of semi-idleness in his brother's house. He was, however, always studying or observing, and the experience of the first few years of his Indian life was very gloomy. But soon he got enough to do, and with appointments came most respectable allowances, which reconciled him to India. His only recreation, during the whole period of his residence in it, was sporting, of his achievements in which he was ever more proud than of all his authorship. At first in the Board of Accounts in Calcutta, he was soon appointed Assistant Collector at Tirhoot, and subsequently (1789) at Purneah. Thanks to the fact of his having an idle Collector placed over him, he had all the work to do in the latter place, and this so roused his energies, and made him so satisfied with himself, that he began to look on India in a new light. His active mind now turned itself in every direction, and the subject of the land revenue, afterwards made permanent by Lord Cornwallis, especially excited it. Devoting himself to Persian and Arabic—a knowledge of the former of which was necessary in his official duties, he was soon led into the whole sea of the languages spoken in India, and chiefly Sanskrit. What led him especially to the last was a desire to become acquainted with the writings of the Hindus on Algebra, which he afterwards translated. It was not till he had been eleven years in the country, and till the death of Sir W. Jones took place, that he resolved to begin and pursue a systematic course of study, the fruits of which were seen in his subsequent works. From Purneah he was appointed to Rajshahi, the centre of a district that was then troublesome, and from Rajshahi in a judicial capacity to Mirzapore. The proximity of the last-mentioned place to Benares was a source of pleasure to him. He could here pursue his Sanskrit studies with facilities that

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could not elsewhere be procured. In 1798, after the continuous labour of two years, he published a work which Sir W. Jones had begun—"A Digest of Hindu law on Contracts and Successions, with a commentary by Jaganniat'ha Tercapanchanara, translated from the original Sanskrit. Four vols. folio." The work was intended to supplement that of Halhed, which in many places was incorrect or defective.* In 1799, he was appointed in a political capacity to Nagpore by Lord Wellesley, who, ere he set out, told him that he had selected him "for his abilities merely." This was succeeded by his being placed at the head of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut in Calcutta, and appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the College of Fort William. In 1805, he published the first and only volume of his Sanskrit Grammar, and was meanwhile, at periodic intervals, giving the fruits of his studies to the world through the Asiatic Researches. In one of his letters he states that Wilford, Davies and he were expected to contribute the materials for one volume, but that the two former could not do it, so that it must fall on himself. Shortly after this, he attained the great object of his early ambition—a seat in the Supreme Council, keeping at the same time his seat in the Adawlut. His life was now one of excessive activity, his mornings and evenings being always devoted to study. In 1810, he married, but the death of his wife and one of his children, a few years afterwards, so affected him, that in 1815, he returned to England, settling at first, like Wilkins and so many old Indians, at Bath. He soon however set up his household gods in London, and of many of the scientific societies there he became an active member. Chemistry and Astronomy especially attracted him. With a noble generosity he presented his whole library of MSS. to the East India Company, a collection which had cost him £10,000. He was chiefly instrumental in founding both the Astronomical and Royal Asiatic Societies, of the latter of which he was made the first Director. In the pages of its journal, he continued those invaluable papers with which he had enriched the 'Asiatic Researches.' In 1829, his life was clouded, like that of Halhed, by the loss of his large fortune, through speculation; and in 1837 he died, having passed the last years of his life in much suffering—mental and bodily, alleviated however, by the

* Hence the poetic Mr. Collegins, before quoted, thus sings:—

"Ind's modern Blackstone in dark Sanskrit veiled,
Just commentator! might have lain concealed,
If Colebrooke's knowledge had not given such light,
As brought the venerable code to sight;
Obscured no more the sacred volume lies,
Or to vernacular or alien eyes,
Colebrooke in plain familiar English dressed
The jurisprudence of the gentle east."

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consolations of religion. Of the many papers that his fertile pen was ever producing, those in the Asiatic Researches on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages, the religious ceremonies of the Hindus, the Vedas, the Jains, and in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society on the Philosophy of the Hindus, are the most important. His accuracy, and the truth of some of his conclusions, have been questioned by Bentley and Colonel Vans Kennedy, but on no just grounds. His controversy with the former arose from his being supposed to be the author of an article in the first number of the *Edinburgh Review*, in which Bentley was severely dealt with. The reviewer however was Professor Hamilton. Kennedy attacked Colebrooke in the Asiatic Journal on certain of his statements as to the Vedanta Philosophy. In 1835, he was defended by Sir Graves Haughton. Rammohun Roy paid a high compliment to Colebrooke, when he said, that his scholarship had proved to him that "it was possible for Europeans to 'acquire a knowledge of Sanskrit, equally comprehensive and 'correct with the natives of India."

Though Colebrooke's Sanskrit Grammar was the first that was published, it was not the first that was undertaken. In 1810, there appeared "an Essay on the principles of Sanskrit Gram-'mar, Part I. by H. P. Forster, senior merchant in the Bengal 'Establishment, from the press of Ferriss and Co." The author states in his preface that it was begun in 1804, but the publication of it had been delayed, as it was before the Council of the College of Fort William for their approval. It is interesting as a specimen of Sanskrit Bibliography. The whole method and classification are thoroughly native, and repulsively difficult. His great object in writing it was to give the judicial servants of the Company such a familiarity with the language of Menu, that they might be independent of deceiving natives, who used their knowledge for the worst purposes, and, as is even now too often the case, had the judges completely in their hands.

In July 1800, the sound policy and literary tastes of the Marquis of Wellesley established the College of Fort William. His scheme was a noble one, and had the Court of Directors allowed it to be carried out on the same scale and to the same extent as their Governor General contemplated, for every scholar that has since thrown lustre on his native country, there would have been twenty. The object was to carry out in India, with all the aids and appliances that it offered in such abundance, the oriental education of the Civil Service, which had been imperfectly begun in England. But this was done on a very limited scale, and the natural result followed, that the usefulness of the college in the course of years began to be more and more doubted, until it became what

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it at present is—a mere Board of Examiners, with a complement of Pundits and Munshis as private tutors. Buchanan and Brown were appointed Provost and Vice Provost respectively, and in addition to those of whom we are about to speak, and of Colebrooke already mentioned, it was adorned with the learning of such men as Gilchrist, Edmonstone, Malcolm, Macnaghten, Jenkins, Bayley, and others. It was there that such youths as James Prinsep first received that enthusiasm for oriental studies which led to the noblest results. Major Baillie, when in the College, published "Sixty Tables illustrative of the Principles of Arabic 'Inflexion." He was afterward Resident at the court of Lucknow. Lumsden was Professor of Arabic and Persian, and published "A Grammar of the Arabic language, according to prin-'ciples taught and maintained in the schools of Arabia, 'exhibiting a complete body of elementary information select-'ed from the works of the most eminent Grammarians, toge-'ther with definitions of the Parts of Speech, and observations on 'the structure of the language. 1813." He inscribed it to Major Baillie.

John Herbert Harington, who was secretary of the Asiatic Society under the Presidency of Sir W. Jones, was the most distinguished Persian scholar of his time. In the early part of his career, he was chiefly engaged in the judicial branch of the service, the language of which was at that time Persian. He sat for twenty years on the Sudder Bench, and so gained the esteem of his subordinates by his wise moderation and gentlemanly bearing in character, and his attainments as a scholar, that the native officials and vakeels of their own accord subscribed for his portrait, which was done by Chinnery, and now adorns the walls of the Court. He issued an edition of the works of Sadi; and from 1809 to 1817, in three quarto volumes, "An 'elementary analysis of the Laws and Regulations enacted by the 'Governor General in Council at Fort William in Bengal, for the 'Civil Government of the British territories, under that Presiden-'cy, in six parts." He was Professor of the Laws and Regulations of the British Government in India, in Fort-William College, and also President of its Council. Also distinguished as a Persian scholar was F. A. Gladwin, who, from 1800 to 1809, continued to edit, write, and translate works in that language. His "Vocabulary of English and Persian," 1800; his "Persian Guide, exhibiting the Arabic derivations," 1800; his "Ayeen Akbery, or the Institutes of the Emperor Akbar, trans-'lated from the original Persian, London, 1800, two volumes;" his "Ulfáz-Udwiyeh, or the Materia Medica, in the Arabic, Persian 'and Hindevy languages, compiled by Nouredeen Mahomed Ab-

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'dullah Shirazy, with an English translation;" his "Dissertations on the Rhetoric, Prosody, and Rhyme of the Persians," 1801; his "Text and Translation of the Gulistan of Sadi," 1806; and his "Dictionary of Persian, Hindostanee and English, with synonyma," 1809—all these prove the untiring industry and scholarship of the man.

Among the early members of the Asiatic Society were two names of some interest and importance in our present enquiry —Wilford and Leyden. Francis Wilford was born in Hanover, of a family of rank and standing. He early entered the Hanoverian army, and as Lieutenant accompanied the forces which were sent to India by the English Government in 1781. For three years he was engaged in hard fighting; but when the war was brought to a close by the peace of Mangalore in 1784, he had leisure to devote himself to the study of Sanskrit, in which he made such proficiency, that his name may well be ranked with those of Colebrooke and Wilkins. On his joining the Asiatic Society shortly after its foundation, he became one of its most active and distinguished members. Up to 1822, we find not a few of the valuable papers in the volumes of the Asiatic Researches from his pen. Of an active and energetic spirit, given to hasty generalization, and desirous to draw support from every source for favourite theories, it need not be wondered at that his facts were not always accurate, nor his conclusions fairly drawn and well substantiated. He had a tendency to find in Sanskrit MSS., not what actually was there, but what he wished to find; and the result was that his discoveries were often of a most startling character, and his theories absurdly extravagant. The Pundits who assisted him, taking advantage of his eager enthusiasm and credulity, imposed upon him; the versions with which they supplied him were often interpolated, the translations incorrect. As Klaproth says in his notice of Wilford in the 'Biographie Universelle,' "Ces 'braves gens avaient poussé la complaisance un peu trop loin, car 'ils avaient rencontré dans leurs livres tout ce que leur protecteur 'desirait y trouver, en falsifiant les textes qu'ils lui fournaissaient." We can easily understand the anguish of spirit that seized the too eager orientalist, when the discovery was made to him that so many of his achievements were but castles in the air. He had prided himself upon them, he had gained to himself a name among the learned by means of them, they were studied and admired by the *savans* of Europe, they formed to them the basis of extensive treatises and scientific speculations. The matter could not be hushed up as easily as in the case of the *prætorium* of Jonathan Oldbuck of Monkbarns and Edie Ochiltree. As an honest man, and as a member of the Asiatic Society, Wilford

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must retract, must add to his chagrin by exposing the means of his deception, and this the other members forced him to do. But the eager spirit of the scholar was only for a time checked by this circumstance. He pursued his studies, and, we fear, his baseless theorising as before. It is to be regretted that a mind such as his, capable of accomplishing so much, was not more directed by sound judgment.*

Like Wilford in enthusiasm, but by far his superior in caution and common-sense, was John Leyden. We had hoped ere this to devote a whole article to one, who, had he lived longer, would have attained the great object of his life—the rivalling if not the surpassing of Sir William Jones. Meanwhile a mere notice must suffice. He was born in 1775, at Denholme on the banks of the Teviot, in a country and a district that has given to India so many of her great men. Taught by his grandmother to read, he was, at the age of nine years, sent to the parish school of Kirktown. Much of his boyhood he spent in reading such works as Sir David Lindesay's poems, Chapman's Homer, Milton, and the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. He early manifested an unconquerable desire for learning, and though his parents were in the poor peasant-class of Scotland, like many of that class, they spared no pains to give their son a good education. After three years he was placed under the care of Mr. Duncan, a minister in his village, who initiated him into the mysteries of Greek and Latin. "Of the eagerness of his desire for knowledge," says the Rev. James Morton, "it may not be improper to relate an anec-
'dote which took place at this time. Denholme being about three
'miles from his house, which was rather too long a walk, his
'father was going to buy him an ass to convey him to and from
'school. Leyden, however, was unwilling, from the common pre-
'judice against this animal, to encounter the ridicule of his school-
'fellows by appearing so ignobly mounted, and would have, at first,
'declined the offered accommodation. But no sooner was he in-
'formed that the owner of the ass happened to have in his posses-
'sion a large book in *some* learned language, which he offered to

* Listen again to Mr. Collegins :—

> "Wilford ! to you be most exalted praise,
> You great Mythologist of modern days !
> To public view the truth your labour brings,
> And clears the obscure from antiquated things.
> In vain has scythe-armed time consigned to dust,
> The lettered stone and imitative bust;
> Your piercing eyes with nice exactness pore
> Each venerable record o'er and o'er;
> Whether you write of mystic Samothrace,
> Or at the urns of Nile papyrus place."

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'give into the bargain, than his reluctance entirely vanished, and 'he never rested until he had obtained this literary treasure, which 'was found to be the *Calepini Dictionarium Octolingue.*" In 1790, he entered Edinburgh University, and under Professor Dalzel, he soon learned to love and appreciate the beauties of the Greek, as he had never done before. He had always been a capital Latin scholar, and in a short time he studied the ancient Icelandic, Hebrew, Arabic and Persian, and acquired French, Spanish, Italian and German. He gained as a student a pretty substantial knowledge of almost all the subjects taught in the University, and his occasional attendance at the medical classes especially was of use to him in his future career.

In 1796, he became tutor in a private family, and resided for some time chiefly in St. Andrews. His eager researches into every thing oriental, and the fame of Mungo Park, led him to study the subject of Africa, on which he published a volume in 1799. On his return to Edinburgh, he contributed regularly to the *Edinburgh Magazine*, verse translations from all the languages which he knew. His pursuits led him to become acquainted with a man of well-known literary tastes—Mr. Richard Heber, and by him he was introduced to all the great men, who at that time adorned the Scottish capital by their learning and their genius. Lord Woodhouselee, Henry Mackenzie, Sidney Smith, and, above all, Walter Scott became his firm friends. In 1800, Leyden entered the Church, and for two years continued to preach with acceptance. But a desire for travel was ever in his breast, and in 1802 it was at last gratified. William Dundas, who was in the Board of Control, acting upon a suggestion that Leyden might be sent out to India to enquire into the languages and manners of the Hindus, at once offered him the office of Assistant Surgeon. In six months he qualified himself for the necessary diploma, took the degree of M. D., and in April 1803, set out in an 'East Indiaman' for Madras. William Erskine, his youthful friend, who had often played with him on the banks of the Teviot, had previously gone to Bombay. With enthusiasm greater than even that of Sir W. Jones, whose early life his own so much resembles, he had no object but orientalism, no desire but a knowledge of the languages of India. His own words are, "when I left Scotland, I determined at all events to 'become a furious orientalist, 'nemini secundus.'" On landing at Madras he was appointed medical assistant to the Mysore survey. But the heavy duties of a surgeon in India, and the incessant marching under a burning sky, left Leyden little strength for study. Prostrated by sickness, even on his couch he continued his favourite pursuits, and when we re-

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flect on the unremitting toil and incessant labour of his life at this period, we can easily understand the truth of his statement in a letter to his friend, James Ballantyne, in Edinburgh: "The languages that have attracted my attention since my 'arrival, have been Arabic, Persic, Hindustanee, Mahratta, Tamil, 'Telinga, Canara, Sanskrit, Malayalam, Malay and Armenian." We regret that we have not space for the whole letter, it is so full of interest. For the benefit of his health, Leyden removed to Penang, the climate of which, as well as the hospitality of the Europeans, soon restored him. It was here that he amassed materials for his interesting and valuable paper, afterwards published in the Asiatic Researches, on "The Languages and Literature of 'the Indo-Chinese nations."

In 1806, he went up to Calcutta, and was warmly welcomed by Sir John Malcolm, who, with Erskine and the then Governor General,—Lord Minto, had come from the same district as himself. Malcolm was anxious that Leyden should make a favorable impression on the Calcutta *savans*, and hence said to him the day he landed;—"I intreat you, my dear friend, be careful of the 'impression you make on your entering this community, for 'God's sake learn a little English, and be silent upon literary 'subjects, except among literary men. 'Learn English!' he ex-'claimed, 'no, never, it was trying to learn that language that 'spoiled my Scotch; and as to being silent, I will promise to 'hold my tongue, if you will make fools hold theirs."

Leyden was appointed a Professor in the College of Fort William, and soon after had judicial duties assigned to him in the twenty-four Pergunnahs. Like Sir W. Jones, he spent every leisure moment and the greater part of his income on his Pundits and Oriental MSS. The ruling passion of his soul seemed to increase with every opportunity for gratifying it. "I may die in the attempt," he writes to a friend, "but if I die 'without surpassing Sir W. Jones a hundred fold in oriental 'learning, let never a tear for me profane the eye of a borderer." In 1811 an expedition was fitted out for Java, and Leyden accompanied it, that he might investigate the manners and language of the natives, and act as medium between their chiefs and the English Government. The first to rush through the surf and land on the shore, when Batavia was taken, he was likewise the first to ransack a library in which many valuable MSS. were deposited. But the sickness of the place overpowered him, and he yielded to it. "He took his bed and died 'in three days, on the eve of the battle (August 28) which gave 'Java to the British Empire." Thus passed away one who, had he been spared to cull the fruits of his ripe scholarship and

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extensive erudition, would have accomplished the aim of his life, and placed himself highest on the roll of English scholars in India. Besides his paper in the Asiatic Researches, he translated, along with William Erskine, the memoirs of Baber, and wrote from time to time the 'Scenes of Infancy' and those genial poetical effusions collected by the Rev. James Morton. While in Scotland he illustrated by his erudition an ancient work of 1548, called "The Complaynt of Scotland." He assisted Sir Walter Scott in his Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. He is thus alluded to by him in his 'Lord of the Isles:'

"Scarba's isle whose tortured shore
Still rings to Corrievreckin's roar,
And lonely Colonsay.
Scenes sung by him who sings no more,
His bright and brief career is o'er
And mute his tuneful strains,
Quenched is his lamp of varied lore
That loved the light of song to pour;
A distant and a deadly shore
Has Leyden's cold remains."

What Sir W. Jones accomplished for Philology and Antiquities in Calcutta by the establishment of the Asiatic Society, Sir James Mackintosh attempted to do in Bombay. Great as a historian, a philosopher, an orator and a judge, it is not generally known that he has no small claims to be viewed as a philologer. Born near Inverness in 1765, he was like Leyden, chiefly educated in his youth by his grandmother, and spent most of his time in reading. At Fortrose Academy he gained a reputation for himself as a prodigy of learning, and subsequently in King's College, Aberdeen, he extended the range and character of his acquirements, and formed a fast and lasting friendship with the great Robert Hall. He there took his medical degree and set out for London, where, the death of his father in 1788 having given to him an estate worth £900 a year, which he subsequently lost from extravagance, he devoted his attention to politics and the law. The publication of the 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ' against Burke at once revealed his genius, and he took his place in the first rank of men of letters. In 1803, the defence of M. Peltier, for a libel upon Bonaparte in the French Journal 'L'Ambigu,' was undertaken by him, and was conducted with such brilliancy and power as to call forth from Lord Ellenborough the emphatic compliment, that it was "the most eloquent oration he had ever heard in Westminster Hall." Appointed Law Professor in Haileybury, he was soon knighted, preparatory to his setting out for Bombay as its Recorder. There for seven years, he laboured as a judge, and when freed

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from the pressing duties of his office, he distinguished himself as the scholar and the friend. Had he remained longer in India, he might have given forth to the world works of importance, illustrating its history, languages and literature. As it was, shortly after landing, on the 20th of November, 1804, he established the "Literary Society of Bombay," which met first at Parell-house, his own residence. The Introductory Discourse which he read on its opening, is printed in the edition of his miscellaneous works. The Governor of Bombay—Jonathan Duncan, was a member, and so were Charles Forbes, William Erskine, Lord Valentia, John Leyden, Sir John Abercromby, Sir John Malcolm, Mount-Stuart Elphinstone, Captain Basil Hall, and other well-known men. Three volumes of the Society's transactions were published, containing papers of some value and taste. Sir James contributed a paper on a "Plan of a Comparative Vocabulary of Indian Languages," in which he states that his object is to do for the dialects of India, what the Empress Catherine II., and Pallas had done for those of Europe, and Dr. B. S. Barton of Philadelphia had done for those of America, the latter having collected vocabularies of one hundred of its languages. His proposal was, and he acted upon it, "to transmit to the various Governments of British India, a list of words for an Indian vocabulary, with a request that they would forward copies to judges, collectors, commercial residents, and magistrates, directing them to procure the correspondent terms in every jargon, dialect or language, spoken within the district committed to their trust." We give the following Plan of the Return, not merely as a matter of historical interest, but with a suggestion that the same, somewhat altered, might be adopted now:

The district of which is entrusted to me as (judge, collector, &c., as the case may be) extends from to N. and S. and from to E. and W. Besides the Hindostanee, which is understood and spoken (by the higher classes, or by the people in general, as the case may be) there are used in this district the following languages:—The which is spoken from to N. and S., and from to E. and W. (repeating this as often as there are different languages used in the district:)—

God, &c.	Mahratta.	Guzerattee as the case may be.	Bengallee.

The result of this Plan was, that though both Lord Minto and Lord William Bentinck gave it their liberal support, the fruits

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of the enquiry were not sufficient to form a separate publication; what, however, was gathered, was sent to Dr. Leyden, that he might incorporate it with similar researches of his own. Were such a plan to be adopted now, improved and extended by the recent discoveries of the science, and forwarded to all Missionaries and Educationists in India, the result, we are persuaded, would be a grand one. A committee of men learned in the various languages might superintend the various departments, and the whole be published under the care of such a philologist as Horace Hayman Wilson. We commend it to the attention of the Asiatic Society here, if sufficient of the old spirit yet survives in it.

Leaving India in sickness, Sir James soon recovered in England, so as to represent various constituencies in parliament up to the day of his death, and to pour forth some of those masterly orations, which, if they have not the brilliancy, have more earnest honesty than those of Macaulay. He died in the sixty-sixth year of his age, in 1832. Two of his daughters by his first marriage were married in Bombay.

Among the orientalists who were gathered at first around the College of Fort William, not the least distinguished was William Carey: the incidents of his life are too well-known to require lengthened repetition here. Born in Northamptonshire in 1761, his life as the son of a village schoolmaster and quondam weaver, as a cobbler's apprentice at the age of fourteen, as a cobbler on his own account, as a married man and the father of a family before he was twenty, as a preacher among the Baptists, and shortly after a regular minister of the gospel, is a strange one. The efforts which he made to educate himself, and the short space of time in which he acquired a scholarly acquaintance with the Greek and with Dutch, were full of hope for his future career. The energy with which he mooted and pressed the question of Missions, at a time when they were ridiculed or treated with indifference, the difficulties that he surmounted in coming to India, and the trials that he underwent, ere he settled down under the kindly auspices of the Danish Governor at Serampore, are familiar to all our readers. Setting himself at once to the study of the vernacular, he soon found that he could never have a perfect mastery over it, nor could use it as a literary engine for rousing and raising the natives, without Sanskrit. Actuated by the great desire of preaching the gospel with acceptance and power, and of translating the Scriptures into the various languages and dialects of India, he began a course of linguistic study unparalleled, we believe, both in its nature and results in the History of Missions. The success that he had already achieved in the study of Bengallee and Sanskrit, pointed

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him out to Wellesley, as the best person to teach these languages in the newly established College of Fort William. This was soon followed by the comparatively lucrative appointment of translator of the Regulations of Government.

We will entirely misunderstand the character and position of Carey as a philologist, if we do not keep in mind that all his efforts were subservient to the great end of diffusing and perpetuating Christianity among the Hindus. Hence he left unaccomplished in the wide field of Sanskrit Literature, much that he was well fitted to carry out. From 1806 to 1810, he issued jointly with his colleague, Dr. Marshman, "The Rámayán of Valmeeki, in the 'original Sanskrit, with prose translation and explanatory notes. 'Serampore." With this exception, all his other works, even his Grammar and Dictionary, bore upon the great object of his labours. His Grammar was published in 1806, under the title of "A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, composed from the 'works of the most esteemed Grammarians, to which are added ex-'amples for the exercise of the student, and a complete list of the 'Dhatoos or Roots. By W. Carey, Teacher of the Sanskrit, Ben-'gali and Marhatta languages, in the College of Fort William, 'Serampore, Mission Press." Though published in 1806 in its full extent, the first three books had been issued in 1804, so that Dr. Carey and Forster must divide between themselves the honour of having compiled the first Sanskrit Grammar. Dr. Carey's Grammar is of especial philological value from the appendix, which contains a list of Radicals alphabetically arranged, with their meanings both in Sanskrit and English. As we came into contact with other natives in India, it became desirable to have their languages reduced to Grammatical form and precision. Dr. Carey soon issued a Marhatta Grammar, which was followed by one of the Telingee, Karnata, and Punjabi languages. He seemed, like Cardinal Mezzofanti, to have so thoroughly mastered the great principles of all languages, that new ones came to him speedily by instinct. These Grammars were issued, and these languages studied, with the view of assisting in a noble scheme, which his great mind early formed, of translating the Bible into all the languages of India. In 1794, he began to carry it out, and in 1796, the New Testament in Bengalee, and in 1808 in Sanskrit, were issued. Assisted by his colleagues, and by the Pundits in various languages, parts of the Bible were issued in forty different dialects. There are few facts in the history of Comparative Philology so interesting as this. It must have been a glorious sight to see that one room in which all the Pundits sat busy at the work, each with his different language, while some of the missionary brethren superintended, having in the Sanskrit a key to all those dialects,

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of which it formed at least three-fourths. What has not been accomplished since then! What has not linguistic science, impelled and used by the zeal of the Christian missionary, since done to Christianise the Heathen, and raise them in the scale of civilisation! Great as were the acquirements of Carey in Sanskrit, we must ever consider him rather as the "Father of Bengallee Literature." Before his time it had no existence, and the language of thirty millions was without a printed book. Since his day, and chiefly through his labours and his press, a literature, native and indigenous, as well as artificial and Anglicised, has been created. The name of Carey's Pundit, Mrityunjaya Vidyalankara, deserves to be mentioned along with his. For a full and hearty estimate of Dr. Carey as a philologist, we would refer our readers to a statement by Professor H. H. Wilson in the Doctor's life written by Eustace Carey. He passed away from the scene of his incessant labours on the 9th of June, 1834, aged seventy-three years. Of these upwards of forty had been spent in India.

To write the history of the philological labours of missionaries in India would be to fill a volume. In India as in other lands, from Schwartz and Carey to Livingstone, they have ever been the pioneers of civilisation, and have generally first broken ground on the languages of the countries which they visited. Actuated by a higher principle than even scientific research, they have contributed to Comparative Philology a large share of those rapidly increasing materials, which form the data from which its principles and laws are deduced. We may pass over Dr. Joshua Marshman who, in 1806, so mastered the Chinese* that he translated the Scriptures into that language, in 1809 the works of Confucius, and in 1814 issued his Chinese Grammar. Dr. William Yates was no unworthy co-adjutor and successor of Carey. Born in Leicestershire in 1792, he devoted himself to the Baptist ministry and mission in India, and landed at Calcutta in April, 1815. Settling at first at Serampore he became intimately associated with Carey in most of his literary labours. On the separation of the Serampore mission from the Parent Society, he removed to Calcutta, and in that city spent the rest of his useful life, varied only by a visit to America and Europe. In addition to his incessant labours, both evangelistic and educational, to his translations of the Scriptures, and the duties entailed upon him by his connexion with the School Book Society, he was able to assist,

* Two Treatises on the Sanskrit Language exist in Chinese, one written so early as A. D. 1020, the other by the Emperor Kien Lung in 1749. Will nobody translate them?

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not a little, the cause of Sanskrit Philology. In 1820, he issued a Sanskrit Grammar, compiled, as acknowledged, from those of Forster, Wilkins, Colebrooke, and Carey already mentioned. It is important chiefly as the first attempt to simplify native methods, and reduce the whole mass of native rules and circumlocution to intelligibility and order. It contained a valuable section on Sanskrit Prosody. He issued, for the School Book Society, a Sanskrit Vocabulary in 1820, and Sanskrit Reader in 1822. The most important work that he published, and one displaying immense industry, was in 1844, and entitled, "The Nalodaya or History of King Nala, a Sanskrit 'Poem by Kalidasa. Accompanied with a metrical translation, 'an Essay on Alliteration, an account of other similar works, 'and a Grammatical Analysis." Dr. Yates however was more of a plain common sense translator, than a philosophical linguist. One object alone demanded his attention, as a missionary, and he made all others subservient to it. So highly were his abilities in a practical way valued, that Sir E. Ryan offered him £1,000 per annum to devote his whole time to the compilation of school-books in Bengallee and Hindustanee. The last fruit of the philological labours of missionaries in India is seen in a work lately written by the Rev. Mr. Caldwell of South India—"A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages." The estimation in which it is held by scholars may be gathered from the fact that the University of Glasgow has conferred on the author the degree of D. D., and he has been, in flattering terms, elected an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The publication of the 'Bhagavat Geeta' by Wilkins had roused the attention of all the scholars of Europe, and directed their eyes towards the Sanskrit. The translation of Wilkins was speedily turned again into French, German, and Russian, and all were astonished at the mine of philosophic and poetic wealth that had hitherto lain concealed. The proceedings of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta were communicated to the learned of Europe and carefully studied, and among certain circles the names of Colebrooke, Wilkins and Jones became as familiar as in England. When curiosity was at its height, and the grandest results were expected, the deception of which Wilford had been the victim was disclosed. A disposition was manifested by some to treat the whole as a literary imposture, and to throw discredit on all the researches together. But at this time, a scholar arose who, with rare critical skill and enthusiasm, applied a higher philosophy to the results of the discoveries in Calcutta, and developed from them much that was valuable in Comparative Philology. That was

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Frederick Schlegel, in his important "Essay on the Language and Philosophy of the Hindus" which was published in 1808. Schlegel's father was a Lutheran pastor in Hanover. He had three sons, of whom the eldest—Charles Augustus, entered a Hanoverian regiment, and with it was sent out to India. He was beginning to give promise of becoming an accomplished orientalist, when he died at Madras in 1789. Augustus William Schlegel, born in 1769, is well known as a scholar and a critic,—especially as the translator of Shakspear into German.

Frederick was born in 1772, and after passing through a course of classical and literary study at Göttingen and Leipzig, published in 1794 his first work—an Essay on the different schools of Greek Poetry. He had drunk deeply, at the fountain of Hellenism, of that philosophy and thought, which were then beginning to stir up the soul of Germany from the slumber into which the system of Wolf and the despotism of France had plunged it. Filled with its spirit he eagerly directed his attention to the new field of the East which was now opened up. He immediately set himself to the study of Sanskrit, and in 1802, visited Paris for that purpose. There he had command of the many oriental MSS. that were stored up in the Imperial Library, and was aided by the scholarship of M.M. de Langles and Chézy, especially in Persian. In Sanskrit his chief instructor was Mr. Alexander Hamilton, whom he describes as "a member of the British Society of Calcutta, and 'at present Professor of the Persian and Indian dialects in Lon-'don." The fruit of his studies was seen in the publication of his Essay, already mentioned, in 1808. That at once supplied to the researches of the English in Calcutta what was wanted—a philosophic method which could generalise all that was already done, and reduce it to a system. What Sir W. Jones had hinted at, Schlegel fully accomplished, and even as his great countryman Leibnitz had done a century before, laid the philosophical basis of Comparative Philology, as Sir W. Jones and the others had laid the linguistic. From that time till now the study has advanced, and every new writer has only placed it on a firmer position as a Science. The special value of Schlegel's work is this, that he directed attention to the affinity between languages, not merely in *words*, but (what is far more important) in *grammatical construction and forms*. He recalled the scholars of his day from the waste of words in which they too often lost themselves, and shewed that grammatical is more important than lexical affinity, while both must combine to afford a principle on which all languages can be safely pronounced to agree or disagree with each other. His opinions have not however been universally allowed, and hence the existence of two distinct

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schools in this period—the lexical or glossarial, and the grammatical.

This introduces us to the third period of the History of Comparative Philology, at which we can give only a glance. It must be described at some future time, when one may be better able to estimate its value and record its progress. The name of Haughton meets us. In 1825, Sir Graves C. Haughton, Kt., K. H., M. A., F. R. S., published 'Mánava Dherma-Sastra,' or the Institutes of Manu. The first volume contained the Sanskrit Text, and the second, an English translation of it. The whole was an improved edition of that issued by Sir W. Jones. In 1833, he published a "Dictionary in Bengali and Sanskrit, explained in English, and adapted for students of either language as a reversed Dictionary." The glory of the Asiatic Society had continued among many changes, and about this period it was increased by the zeal and learning of James Prinsep. His labours however belong rather to the department of Archæology, Numismatics and History, than to Comparative Philology. In 1828 an important work appeared, "Researches into the Origin and Affinity of the principal languages of Asia and Europe, by Lieutenant-Colonel Vans Kennedy, of the Bombay Military Establishment." The work excited not a little controversy, especially as throughout it there are many controversial statements. The comparative lists at the end of it are somewhat valuable. In 1825, a Greek, Nicolo Kiephala of Zante, returned from India, after spending some time in Benares. He brought along with him and presented to the library of the Vatican a MS., containing the Sanskrit original of the Moral Sentences of the Indian Philosopher, Sanakea. It was translated into Greek,* under the title of

* As the Indian Philosopher was translated into Greek, so our readers may feel some curiosity in learning that the Greek Philsopher—Aristotle, was translated into Sanskrit—at least his Dialectics. Adelung in his historical Sketch of Sanskrit Literature, as translated and amended by the Oxford Publisher, Talboys, (1832) refers to the *Asiatic Journal*, June, 1827, p. 814, where the following account of it is given:—

"After the introduction of juries into Ceylon, a wealthy Brahman, whose unpopular character had rendered him obnoxious to many, was accused of murdering his nephew, and put upon trial. He chose a jury of his own caste; but so strong was the evidence against him, that twelve (out of thirteen) of the jury were thoroughly convinced of his guilt. The dissentient juror, a young Brahman of Rumiserum, stood up, declared his persuasion that the prisoner was the victim of conspiracy and desired that all the witnesses might be recalled. He examined them with astonishing dexterity and acuteness, and succeeded in extorting from them such proofs of their perjury that the jury, instead of consigning the accused to an ignominious death, pronounced him innocent. The affair made much noise in the island; and the chief justice (Sir A. Johnston himself) sent for the juror who had so distinguished himself, and complimented him upon the talents he had displayed. The Brahman attributed his skill to the study of a book, which he called 'Strengthener of the mind." He had procured it he said, from some pilgrims at Rumiserum who obtained it from Persia; and he had translated it from the Sanskrit, into which it had been rendered from the Persian. Sir A Johnston expressing curiosity to see this work, the Brahman brought him a Tamul MS. on palm leaves, which Sir Alexander found, to his infinite surprise, to be the Dialectics of Aristotle.

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"Συνοψις γνωμῶν ηθικῶν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ φιλοσοφου Σανακέα ἐκ τῆς Σανκριτης
' ἤτοι Βραχμανικῆς τῶν Ἰνδῶν διαλεκτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ Ἰταλιδα
' μετενεχθεῖσα φωνὴν ὑπο τοῦ Ἕλληνος περιηγητοῦ Κ. Νικολᾶ Καιφαλα τοῦ
' ἐκ Ζακῦνθου. Ἀφιερώνεται εἰς ὅλους Γενικῶς τους πατέρας τῶν φαμιλιῶν. Το
' κειμενον Ἰνδικὸν ἀφηερώθη ἀπο τον μεταφραστὴν εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Παπικὴν
' Βιβλιοθήκην τοῦ Βατικάνου εἰς γενικὴν θεωρίαν. Ρωμη ἀωκε."

An Italian translation of it was also published, entitled, Sommario di Sentenze Morali del Filosofo Indiano Sanekea, del dialetto Sanscrite ossia Bracmanico Indiano nella lingua Greca e Italiano tradotto dal Viaggiatore Greco Cap. Nicola Chiefala di Zante, dedicato a tutti li Padri di famiglia. Il testo indiano è stato depositato del translatore nella sacra Papale Bibliotheca di Vaticano a generale osservazione. In Roma, 1825.

It will be seen then, that whether we look at the languages contributed to the study, or at the men who have conducted it, India holds the most important place in the history of Comparative Philology. Nor has it ceased to hold it. It is now represented by Horace Hayman Wilson, a scholar who stands at the very head of all orientalism, and who by his skill, genius and industry, has done more than any other for Sanskrit literature. He has had the advantage of the labours of all the scholars who preceded him. When about to leave India, and to resign the important post that for twenty-three years he had held, of Secretary to the Asiatic Society, its members felt called upon to acknowledge for themselves and posterity his great and unexampled services to the cause of India generally, but especially to its Philology. Accordingly a deputation with an address to him waited upon him, consisting of the President, Sir Edward Ryan, and the Vice-Presidents, Dr. Mill, Dr. Tytler and Captain Troyer. The address summed up in elegant and truthful language his great merits as a scholar,—if great then, how much greater now,—and requested that he would permit his bust to be taken by the most eminent sculptor in England, at the charge of the Society. That bust now adorns its Hall. While it is far from our intention to enter into the life of Wilson, seeing that, happily for the cause of science, he is still working on, and adding to his reputation fresh laurels, we must allude the cause of his leaving India, where he had so many opportunities for extending his studies. The late John Boden, Esq., a Colonel in the Company's service, being of opinion that a more critical knowledge of Sanskrit would enable missionaries to discharge their calling in India better, bequeathed the whole of his property to the University of Oxford for the purpose of promoting its study. A Chair was established by a Decree of Chancery in 1830. In 1832, Horace Hayman Wilson was elected its first Professor, and has ever since continued to adorn it,

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and to raise scholars great though few.* Two Scholarships were established, with an annual stipend of fifty pounds each, and have been held by some not unknown to India. The position of Wilson as a scholar is best marked out in the words of his colleagues in the Asiatic Society—"none 'after Sir W. Jones, if even he is to be excepted, has strong-'er claims on our grateful recollection; none certainly more 'long-continued ones." India may then be well represented by him, along with such as Forbes, Eastwick, Williams, Hodgson, Ouseley, Hayes, Ballantyne, Stevenson, Dr. Wilson, Caldwell, Roer and Sprenger.

There is one subject of, at once, regret and astonishment, however—that none of the natives of India should have ever yet distinguished themselves as philologists, or even as eager and accomplished students of their own sacred language. Notwithstanding the extent to which English education is supposed to have opened up the philosophy and science of the West to the students of the East, no step has been taken by those who might have been supposed to be best qualified, to simplify the grammar of the Sanskrit, or on the basis of it to carry out philological enquiries and researches. A few in very recent times may have in the "Bibliotheca Indica," edited Sanskrit works, accompanied occasionally by notes and translations, or may, as in the 'Encyclopædia Bengalensis, have attempted to transfer ruthlessly and arbitrarily the knowledge of the West to the East: a Sanskrit college and a Madrissa may have been in existence for years, and have cost the State large sums of money that might have been better applied; but we look in vain for fruit that is worth plucking. No advance has been made beyond the unphilological but otherwise excellent systems of Panini, Ramchunder and Vopadeva, unless we allow that Rammohun Roy has aided our Science by any of his works or translations. His is the honour,

* Boden Scholars.

1833.—William Alder Strange, Scholar of Pembroke.
Edward Price, Magdalen Hall.
1834.—Solomon Cæsar Malan, St. Edmund Hall.
1837.—Arthur Wellington Wallis, Magdalen Hall.
1838.—William Henry Jones, Magdalen Hall.
1839.—William Henry Linwood, Student of Ch.
1840.—Robert Payne Smith, Scholar of Pembroke.
1841.—Alexander Penrose Forbes, Brasenose, now Bishop of Brechin.
1843.—Monier Williams, University, now Professor of Sanskrit, Haileybury College.
1844.—Edward Markham Heale, Queen's.
1845.—Robert Hake, Commoner of St. Edmund Hall, now Chaplain of New College.
1848.—Thomas Hutchinson Tristram, Exhibitioner of Lincoln.
1849.—Nov. 24—Ralph Thomas Hotchkin Griffith, Queen's.
1853.—Feb. 22—John Frederick Browne, Exeter.

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which must be shared with Carey, of having made the Bengali a language capable of literary polish, and of becoming a powerful instrument for good to those whose vernacular it is. When a mere youth he studied Arabic and Persian at Patna, and afterwards, at Benares, he devoted himself with enthusiasm to the Sanskrit. At the age of twenty-two he began the study of English, and in the course of time obtained a respectable knowledge of it. His first literary work was a translation of the Vedant into Bengali, then Hindustani and afterwards English. He translated the *Kuth Upanishad*, and in the course of the controversy that he raised as to the Unity of God, and the absurdities of Hinduism, his active pen was seldom idle. Born in 1774, he visited England in 1831, and died there in 1833.

We believe that a knowledge of the laws, principles and spirit of Comparative Philology, is at present a great desideratum in native education in India. The want of it has laid all natives open to the accusation of being merely white-washed with English, merely crammed with a certain amount of words and literature, which they cannot use with the power of a master, nor express idiomatically. The hitherto superficial character of all such education has arisen from a want of applying the teachings of our Science. Native teachers do not themselves know it, and hence cannot communicate it, while those Europeans who have been introduced into the Education Service, have been employed in positions where it is too late to begin the study, so as to make it useful by causing it to enter into the intellectual nature of the student. The whole system of education by natives in India must be changed, ere any permanent good can be accomplished. In England the work begins in the infant school, with the child of three or four years of age. Early accustomed to the accurate division of words into syllables, to an acquaintance with the powers of letters and their proper pronunciation, he is trained soon to see the power of syllables as to meaning and origin, to break up words into their component parts, to point out the root, the prefix, the affix, and to understand the changes which the root undergoes in combination with these. At the age of ten or twelve years he is introduced to Latin, and in it finds all the complex structure of the classical languages. His ideas of words and their importance extended, his sphere of linguistic vision is increased. He learns the power of a root in relation to its termination, he begins to know that words as well as nations have a history, that there are various stages in that history, and that each denotes a great leap in the mind of the nation. Words soon have for him a living existence, they become a part of his intellectual life, and he can use them, by long practice, with the skill of the

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potter over his plastic clay. He speedily discerns differences between, not merely the words of one language, but those of several; every new fact adds to his intellectual wealth; harmonies and agreements meet and astonish him at every turn; every new language that he learns fits him the more easily to overcome the difficulties of another, for he finds that not only words, but grammatical forms are the same. The result is that he instinctively classifies and generalises for himself; by the pleasant discipline the mind is elevated and strengthened; by the linguistic wealth his ideas become clearer, fuller and more accurate, and when he strives to express them, he clothes them in a dress of exquisite taste or glorious beauty. He may be said fully to understand and correctly to use the languages that he professes to know, for he can give a history of every word, and account for every grammatical form. Then and not till then, does the study of literature, in the highest sense of the term, become desirable or proper, and for him the pages of the author glow with beauty or are filled with thought. There is not an idea but what is fully understood, not a figure but what is correctly appreciated. Words act upon ideas and ideas upon words, and a creative power is developed, which enables him to add to the literature of his country works that posterity will not willingly let die.

Such should be the effect of the study of Comparative Philology, properly carried out and fully applied. To do so requires rare skill in the teacher, much perseverance in the pupil. In England it is being partially done in the new and intellectual systems of education that are being adopted. In the higher schools it is well carried out; in systems for the lower schools it is at least the basis. It has never been so in India. Utilitarianism has raged rampant in most of our educational systems, and superficiality has been the result. Time—that important element in the development of thought and character, has been denied, instruction has been separated from morality, cramming has been preferred to disciplining, and the result is that the character has not been elevated, nor apathy and inaccuracy been removed. School books have utterly ignored proper linguistic training, and a graduated series of lessons for mechanical and unintelligent reading has alone been given. The fact that, in learning English, the native was learning a foreign language entirely objective to himself, has not been acted on, and hence harmonies and diversities of words and grammatical laws, between it and the vernacular, have not been noticed. College and scholarship examinations have perpetuated the evil, so much so that in the last Entrance Examination for the Calcutta University, out of 231 native students, not five could give an

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intelligent account of the origin or literal meaning of the word '*incipient*,' while many could write elegant critiques on, or analyses of, Shakespeare's Plays, without once feeling in their inner soul their real power and beauty. The study of Comparative Philology will, we believe, largely check, if it do not entirely remove, this evil. But the present race of native teachers will never do it, and no Manual exists sufficiently simple or brought up to the latest stage of the Science, to enable students to do it for themselves. The work must begin with the young in their tenderest years; so that an 'instinct' of language may be acquired.

In this article we have not entered into the subject-matter of the Science at all, nor have we looked at it critically. Assuming a knowledge of it in its outlines, we have merely tried to answer the question, what has India done for it? Now it bids fair to go on advancing at once in linguistic data and philosophic principle. The former must, as in the case of Sir W. Jones, and his worthy successors, be still largely contributed by India, and for its accomplishment we have alluded to the Plan of Sir James Mackintosh. The latter, evolved by the German Schlegel, has been well carried out by Bopp, William Von Humboldt, and Bunsen. Whether more may be accomplished for the Science itself in its *pure* form we do not know; but this is certain, that as *applied* it has still a grand career to run, in connexion with its sister Sciences, Ethnology and Archæology, in dispelling the mysterious clouds that hang over the early history of the world, in bringing to life races, institutions and dynasties as wonderful as the existences revealed in the primeval world by Geology, but to the student of humanity and the Bible far more important, and in laying at the feet of Christianity, new and irrefragable evidences of the truth and inspiration of her Genesis-records.

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ART. II.—*The Revenue Hand-book, containing a short sketch of the Laws and Regulations in force, connected with the collections of the Government Revenues in Bengal, and the North-West Provinces.* By JAMES HENRY YOUNG, Bengal Civil Service. Calcutta, 1855.

OF all the branches of the Grand Trunk of Revenue and Fiscal administration, we do not think there is one so universally reprobated as the Abkari. All the others, even the salt, have their defenders; and the opium, where distinct from the retail trade in it, as embraced in the Abkari department, is suffered without one-half the querulous grumblings that the word "Abkari" produces. We fancy the very grandness of their encroachments carries with it its admirers and objectors, much as Napoleon found his, while Jack Sheppard is handed down to obloquy and contempt. And here again will be a shading off in comparative odium, for the Abkari department of the North-Western Provinces is less cavilled at, and less disliked, than the same department in lower (Eastern) Bengal, under the new system as it is called, in the same degree that Jack Sheppard is less contemned than his follower "Blueskin."

We believe no one will dispute that an Excise tax on spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs, is a perfectly legitimate one; nay, we will go further and say, that where it is administered fairly, and with the aim in view, for which all civilized nations professedly uphold this tax—viz: to prevent an unrestricted and demoralizing use (then becoming an *abuse*) of a deleterious article,—it is a necessary and incumbent one in a moral point of view; but where this aim and end is made subservient or secondary to the profit and loss of the Exchequer, the tax loses that virtue with which all right-minded men are willing to allow it to be invested, and becomes an unworthy means of replenishing the public purse, and not to be palliated in any nation bearing or boasting the distinction and designation of an enlightened Government.

Allowing then that the tax is a fair and legitimate one, how are we to account for the general distrust and dislike with which it is viewed on all hands. We are alluding more especially to the Abkari department of Bengal, for, as we before stated, we do not hear so much of that of the North-Western Provinces in the way of complaint; not we suppose that it is the perfection of an Excise tax, but that, from circumstances, it is not so often brought before the public. We may make allowances for the general dislike, which most men evince to any interference with

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the indulgence of any of their sensual passions; but with the thinking and well informed classes, which happily are now every day increasing, reason soon assumes her sway, and points out the propriety of a public, or rather national interference, in a matter of this sort. This then cannot be the cause of the dislike expressed, in murmurs general and deep, towards the Abkari, for almost all, without exception, unite to run it down: it must therefore be in the *system*, or management of the system, that the faults lie, or in both. Now we have had considerable acquaintance with the matter, and confess our opinion, that much of the fault lies in the latter cause; but we must further confess that they all arise more or less from the system, enhanced of course, or subdued by the individual spirit, directing or guiding the management. Let us say at once, we mean the superintendent in charge of the Abkari Mehals.

We will examine then the system and the management of it, and we hope to be able to show, how materially they can both be reformed; and if we use the word "reform," not in the sense of correcting existing errors, but in that of reforming the system, radically, we do not think we shall be expressing a stronger meaning than the occasion requires.

How the system ever came to be instituted, we do not know, but we fancy it is a modification of that in force under the Mohammedan rule, hedged in, like all civilized customs, by rules and regulations.

The way they managed in former days was very expeditious and simple. A man went to the Fouzdar of the district, and gave a certain sum for the monopoly of the sale of intoxicating drugs, &c., and he received in exchange a "sunnud," authorising him to sell, and directing all within the *illaqua*, to purchase those articles, from none but the bearer of the sunnud or his *assigns*. He in the mean time made his arrangements with the retailers in the *hauts*, and so everything was settled. Rules and regulations there were none, and if there had been, we can imagine the pure and hearty contempt with which they would have been regarded. The whole transaction was, in fact, a private affair of the Fouzdars, for the Government being Mohammedan, an acknowledged permission to sell intoxicating drugs would have been in direct violation of the precepts of the Koran, which is the foundation of their governing policy. There were other reasons too, which rendered laws, &c., on the point of no use—for instance, the monopolist gave so small a sum for his right, that he was easily able to recover it, and make something handsome, as the Anglo-Saxon says, over. Again, the selling price of intoxicating drugs was so low that no one thought it

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worth while to have recourse to illicit trade: that is, the tax was so small that the smuggler had no chance;—a civilized idea which they managed to stumble on, unaccountably and naturally, but which enlightened statesmen found it so difficult to fathom, and civilized Britons to comprehend, as witness Pitt's bill for the doing away with the smuggling between France and England. Then again, and lastly, the monopolist had generally power to take the law into his own hands, for of course there was a "lex non scripta," or law of custom in a Mohammedan as well as in every other nation under the sun. If the offender was too powerful, a compromise was made, and a last appeal always remained to the Fouzdar, who, as a matter of course, made both parties pay—and so the Abkari jogged on—and so it was found by the East India Company when they took possession of the Dewany of the provinces, made over to them by the Delhi Emperor in the year 1774.

How is it now?—In the North-West Provinces of India, and up the country generally, the same system prevails, fundamentally, with the modification of laws, &c., for the protection of this Excise Revenue. A man, or men become farmers of this tax, stipulating to pay so much monthly for the monopoly of the sale of intoxicating drugs. One farmer perhaps may take the license for the sale of spirituous liquors, and another for ganjah, including opium. In Bengal the new system *par excellence*, has usurped the place of the above, and this consists in making a settlement, not with a single farmer, but with the men who were once his under-venders. This system was introduced, because it was supposed, we fancy, that the farmer made immense profits, and it was therefore conjectured, probably, that as the tax was extant, the Government might as well derive the full advantages of it as the farmers. It was generally found to be profitable, and all the districts into which it was introduced, showed a fair increase of revenue; but then the management necessitated an increase of establishment, with a judicial officer to look after it, and a Commissioner to look after him, and so entailed an increase of expense; this was a case of cutting off a strip from the bottom of a blanket to sew on to the top for the purpose of lengthening it, and a half return has been made to former measures, by replacing the Abkari under the Zillah Collectors, and doing away with Abkari Commissioners.

The Abkari settlement is made in Lower Bengal in the following manner: The Abkari Superintendent issues notices that on a certain day, he will dispose by auction of the right of sale of all intoxicating drugs, &c., at the different markets in his

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district; each excisable article is put up separately, as also each market, and the highest bidder for each particular one, gets the monopoly of the sale in it. This to begin with is bad. What stranger can possibly know the value of a shop? He may, seeing a neighbour growing rich on the sales in it, be inclined to bid for it; and if he does so, the old *pattadar* will run him up to that extent, that he retires with the sure conviction that the interloper is safe to be done up in a few weeks, when the shop will be restored to him (the old vender) on his own terms. Again, the *pattadars* bring their trade to such exact calculations, that shops have been known to close, and re-open at a decrease of *jumma*, because two men within the shop's bounds had died. These defunct men used to drink on an average a bottle of country spirits each, daily, which at six annas per bottle used to clear them twelve annas, and the *pattadar* confessed that he only took the shop on the strength of the consumption caused by these two drinkers. This cannot be called fair trade, but sheer speculation; and what better can be expected from the system? Here are men stipulating to pay a certain sum of money daily for anticipatory profits, entirely chance, and they are bound down under penalty to do so; it is a lottery, and the stake is the daily tax. All trades have their chances and changes, it may be said, and a haberdasher buys his silks only on the hope and expectation of selling them.—True, but it must be recollected, that if the haberdasher does not sell to-day, he may to-morrow, and no harm. It is not the same with the Abkari *pattadar;* he pays a daily tax which must be recovered, besides his usual profits; and a day lost is so much lost beyond the losses incidental to common trade: with him to-morrow's profits are to-morrow's rights. But consider to what shifts the *pattadar* must resort; if his *jumma* is at all high, he must cajole people into drinking, and take every means to prevent their buying out of his bounds. He has always the power to put any price he likes on his articles, for probably there may not be another vender within a circle of some miles to compete with him, and so give a true value level to his wares. This and the law on the sale of country spirits, which makes it illegal for common men to be in possession of more than a quart of spirits at once, is about the climax of hardship that one can conceive. Of course a *pattadar* evades this law, and will sell any quantity a purchaser will take from *him;* but if from the high price he may put on his wines, a consumer resorts to some distant shop, then the harshness of the law tells. We know an instance of a man trading in rice, &c., a very respectable native in his way, fined 200 rupees for being in possession of four or five

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bottles of common rum. He had brought them from Calcutta, and on the face of it, can it be imagined that a man trading to the extent of hundreds of rupees, would bring up four bottles of rum from Calcutta, a distance of 200 miles, to carry on illicit or smuggling transactions? There are two faults here, the punishment of the man was the fault of the management; but then the *pattadar* said, "if all consumers choose to bring up 'their wines from other places, how am I to realize the daily 'tax I pay?" *There's the system.* But unfortunately it involves a much more serious error, for the *pattadar* further says "if this 'is allowed I shall resign, or insist upon a reduction of my daily 'tax." Which, says the Abkari superintendent, is out of the question; I must keep up the *jumma*, or I get a bad name at head-quarters. In fact, the system is not only not in accordance with, but directly opposed to, all the true principles of trade, through the means of which only the proper level and correct value of any commodity can be fairly ascertained.

But unluckily the true principles of retail commerce are not understood by the natives of Bengal generally; certainly not by retail venders of the Abkari department, and therefore are not appreciated. Tell them about small profits and quick returns, and their looks will tell you as plainly as looks can possibly speak, "you are a fool." We have known many natives hoard their goods for months and years, rather than abate one pice in the so much per-cent. profits they had laid down as that determined on when the speculation was entered on. We are talking of the mofussil shop-keepers. If at the end of a long and patiently endured interval they obtained that per-centage, they were reconciled to their policy, and could not, for the life of them, see, how they had been losers by it; nor would it matter much to any, whether they were or not in general commerce, for if they got their fancied profits, their customers probably got the article somewhere else, at a cheaper rate, or did without it; but when the obtaining of this article is backed by a monopoly which renders it difficult to be come at, within any convenient or reasonable distance, without great extent of trouble and risk; and when, more unhappily still, the article is one which a long course of indulgence will not suffer a consumer to go without, as is the case, not only with opium, but also ganjah-smokers, then, indeed, the evil assumes a form which justice requires, nay, demands should be modified and reformed, even though that reform should entail a consequent loss to the Exchequer.

The above are a few of the evils of the system; what are its advantages? Let us see: first, it is excellently well calculated, though quite inadvertently on its own part, to put a limit to

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the abuse of intoxicating drugs. That is when the system is carried out as it is in the North-western Provinces, but certainly not, as we shall be able hereafter to show, in Lower Bengal where the new system prevails.

Without being a morbid philanthropist, we can very well go with the party that decries the use of all deleterious drugs. We should say, we go with them to the extent of desiring to see the abuse of them put down. We do not know whether we should be inclined to go in for the "Maine Liquor Law in its entirety." We think not; but we should go to every legal length to put down the demoralizing abuse of ardent spirits, as exhibited in Glasgow and other places. But here too, we would act with reason: as for instance, a friend once saw a confirmed opium-eater, who had been without his quantum of that vile drug for two days or so, and who was consequently, perhaps, the most perfect picture of misery that could be conceived. He was rolling on the ground in agony for want of it. It appeared that the opium-vender had gone somewhere on other business, and having sold his usual quantity, and realized his usual profit, did not care to get a supply till the regular time to go for it had arrived. Now we would not go up to this unfortunate, and say—Die; and may God have mercy on you! We believe that would be very questionable philanthropy; but we would give him some opium and say: "Take this my man and 'live; you are a disgusting object, but that cannot be helped 'now. We must take care your children don't go the same road," and we would legislate accordingly. We have said that the system has the advantage of putting a limit to the abuse of pernicious drugs. What we have above advanced may be taken as an instance; it may then safely be concluded that these advantages are but very doubtful benefits.

We appeal against being misunderstood when we say that intoxication in this country is not carried to that extent that it requires a heavy and rough hand to subdue, and except in large towns, the lower class of the population of which are generally the dregs of any nation, is never carried to that disgusting excess, that it is in many other countries. The rural population of Bengal is almost proverbially abstemious in this respect. The only cases in which one sees indulgence of this sort carried to extremes, and becoming a sottish and dangerous habit, are almost invariably to be found among opium-eaters; and strange enough, this drug is the only one in which there may be free trade: we say "may be," because, fortunately, there is not. Owing to the trammels that surround the Abkari department, very few respectable men care to enter into it, it is very cordially

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disliked; but ganjah-smokers, and dram-drinkers, are seldom seen to be reduced to that entirely degraded state, though the consumption of the former is very prevalent in Bengal; and we can easily imagine that in the absence of tea or coffee, or other soothing beverage, a labourer may find, after a long day's work in the sun or rain, a refreshment in smoking a *chillum* of ganjah. It is to be deplored that such is the case, and that they have not the means of taking a draught of that "which soothes, but not inebriates," but as ganjah-smoking is permitted, that is—the sale of the drug is legally authorised, we think that the consumers may fairly expect that such laws should be enacted, as would place them above the mercy of the few who undertake to supply them, and from whose licensed imposition there is no escape.

We have said that opium is the only drug in which there may be a "free trade," and why that, the most deleterious of all excisable articles, was thrown open, we are not in a position to tell; and therefore our reasons for doubting the advisability of the measure may be of not much use or importance; but still we may be allowed a few words on the subject. An opium license is granted in the following manner:—Any man petitioning an Abkari Superintendent with the amount of a seer of opium in his hand, is entitled to a license for the sale of it, in any particular *haut* or market in which he may wish to set up a shop. The price of opium in eastern Bengal ranges between thirteen and sixteen rupees, and this sum covers the manufacturing price, as well as the tax or fees on the sale. This arrangement has been in force some six or seven years, and may be supposed to have been introduced to equalize the tax and prices of all districts; perhaps, also to put an end to the smuggling and illicit trade, emanating in the manufacturing zillahs. The old arrangement was very different in the eastern districts. The opium-vender had to pay Rs. 5-8 as price, and Rs. 29-8 as tax on sale; in some districts the tax was only Rs. 27 or even less, but the price of course was always Rs. 5-8 every where. The new system of Abkari management, introduced in 1840 (Act 25) under Commissioners expressly appointed for that purpose, has been superseded, because it did not pay. The increase of revenue obtained by it, was not equivalent to the increase of expense it involved. Can it be wondered at? As far as the opium is concerned, in a district where the tax was Rs. 29-8, to equal the revenue derived from it at that rate, it would be necessary, if the tax and price were reduced to Co.'s Rs. 14 (which would be Rs. 5-8 for price, and Rs. 8-8 for tax) to sell three and a half maunds, for each maund formerly sold, and a dis-

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trict which then sold twenty-five maunds would now have to sell eighty-seven maunds to make the *jumma* equal to what it was. "What! sell eighty-seven maunds of opium for self-consumption in 'one district! Heaven forbid," says our friend, the philanthropist, and "Amen"—respond we most heartily. It could hardly have been anticipated or hoped, that the decrease in the amount of opium revenue consequent on the decrease of tax on sale, could have been made up by an increased consumption, when we come to consider the amount of opium that would have to be used; what other reasons may have induced the reduction we do not know, and therefore cannot undertake to pronounce on the financial advantages of the measure. But we will say, unhesitatingly, that in a moral point of view, as passively encouraging the consumption of a very noxious drug, the most noxious we may say of all intoxicating drugs—it cannot be praised.

There are one or two other faults of the system, which press not only on the vender, but act antagonistically on the benefits for which it was introduced, and the principal of these lies in the manner of collecting the revenue.

It was all very well for the farmer of a whole district, who of course resided at the Sudder station, to pay his revenue direct into the Collectorate; but when the shops were let out to their under-venders, it was out of the question to expect that these latter should come in from all parts to pay in their three or four rupees every fifteen days; therefore Government appointed Darogahs on very good pay, and with a handsome establishment, to assist these under-venders, to collect and remit their revenue. This concession and assistance was kind and considerate, and if the officers appointed for this purpose had remained content with so far doing their duty, all would have been right; but they did not stop here unfortunately. These Darogahs had great power, and soon began to call for fees and *nuzzars* of all sorts. By the uncertain gambling produced by introducing poor men, and very often the lowest of the low, Darogahs of course began to obtain great influence also. The new class of *pattadars* had every thing to gain, and nothing to lose; they were entirely without resources, and if they did not sell each week enough to pay up their revenue for those seven days, they were liable to be seized as defaulters, and deprived of their shops. A timely *nuzzur* saved them from all this, and consequently it was given, and given until often it came to be looked on as part of the Darogah's perquisites. The establishment of Chupprassies was as bad; if they did not receive their monthly *nuzzur* (called by the craft *nascabar*) they had many ways of annoying the vender; they could put up a man to be seen coming out of a licensed

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vender's shop, with more of the drug on his person than a retail seller is allowed to sell to any one person at one sale. They would know every consumer within the bounds of the obnoxious vender's shop, and getting gunjah from some more accommodating *pattadar*, would go and sell it privately to these consumers. In fact, a Chupprassy has many ways of annoying, and many too of assisting, a licensed vender; so that in general, the *mascabar* is not disputed. Hence the measures adopted by the Government for the benefit of these people, have been made the means of injuring them; for though we have been writing in the past tense, we cannot but believe that these practices still exist.

Another cause of complaint, and one which presses only on the vender, is the too strict reading of the terms of agreement entered into by him, on taking out his license. He stipulates to give a certain daily tax all through the year for the sale of any certain drug, say gunjah. A month's supply is allowed at a time, which he may take at once or by instalments. Now any one having any knowledge or experience in any retail trade, knows the utter impossibility of any tradesman being able to fix or determine what amount of sales he will effect in a future month; every thing depends on the demand,—and the demand in this case is for an article of consumption, not being an article of absolute necessity, as salt, corn or oil, but one which fluctuates with the means and inclination of the consumer, and is one therefore which it is quite impossible to fix. The vender probably takes an average of the consumption of so many previous months, and he will generally be near the mark; but still, he may be short of it. An extra marriage or two, or some extra and unexpected féte may happen to take place, and he has not ganjah to supply this; of course, and very fairly, he must go to the Excise Office and take out an extra pass, and pay tax for any extra quantity he may desire to sell; but then it may happen, from certain causes just as unexpected, that he has not had an opportunity of selling in some month, all that he estimated that he would sell, and for which by the last day of that month he has paid tax. Not having had any necessity for it, he has allowed it to remain at the wholesale *golah* or store; but the month having elapsed, he has no claim on the quantity so left unsold, nor is he allowed to sell it the following month. Now we consider it would be but fair to allow him to sell this next month if he can. The reader must remember the settlement is made as follows: A man says, "I will give so much a day for 'the sale of ganjah in such a market," that is, if he gives eight annas a day, he is entitled to sell one seer per day in that place, if he requiring more than thirty seers for the month, pays extra

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and gets it, he ought to be allowed the corresponding advantage of being permitted to sell what from unforeseen circumstances, he was unable to sell the previous month; it would be but a balancing of accidents and chances, benefits and disadvantages. A contrary proceeding gives the Government the appearance of wishing to take advantage of a man's ill-luck. Many people are inclined to argue so. "Look," they say, "Government state 'expressly that they tax spirituous and fermented liquors, and 'intoxicating drugs, *primarily* for the purpose of putting a check 'on the moral and physical injury caused by an abuse of them; 'and only *secondarily*, for the sake of the revenue derived by it; 'yet they take a tax for any quantity of a drug a vender may not 'have sold during the course of one month, and if he has an 'opportunity of selling it the next, he is not allowed to do so 'without paying for it over again; how can they reconcile 'this fact with that assertion?"* People will argue so, and they have reason too;—under such a view of the case, it is difficult to prove that the revenue is only the indirect, *and not the direct cause of the Excise tax.*

If the faults of the system are so glaring, the faults of the management are, we think, worse, and more numerous; and the most palpable is the desire to increase the revenue. This is a *monomania* almost with some Abkari superintendents. Their first thought is, how much they will be able to increase next year, and the next thought is, how that revenue can be collected within the year. We have often known it to be jokingly urged against Abkari superintendents that when two of them meet, the first subject of discourse between them is, how much they increased last year, and how much they anticipate increasing the next, and so on. How long is this increasing to go on? If they would only think, they would perceive the utter incompatibility of the two ideas of increasing, and collecting regularly. Where is this constant increase to come from? There are but two sources, viz: an increase in the number of drunken wretches, or that those who drank before, should drink the more;—neither of them very desirable objects to bring about. It may be said that there is an increase arising from the stoppage of illicit trade, which was effected by the strengthening of the preventive force. Allowing it, that increase could only have affected the *jumma* of the first year, or at most of the second year, after the introduction of the new system, and has, or ought to have been, long since exhausted. The smuggler and illicit dealer have certainly been put

* This restriction no longer exists, and a vender may sell in the following month, what remained unsold the previous one.

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down; and strangely enough, at the same time, the inducement to smuggle has increased in the generally higher price of excisable articles, and the prices have risen principally from the following cause: A superintendent wishing to make a settlement says:—"I want so much for such a shop." It may not be worth anything like what the superintendent requires, but some vender comes forward and says, "very well, I will give so much, provided I 'have all the neighbouring shops at the rates at present paid on 'them." Very probably he gets them all, for few superintendents have the moral courage to give up an increase; but this is not the end of it; if the proposer be a respectable fellow, well to do, he may manage to carry on pretty well, and make some profit. When down comes a speculator and offers a still further increase—Darogahjee, who may have become dissatisfied with the respectable man as touching his *mascabar* or something else, aids the interloper, perhaps puts him forward himself, states that he is perfectly capable of carrying on the shop. Having scraped up the requisite deposit, it may be given to the new applicant, and the difficulties begin. The respectable man having retired in disgust, the new man finds that there is not the profit he anticipated, that although his predecessor managed to carry on well enough, it was because he traded on his own capital, whereas he, the interloper, is obliged to go on a borrowed one. He must sell his drug as he can, on tick, or at reduced prices, to those living beyond his bounds; but the price amongst his own regular customers is kept up, and if they go to other shops, they are threatened with a case against them;—against one, perhaps, a case may be instituted, and he will be punished, or released as it may be, but in either case with much *tusdeah*, according to the discrimination of the superintendent. His friends and neighbours, knowing him to be innocent, of course raise the cry of oppression and injustice; the shop is shunned as much as possible, and at last the *pattadar* pays his fine, if permitted, and resigns, or, what is more probable, runs away and adds to the already hostile feeling entertained towards the Abkari; which may be left in a regular fix, owing to the most respectable men having retired and refusing to have anything further to do with it, or at any rate only on their own terms; so the settlement goes back to the old point, with only a large increase of ill-will and bad character. We find in fact that a screw is required to keep up the present *jumma* under the new system, to its pitch; the *pattadars* are aided and abetted in all means of acquiring profit, at the same time, they require strict supervision, or they will not pay up. We do not mean that torture or any-

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thing of that sort is required, we never heard of any instance of coercion greater than personal restraint, and its concomitant *galee*, and that only among the worst set of them; but then we never knew of any party, Government or private Zemindar, who could realize his dues, from the apathetic and procrastinating Bengali of the lower order, without a recourse to the *argumentum ad hominem*.

We could point out other causes of mismanagement, but they are so influenced by the spirit of the superintendent, that it is not worth while entering on them. A great deal might be said about Darogahs, and the petty spirit of legislation they bring to the protection of the interests they are put to guard; their great aim seems to be to pick up little illegalities, and try to make much of them. We have had occasion to remark before, in regard to officers of a similar grade in the salt department, they will not discriminate between wilful and unintentional errors, nor need we expect them to do so, while anything is to be got by not doing so; but these are comparatively minor evils arising from a bad system. Can it then be wondered at, that under such a system and such management, the Abkari department gets a bad name, or that all should unite in running it down? Substitute a district for a shop in what we have written above, or rather imagine all the shops settled and carried on in that way, and you have the reason at once, why Abkari settlements are so uncertain and fluctuating, as we have heard that Government complain they are; or why the officers of the department and the venders are in the eyes of most people nothing short of oppressors and swindlers. To expect a settlement to remain fixed all through the year, is however, all but out of the question; it is liable to be influenced, as we have already said, by the seasons and harvests, though not to the extent it has been from vicious settlements. To hope to raise it above reproach, is, we fear, equally futile, but that it can be made more certain and less disliked, we believe; and how so we will now see.

The trade in all excisable articles included in the Abkari revenue, should be entirely thrown open, and instead of limiting the sale of any one of them in any place by one man on the objectionable daily tax, let as many men as choose sell the drug or liquor by paying a retail license fee of four rupees per month each. This license should permit the retailer to sell as much of one drug as he could; if he wished to become a "general retailer," that is, if he wished to sell ganjah and *bhang*, he should have to pay a fee of (say) six rupees, and one in addition for each further excisable drug he might desire to sell, provided it was a derivative of the original drug, he

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(the vender) sold; for instance, if a vender had the license for the sale of ganjah, he might, if he wished to sell *bhang*, or *siddee*, be allowed to do so at a slightly enhanced rate. Opium would of course remain on its present footing, no facilities are required in the licensed sale of that. Any man paying down the price of a seer of it, is entitled to sell it at any market he may name; by giving an increased fee of two rupees, the opium vender may become a *muddut* and *chundoo* vender too. As for the license in country spirits, a distiller should have to pay eight annas a gallon on all he distilled, and this should entitle him to sell to licensed retail venders, and wholesale. If he wished to sell retail, he should have to take out a license, for which he should pay (say) four rupees a month. If a man not a distiller, wishes to become a wholesale vender, he should have to pay a fee of sixteen rupees per annum, with heavy penalty, which should always be enforced, if he is detected selling retail; if he wished to become a retailer as well as wholesale vender, a fee of five rupees per month should be taken from him for both. The license for the sale of rum should contain the same provisions, and that for the sale of Europe wines and spirits, may remain exactly as it is. No man should be allowed to take out a license for less than three months of any sort, (except for fairs, *melahs*, &c.) and he should have to give one month's notice of his intention to resign it. Every licensed vender should have up a board, intimating that he is a licensed vender, which board or the writing on it should be erased on his allowing his license to lapse, and this should be done in the presence of an inspector in the license department (now Darogahs), and any person purchasing any article exciseable under the Abkari laws, from any house, where such sign-board was not up, and which was not a licensed vender's shop, should be liable to punishment as "*particeps criminis*."

We might enter into minuter details of the system here proposed, but it is scarcely necessary; what we have written gives a very good outline of it, and such a system, we think no one will deny, would be found to be a considerable improvement on that existing. Conceive for a moment the impossibility of any man fixing at the commencement of the year, the quantity of any drug he will sell all through it, and that drug, as we before said, one that is not absolutely necessary to existence, but which is indulged in according to the consumer's means and inclination. It is perfectly true that a vender, if he finds that his is not a paying settlement, has the option of giving up his shop, under certain not very severe penalties; but, alas, experience has proved, and is every day proving, the utter inability of most minds to cope with reality or to resign hope. Well has a great

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moralist and philosopher said, "hope springs triumphant in the 'human breast." The gambler shall reason on chances, and try yet another cast of the dice, though every previous one has entailed a loss, until he is fairly cleared out. The princely merchant shall speculate once more, though all his former speculations shall have brought him face to face with ruin; so shall the Abkari *pattadar* be led on by the same delusive hope, which acts upon all men in the same manner, though one dwelleth in a palace and the other in a hut.

We would not be understood to mean that the native vender is generally a hot and rashly speculative character; far from it. Usually, the regular Bengali or Hindoo tradesman and shop-keeper, such as the *Burneek* and the *Shaha*, are cold and temperate as a class, the temperature of the mind being, we can imagine, influenced by their physical training. It appears to be the unlucky gambling spirit that pervades the department, which somehow or other inoculates the minds of these generally calculating speculators, and changes their natures. It may too be caused partially by the penalty attending a resignation of their licenses. There is one other reason too, and it is this: so many poor and disreputable men get into the department, often by ingratiating themselves with the Darogah, that bad as their prospect and *museeb* may be in the department, an ejection from it would be considerably worse. With everything to win and nothing to lose, who would not speculate? And an Abkari settlement is nothing but speculation in the worst signification of the word.

But would this proposed system be beneficial in all respects, as certainly it would be much more fair in its structure to all concerned? The question must be argued *pro* and *con* on four heads, which are; *First:* would it tend to the end proposed to be gained by the infliction of an excise revenue, viz: such lawfully stringent supervision and impediments, as would check common intemperance? *Next*, whether, subordinate to that, it would return as good a revenue; which leads to the *third* question—would it entail an expensive alteration in its management and superintendence, such as would render its introduction a serious matter for consideration and hesitation? And *lastly*, (what should have been by right, *firstly*) would it be more fair and equitable to the consumer, whose interest ought perhaps to be the principal consideration? For it is putting a chain on indulgence on his part, which nothing could justify in others, except the knowledge that this indulgence will, or at any rate, might, injure his neighbour, which his duty towards that neighbour prohibits, or himself, which certainly his duty toward God forbids. Allowing then that a man stands in his relation to his country, in

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the same light that a child does to the father and ruler of a family, so that all good members yield readily that obedience which they know is justly demandable, and which if not enforced, would lead others of it or himself into excesses,—still it is from the consumer that the revenue is derived, for if there was no consumer, there would be no vender, and consequently no tax; and therefore it is but fair, after having put such checks on indulgence as will materially interfere with an abuse of it, to let him have a fair benefit of what is permitted. Arguing thus then, we may say that the consumer's interests are of importance enough to be first considered, and we will therefore take up that question first.

It is a pretty generally admitted fact that the true value of any article of produce or manufacture cannot be correctly ascertained when it is hedged round with a monopoly; and we may quite safely aver that the value of intoxicating drugs is no exception to that general rule. We may estimate that ganjah for instance is sold in the growing districts at from three to six rupees per maund, according to whether the ganjah harvest has been plentiful or otherwise. Say that a vender pays at the rate of eight annas a day of tax, his monthly balance sheet will show something like what follows:—

Dr.	Rs.	As.	P.		Rs.	As.	P.	Cr.
To tax at 8 annas per day for 30 days	15	0	0	By sale of 30 seers at 2 rupees 4 annas per seer.....	67	8	0	
Price of 30 seers ganjah.	4	0	0					
To bringing from the producing district 30 seers	1	0	0					
Hire of servant, &c.	2	8	0					
Wastage on 30 seers.....	1	0	0	Deduct, expenses ...	23	8	0	
	23	8	0	Profit	44	0	0	

This is if he is an importer of the drug; if not, he has to purchase from the wholesale vender, and the price then will be about ten rupees a maund, but without expenses of carriage, wastage, &c. Such a vender is generally his own servant, or if he keeps one at all, it would be equally necessary if he had not the ganjah license.

We call this a tax, not on the vender, but on the consumer. It is true that the aim and object of the tax is so to enhance the value of the drug, that the sale shall be greatly influenced by it. *But is it?* We from much experience believe not. Ganjah is used by a certain set of men, not exactly as a necessary, but as a sort of one, much in the way in fact that tobacco is. A man who has been used to smoke his *chillum* of ganjah will do so,

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whether the price be high or low, and it will be under extraordinary pressure only that he will give it up. It is not generally seen that ganjah-smoking, like dram-drinking, increases on one from use, and it is said that the only people benefitted by the monopoly are the venders, who except under very urgent circumstances, keep up the price. We say that, without advocating intoxication, we may be allowed to call this unfair; and when we further consider the other evils to which a monopoly (that is the present system) leads, we cannot help adding that it ought to be abolished. Say that one man sells thirty seers of ganjah and makes a profit of forty rupees; four men if they sold the same quantity would perhaps be content to get a profit of ten rupees between them, and consequently the difference is saved to the consumer, and this they have a right to demand. In ganjah, as in all other articles of trade, every one will admit that they have the right, provided the concession does not produce immorality or physical mischief; and here we glide into the *first* head of the question under discussion. Whether throwing open the trade would be injurious or not. Are we justified in assuming that it would be? If we go the whole length with the anti-spirit party, and admit that the very use of intoxicating articles is, *de facto*, a sin, of course the question allows of no discussion; but if, more moderately, we are inclined to argue that the impropriety lies, not in the use, but in the abuse, a great deal may be said in extenuation. That throwing open the trade would produce increased consumption, cannot we think be denied. Experience has shown us in the matter of opium, that in those districts where the price of that drug was thirty rupees per seer, and where it has been since reduced to say fifteen rupees, the consumption has been increased by nearly one-half; but it has been found, that it is only in those thoroughly depraved that the increased consumption has effected harm, and that class can never be prevented from using it to excess. The people constituting it are to be found mostly in large native towns, about the *haunts* of the "Peshaghur." At Dacca for instance, the consumption of opium and its derivatives is very large. Whereas in Tipperah it is a mere trifle, because there are no large towns or cities of any sort, in which the depraved and dissolute can congregate. By the way it would be a problem for the learned in that lore, to find out an account for the different tastes, in the different zillahs, and what *genius loci* presides over them. In the eastern districts, as in Dacca, opium seems to be the favorite vanity (native.) *Muddut* in Sylhet and Mymensing. Country spirits and ganjah in Mymensing also. In Backergunge opium and ganjah: but country spirits are eschewed. Nearly forty maunds of opium are consumed there annually. Bad enough, Heaven

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knows; but it is worse at Dacca perhaps, for the opium sold there, is all consumed in Dacca and Narangunge* towns. The consumption of all intoxicating drugs (except opium,) and spirits in the three provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, if we may judge by the tax monthly paid on them, amounting to Co.'s Rs. 25,33,600, cannot be said to be excessive, considering the population; and further we must recollect that perhaps two-thirds of this is derived from towns, such as Calcutta, Patna, Moorshedabad, &c.

The tax on ganjah in the three provinces, including Assam and Arracan, is about Co.'s Rs. 4,00,000 annually, perhaps a little more. We think we are safe in estimating the population, among whom this consumption is shared, at about fifty millions. It will average then a sum of about one-half *pie*, as the quota of each towards the Abkari revenue. Even if we include *siddee, churrus, bhang, &c.*, all of which are derivatives of ganjah, (except the latter, which is a plant of the same class, but of a different species) the share of each will not rise to two pie per individual. The tax on country spirits is about 16,00,000, which gives about six pie per inhabitant. If we include the rum and imported wine and spirit licenses, the tax does not amount to much more than 16½ lacs of rupees. *Tauree* and *putchye* give a little more than Rs. 3,00,000. The revenue derived from the retail sale of opium is about 6½ lacs of rupees, this we suppose includes the opium sold to *muddut* and *chundoo* venders, neither of which however amounts to much. *Muddut*, it appears, yields about Rs. 40,000, and all that is collected only in the districts under the new system, meaning those under the late Abkari Commissioners of Calcutta and Dacca. The fact is, the tax on *muddut* is an extra tax on opium, or rather it is a tax on the shop in which it is sold; and the principle on which it may be levied, is perhaps fairly enough stated in the following report on the subject, by an Abkari Superintendent; he says:—"The principle on which the tax 'is levied by me is this: A man who makes his living by 'the sale of any exciseable and intoxicating drug, becomes 'at once the keeper of a house of public resort. Any one with 'an anna in his pocket has the right of entry. People meeting 'in such a place, and for such a purpose, are liable to create con-'stant breaches of the peace, and therefore the keeper throws 'himself open to official inspection and controul. To impose a 'tax on the sale of an article, that has already been taxed in 'another form, may be by some considered as unjust in principle. 'That is a question for political economists, but the most repub-

* A good deal is exported from this place, we hear by the China Mhugs.

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'lican asserter of public rights, must acknowledge that some 'check ought to be held on what would otherwise give an un- 'limited power to create and promote general public immorality. 'I do not therefore, in the spirit of my policy, tax the opium 'sold in a *muddut* shop, so much as the shop itself, that there 'may be some constraint on this point. It may be said that '*muddut* shops are in such cases open to supervision and punish- 'ment through the Police—true, but *they* only interfere after, 'and before the commission of an offence; and prevention I believe 'to be better than cure in such cases. But though I consider 'the sale of *muddut* by unlicensed people a punishable offence, 'I do not prohibit the manufacture and consumption of it by 'them, privately and at home, on the same principle that a man 'having purchased a bottle of rum, whiskey, or brandy legally, 'has a right, if he prefers it, to take it home and make 'milk punch, toddy or brandy pawnee of it, and so drink it. 'On a *muddut* case being brought before me, I make it a point 'to ascertain, whether the person charged has been in the habit 'of constantly and openly vending the drug—that is openly as 'far as an illicit act can be open; if so I punish, because it would 'be unfair to tax one man for any certain privilege, and allow 'others the free benefit of it."

Opium, strangely enough, yields no retail sale tax or revenue in the manufacturing district of the province of Behar. We have read somewhere in Marryat's works, if we recollect right, a proposal to attempt to decrease drunkenness among sailors, that is, by giving them the run of the store room. The sickness and nausea arising from a long drunken debauch, with the bullying and hoaxing of the more sober part of the crew, would, it was argued, soon put a stop to drinking. Now we do not know why we never had much faith in the efficacy of such a cure. It is said too, that a pastry cook's boy is less fond of sweet-meats than any other boy—it must we presume be on some such operative cause that the opium retail sales in the manufacturing districts are so trifling. It is an argument for the learned, but we will not discuss it at present. We only see, if excise revenue statistics are a faithful guide, that opium is principally consumed in lower and Eastern Bengal, as at Rungpore,* Midnapore, Hooghly, Dacca and Backergunge, and one or two other districts. Drinkables on the other hand are a great deal more consumed in the West. The divisions of Patna and Bhagulpore yield considerably more tax in the last articles, than all the rest of the zillahs of the three Provinces put together, even including Calcutta and the 24 Pergunnahs. We think, however, that these two last mentioned

* A great deal of this opium is taken into Cooch Behar we hear.

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places cannot be introduced into a comparative tabular statement of this nature. There are almost as many up-country people and foreigners in them (certainly in Calcutta) as there are native Bengalis. Deducting Calcutta then and the 24-Pergunnahs, the Patna division pays more than all the regular Bengal districts put together downwards from the Rajshye division—or again the two divisions of Patna and Bhaugulpore, consisting of nine districts, pay more than all the rest of Bengal, consisting of forty districts, including both Calcutta and the 24-Pergunnahs. As we said, we cannot undertake to explain the cause of this; but we fancy we can trace in the temperaments of the natives of the North-West and Bengal, the elements of their several tastes. The native of the North-West is active, vivacious and energetic, and therefore loves the more hilarious excitement of the alcohol or spirit. The Bengali, with less bodily vigour, and exciteable mind, prefers the more congenial luxury of the soothing narcotic.

But we have lost sight of the question with which we started, which is, whether throwing open the retail sales of spirits and drugs, would induce a greater consumption, and consequently a greater immorality. We think not. There is no doubt, that a greater consumption would ensue, but it does not follow as a matter of course that that would lead to any serious increase of evil or mischief. Opium must be excluded, because there is already a free trade in that. In spirits only, perhaps, an extreme indulgence might be dreaded, among a few; but not to any great extent, for in some districts, the supervision of distilleries is almost nominal, and we have not heard of any great moral evil arising from it. It must be remembered that in the Mofussil the country spirit is not allowed to be sold except when it is 20 per cent under London proof. We anticipate the rejoinder of the tee-totaller that this is only a deduction of 20 per cent. in naked sin and abomination. We are still doubtful; and moreover do not see why a few moderate men should have to pay double for a lawful gratification, because one or two may exceed. "Dost thou think because thou art honest, there shall 'be no more cakes and ale?"

The next question is, whether the revenue would fall or not, by the introduction of the new system as herein proposed. We are inclined to think that it would—at starting, but after the lapse of a few years, say eight or ten, we think there is no doubt, if the excise was properly looked after, that it would exceed what it is now. "Then," it will be said, "there must be an increase of consumption, and consequently of immorality;" but we have already said that we do not admit that the last effect is the assured consequence of the first

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cause, and we will now try and prove from other deductions that we need fear no very great increase of consumption. Say that at present a vender has the monopoly of the sale of spirits or some intoxicating drug in some particular market, for which he pays Government a monthly tax of twelve rupees. He is entitled to sell twenty-four seers of spirits or ganjah there: for this the consumer has to pay the vender's price; for he having the monopoly of the market and others round about it, the consumer must take from him unless he will go to the trouble, inconvenience and risk of getting it from a distance. Now say, that this *haut* contains six or eight *bunneahs* and *pussarees*. Two of these perhaps (the department having been remodelled, and the supervision not being vexatious, intriguing, and unnecessary, as the following paragraph will show) will start shops at once. Say further, they sell their ten or twelve seers each at present prices, for of course we know that till competition is well established, a reduction in prices will not take place, their profits will be very handsome; for having shops for the sale of their usual commodities in the same place, the expense by the Abkari shop will be nothing, beyond the monthly tax of four rupees, and the price of the ganjah, which is trifling. Now we know that there is not a people who have a better idea of self-interest than the Hindu shopkeeper, and we think we may safely say that before a year has elapsed, a third man will take out a license; and before three years are over, a fourth will join them. We do not advance this on mere chance anticipation only, but on our experience founded on many years' residence in this country. The fourth vender then increases the revenue; at the same time, as rivalry always causes a reduction, there can be no doubt that the price of exciseable articles will promptly be lowered, and the consumer will then obtain that to which he has every right, viz., an article he requires, at its just valuation, and no harm done to any but the monopolist, whose ill-gotten gains "wrung from the hands of peasants," we fancy few will object to see reduced. But how it will reduce the consumption, or rather we should say, why, notwithstanding the free trade, the consumption should not increase, remains to be seen. A *pattadar* under present engagements, has nothing to do, but go about among his markets, and sell his article; and of course the more he sells the more will be his profits, it is all he has got to do. A *bunneah*, on the other hand, having his shop to look after, and comparatively a small *jumma* to cover, will be content with selling to those who go to him; if he loses on his ganjah, he will perhaps make up the loss on his *mussalahs*, and probably recover one month's losses by the next month's gains, for it never can be very heavy. We have

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always heard that the most respectable venders, those who do not take shops on heavy *jummas*, are the most regular in their transactions with Government, and this can be easily conceived; but still they keep up their prices, because their neighbours may have taken shops at such rates that they cannot afford to sell cheap; so, why should the more cautious? If four men in one *haut*, each sell their six seers in the month, at Rs. 1-4 per seer, they will be well satisfied, for their expenses will be about Rs. 5, and their sale proceeds Rs. 7-8, leaving a profit of Rs. 2-8, or 50 per cent on their outlay. The cost to consumers on the twenty-four seers sold by *the four*, will be Rs. 30, whereas to the monopolist they would have to pay, as they do now, about Rs. 50. Thus we see there is a saving to the consumer. and an increase of revenue to the Government, and yet no increased consumption.

The very name—monopolist—is but a synonyme for extortion now-a-days, and we cannot but think it extraordinary, if not unfair, if the present system of Abkari settlements is allowed to continue. We know probably, and can appreciate the motives that have permitted it to remain so long, that is, if its continuance arises from the dislike which Government has always shown to introduce innovations in the policy handed over to them with the people. The Hindoos are perhaps the most bigotted, unchangeable, and suspicious people in the world. The whole combination of their religious and social intercourse proves this. No other nation perhaps under the sun would or could have continued that strange, unaccountable, but exacting system of "caste," in the way that India has done for so many years, nay ages, in spite of the advance of all the rest of the world. The same feelings enter into all their transactions. The Hindoos, and the Mussulmans also of Hindostan and Bengal, they having been imbued with the same spirit from constant contact, look upon all change with singular suspicion and dread. Prove its benefits to them in theory by every reason that general common sense or even self-interest will admit, they will not be convinced. Prove it to them practically, and they will suspect that some hidden motive, which they cannot penetrate, is at the bottom. The promptings of kindness and philanthropy are ignored by them—ignored from that right and exalted pinnacle of their grandeur and loveliness which says to the virtuous heart, do good, and thy reward shall be within thyself. The less pure impulse, which leads to confer benefits, that they may be returned in praise, they have; many a memorial in many a petty hamlet, survives to prove that, but the better they have not. It is in a spirit of sacrifice to this selfishness that we can imagine Government have allowed so much that is reformable to influence them

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in their legislation for Hindostan, not only as regards the petty question of excise revenue, but in others infinitely more momentous. We ask, should this feeling be still permitted to influence them;—if this feeling it is, and if it is not, then are we at a loss to conceive what it can be.

It now only remains to be seen, whether the introduction of this system would involve such an increase of expense as would counterbalance any benefits it might be found to possess, if it was given a fair trial. Of course we must put aside all expectation of being able to introduce it successfully, with the establishments at present allowed for the superintendence of the Abkari department. The districts under the last new system, that is those under the controul of the late Commissioners of the Calcutta and Dacca divisions, have now, in immediate subordination to the Collector of the district, a Deputy Collector in charge of the Abkari Mehal, a Sudder Establishment of Amlah, and a Mofussil one, consisting of three or four Darogahs located in the three or four most convenient parts of the Zillah, assisted by a Mohurir, and from eight to twelve Burkundazes. The duties of the mofussil establishment are to receive the daily tax of the venders every ten or fifteen days, and remit the same to the Superintendent. The Darogah or Mohurir may also receive and act upon any information given regarding illegal sale, or possession, or manufacture; and in fact, they take cognizance of any act done in contravention of the Abkari laws. These laws embrace so many details of supervision over the *pattadar*, that, as we before remarked, few of these will attempt to act counter to the wishes of the Darogah; and those few consist of the men rich enough to pay up their revenue on demand, and who do not care much whether they take out an Abkari license or not. This power of interference would in the first place be our great bar to any success in the new line, for the vender would have to include *nuzzurs* to the officers of the department in his estimate of expenses; so that cheap prices, which is one of the objects to be attained in the change, would not be possible. A free trade too, requires a free current, it must not be impeded with dams, and breakwaters; moreover that centralization in a small way, practised in all departments in India, would be another obstruction. Under the present system a Superintendent, subordinate to a Collector, and both residing at the Sudder, is all very well; but would never do under altered circumstances. The laws too for the guidance of a Superintendent are so vague, that we are not at all astonished when we hear one of them has been out of bounds. We have often asked if there is a Superintendent in the two divisions, who did absolutely know his own powers and

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the extent of them; we almost doubt it. He is, or rather was, a Collector in his natural duties; but having to grant licenses and punish for breaches of the Abkari laws, he became a Magistrate; then having cognizance of debts between *pattadar* and their under-venders, he became a civil law judge. He could summon witnesses, or those suspected of an infraction of the laws, short of open sale or manufacture, as a Collector, but he was to try and punish as a Magistrate. A "Construction" told him one thing, and a "Circular Order" another. While one Commissioner, according to the best of his belief and judgment, gave one signification to the law, his successor under the same guidance gave quite another. Under such circumstances, who can wonder that our zealous young guardians of private morals and public revenue did sometimes, as we have heard, make a mess of it,* especially in their praiseworthy desire to make an increase,—not of private morality,—but of the daily tax. It may be consolatory to them, however, to know that they were not singular in their tangled course; the amalgamation of all sorts of powers in all sorts of offices, is the unfortunate bane of the services and the country. It has been the Nemæan skin handed down by the late wearer, the Mogul dynasty, one of those heir-looms, hanging like a mill-stone on advancement, which were taken up and cherished by the Government, more we suppose from their expediency than from any virtue or value, which may have been thought to be inherent in them.

But to return to our subject, the centralized mode of supervision would never do, nor could any dependence be placed on the mere executive officers, the Darogah, to look after the interests of the department. If they were to receive a percentage on collections as fees, it might stimulate them to keep up the *jumma*, but their interference would still act to prevent respectable and well-to-do men from joining it, and we should thus retain the present bad lot infinitely multiplied. If we had a Magistrate or a Deputy Magistrate at each thannah, then indeed the reform would soon be a paying one; the greatest distance then from any shop to its place of controul, would not be more than, say, three hours' walk, and a *pattadar* could scarcely consider it a hardship to walk that distance once a month to renew his license; he might do it through his mooktyar or his servant. The chances of a detection of any infringement of the Abkari laws would be greatly increased; for, saying that the Magistrate would have the power to try and punish summarily to a small

* We write more in sorrow than in anger; we have heard much of the Abkari, and in many districts, and though we do not credit one-half of what is alleged against it, still enough remains behind to make us think that any change would be for the better.

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extent such cases, we can very well conceive that licensed venders would, for the sake of their own interests, keep a sharp look out for unlicensed intruders. Informers too would be less backward in coming forward; that they do not do so now, we can scarcely be surprised at. Can any one fancy that a man, from pure love of the law, and an indistinct hope of reward, would come forward to give such information now, when he knows he would be dragged away a distance of some days' journey; that he would have to produce his witnesses, who would require more than lip persuasion to go all that long way, and who, having perhaps an "itching palm" would for a "consideration" deny all knowledge of any illegal act; that he would further have to wait till the accused produced his; and all that time knocking about the courts to the detriment of his legitimate business and labour? Can we under these circumstances imagine or expect a man will come forward as informer? It is out of the question. Happily there are but few cases—genuine ones—of illegal sale or manufacture, we understand. There are many probably of breaches of the laws enacted for the protection of the Abkari revenue, and the greater part of these are settled quietly between detector and detectee and the executives of the department; and perhaps it is just as well that they are, for most of them occur more from a desire to escape paying the fees consequent on some vexatious power of interference resting with the Darogah than from a malicious intent to defraud the revenue. Informers now-a-days in the Mofussil are either the Burkundazes of the Abkari or the servants of the *pattadars*, and in many cases are actuated by some private pique of their own or their employers.

Nothing will do so well as Magistrates, and why then should we not have them set aside the Abkari? Is it that the state of the country does not require them? Is it that there are too many of them? Is it that they are a class of officers not useful? No—no! no!. We have an emphatic denial for each proposition. Unhappily the state of the country does require them—still and again unhappily there are not enough of them—and as for usefulness we say that there is not a branch of the legislation that shall prove its utility more than the Magistracy. We are speaking of the office, and not of the individuals composing it, for we would not laud one at the expense of the other; where perhaps all are equal. Give us Magistrates, not with cumbrous and complicated powers which the young men composing the body at present, cannot fathom or unravel, notwithstanding that, as we believe, they bring to their work honest hearts, and fair intentions to do justice to all. Cut and clip any branch of the tree of judicial legislation, that is as far as is compatible with remaining utility, and the saving shall be returned in doubled benefits, if

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laid out in increased criminal supervision. Then peace and happiness shall develope the riches and resources of the country. The poor and the rich shall lie down to rest in conscious safety. The injured shall say to the injurer with patient triumph, "Our Laws shall punish thee." Then shall the weak pointing to the tribunal of justice say: "Behold here we shall obtain our rights, and our strong oppresser shall receive retribution," and a blessing shall follow this hallowed aspiration. We can only add: *So be it.*

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ART. III.—*Life and Correspondence of Major General Sir John Malcolm, G. C. B., late Envoy to Persia, and Governor of Bombay. From unpublished letters and journals.* By JOHN WILLIAM KAYE, &c., &c. 2 vols. London, 1856.

[SECOND NOTICE.]

WE left Brigadier-General Malcolm at Madras, ready to set out on his second, or more properly his third, mission to Persia. On the 10th of January, 1810, he embarked on board the *Psyche*, with the resolution that in the course of the voyage he should complete his *Political History of India;* and this resolution, unlike too many of those that relate to work to be done on board ship, was fully carried out. On the 26th, he was off Muscat, where he left Mr. Hankey Smith to transact some necessary business with the Imaum, and after a tedious voyage, he landed at Bushire on the 13th of February. Here his reception was all that he could desire:—

"'Our cavalcade was very numerous,' he wrote in his journal, 'and the uncommon attention paid to me appeared as if that joy at my return which was written on all their faces was heartfelt and sincere. When we were at the Governor's old Hadjee Ismael, a respectable merchant of eighty-two years of age, took the lead in the conversation. He expressed, in the name of all, their joy at my revisiting Persia. The King, he said, had given a proof of true greatness in anxiously requiring the presence of a man who had told him the honest truth with a bluntness which kings were not in the habit of hearing.'

"All through the months of February and March, and up to the middle of April, Malcolm and his suite remained encamped at Bushire. He had despatched the letter to the King of which he was the bearer, and was waiting his Majesty's order to advance. He appears to have spent his time between literature and the chase. He was working hard at the completion of his Political History; but he was delighted to find himself on horseback again, and he knew that, in Persia, the equestrian exercises, in which he excelled, were not matters only of private delight.* On the 6th of March, he was able to write in his journal, 'I have written the word *Finis* to my Sketch, and am as joyful as I can be in absence. I will write

* "The Persians hold good horsemanship in such estimation, that they would have thought little of an ambassador who was not at home in the saddle. A curious illustration of this occurred when Malcolm was at Bushire. The purser of one of the ships, Mr. W——, went on shore to see Mr. Smith, and was put on the back of a capering Arab, only to be thrown about very uncomfortably in the saddle. The bad horsemanship of the sailor provoked some merriment on shore; but on the following day a Persian trader, who knew a little English, happening to go on board the ship, said to Mr. W——, when the subject was referred to, 'You need not be under any uneasiness. I told the people that you ride very well, but that you were very drunk.'"

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no more to-day, but go and make up parties to hunt, and shoot, and ride, and revel in all the delights of idleness.' There were a number of active, high-spirited youths with him, who rejoiced to serve under a master as fond of sport as themselves. It was his pleasure, as he felt it was his duty, to train them for Oriental travel; and when any of them made an excursion into the interior for purposes either of business or pleasure, he sent them forth slenderly equipped, and especially exhorted them against the use of knives and forks. All such emblems of Western civilisation were to be denied to men who were in training for Eastern heroes. There were some noble specimens of manhood among them. Among others was an artillery officer, little more than eighteen years of age, whose gigantic stature was the wonder and the admiration of the Persians.* The fame of young Lindsay's proportions reached far into the interior. When the bearer of Malcolm's letters to the King and the Prince-Regent reached Shiraz, the latter was eager in his inquiries about the 'tall man.' The messenger, after satisfying the Prince's inquiries, told his Royal Highness, that the greatest wonder of all was, that although seven feet high, he was only a lad of eighteen, and might grow another cubit. One morning, as Malcolm was sitting in his tent, he was delighted by hearing a Persian call out to one of Lindsay's servants 'Is your *date-tree* asleep or awake ?' We may be sure that there was no want of laughter in camp at this figure of speech, and need not question that the Envoy laughed the loudest of the party."

On the 27th of April, Malcolm reached Shiraz, where he was received by the Prince-Regent with great courtesy and kindness. This prince seemed really desirous to wipe out from Malcolm's mind all memory of his former incivility; and we see no reason to doubt his sincerity. "When ten years before they had met 'at Shiraz, the prince was a mere boy, and therefore only an 'instrument in the hands of the chief officers of his court. He 'had now grown into a man of a lovely person and engaging 'manners, polished and yet frank, and altogether of a bearing 'and demeanour, such as inspire confidence and affection." We confess that, in the general, we have not very much faith in the frankness of oriental princes; but we suppose that this description is true *comparatively*. While at Shiraz, Malcolm received the sad intelligence that two officers of his suite had been barbarously murdered on the Turkish frontier. While at Bushire, he had sent Captain Grant and Lieutenant Fotheringham to Bagdad, with a view to the acquisition of geographical information. Animated by an indiscreet zeal, they had resolved to return by a

* "Lindsay—afterwards Sir Henry Lindsay Bethune—with better fortune than some of his comrades, lived to a ripe old age. The greater part of his life was spent with the Persian army. He distinguished himself by many acts of heroic gallantry, which caused him to be regarded by the Persians as a veritable Roostum—not in stature alone."

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different route from that which had been marked out for them, and held out a bait to the cupidity of the robber bands, through whose haunts they were to pass, by travelling in state, with a showy tent and a large quantity of baggage. They were met in a defile by a robber-chief and a party of horsemen. "Grant 'was shot dead as he attempted to regain his horse. The rest 'were seized and carried about prisoners for four days, at the 'end of which, Kelb Ali, the robber-chief, separated the Chris-'tians from the Mussulmans, and suffered the latter to depart. 'Then the Christians were brought forth to the sacrifice. Mr. 'Fotheringham and three Armenian servants were placed in a 'row, and asked whether they would become Mussulmans or 'die. They preferred death to apostasy; and one after ano-'ther, they were shot dead on the spot." We need not tell how deeply this intelligence affected Malcolm. He lamented their death as if he had himself been accessory to it; whereas it appears clearly that it had been brought about by disobedience to his positive orders.

On the 16th of May, the embassy left Shiraz, and proceeded to Teheran, by way of Ispahan. The embarrassment occasioned by the presence of Sir Harford Jones at the Persian court, now began to weigh heavily on Malcolm's mind. We cannot enter into any detail as to the squabbles that ensued on the arrival of the latter at Teheran. The position of the two ambassadors was an anomalous one. Undoubtedly, as the representative of the Crown, Sir Harford Jones was entitled to a certain degree of precedence over Malcolm, who was but the representative of a representative of the Crown. But then it was an understanding, one of those recognized *leges non scriptæ*, which, like the *loi salique* in France, have all the authority of prescription, though no one can quote chapter and verse for them, that the administration of British affairs to the eastward of the Cape, should be in the hands of the Governor-General of India. We are not aware that this was ever ruled in so many words, and we presume that it never was, for another principle has been adopted in our dealings both with Persia and with China. Still, until it was ruled otherwise, the understanding was that the Indian authorities were paramount in the east; and with all deference we submit that this is what ought to be. It is only in her capacity of sovereign of India that England has, or can have, aught to do with Asiatic countries. Through the same instrumentality, therefore, by which she exercises the sovereignty of India, ought she to regulate her relations with the other Asiatic powers. If it be said that this was putting too much power into the hands of the Governor-General, we have only to say, let the Governor-General be a man fit to be

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trusted with such responsibility. If the Governor-General is not fit to be trusted with the support of British interests, when these may be affected by the proceedings of Asiatic sovereigns, how is he fit to be entrusted with the Government of India itself? Or, to take another view of the matter: if the Governor-General cannot be entrusted with such responsibility, what security have we that the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department shall be more trustworthy? This is, in reality, the state of the question. We cannot be surprised that Lord Minto should have been disposed to join issue upon it. And this was really the question on which Sir Harford Jones and General Malcolm had to do battle at Teheran. Jones did undoubtedly assume a very haughty bearing; but there are many excuses for him. He must have felt that personally Malcolm had a great advantage over him. When he had been simply Resident at Baghdad, Malcolm had been the undisputed representative of the British nation and the British monarch at the Persian court, and had then won for himself golden opinions from all sorts of men. It was not very easy to bear that after having insisted that he should introduce Malcolm to the king as his own subordinate, the king should say to him, "Introduce Malcolm! Why 'introduce him? Malcolm is my friend; no body needs in-'troduce my friend Malcolm to me." It was not easy to bear, that whereas he had himself always stood in the presence of the king, Malcolm should have been requested to sit down at his first audience:—

"The ceremony of reception was an imposing one. Attended by eleven gentlemen of his suite, all in full-dress uniform, Malcolm entered the hall of audience. 'Welcome again, Malcolm,' cried the King, with much cordiality, 'and welcome all you young gentlemen. Mashallah! you have brought a fine set of young men—all fine young men—to pay their respects to the Shah. Sit down, Malcolm.' Now Malcolm, on his former mission, always had sate down. He had contended for and established the custom. But Sir Harford Jones had consented to stand in the royal presence. How then could the representative of the Governor-General accept a concession which had not been accorded to the delegate of the Crown? Malcolm felt the embarrassment of his position, and asked permission to stand. Again the King desired him to be seated. But still the Envoy hesitated to comply with the request. 'Why, Malcolm,' said the King, half in jest and half in earnest, 'what new thing is this—what has come over you? You used not to hesitate in conforming to the King's command.' On this Malcolm sate down. The embarrassment passed over, and Futteh Ali Shah and Malcolm were soon in earnest discourse.*

* "It was the only time," says the narrator of this incident, from whom I derived it, "that I ever knew Malcolm to lose his self-possession for a moment."

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"Malcolm had prepared a set speech; but when the time came for its delivery, he made no great progress with the oration. 'Come,' said the King, smiling, 'you are an old friend; I do not put you on a footing with other men. Compose yourself; I know what you would say'—and he commenced a speech of fulsome panegyric. Then, breaking into laughter, he said, 'Now your speech is made, let me know about yourself. How have you been these many years?' 'Except for the wish to revisit your Majesty, I have been well and happy,' said Malcolm. 'But what,' asked the King, 'made you go back in dudgeon last year, without seeing my son at Shiraz?' 'How could he,' said Malcolm, 'who had been warmed by the sunshine of his Majesty's favor, be satisfied with the mere reflexion of that refulgence through the person of his Majesty's son?' 'Mashallah! Mashallah!' cried the King, 'Malcolm is himself again!'"

If we consider, what we think is very probable, that this very matter of standing in the royal presence was a stroke of deep policy on the part of Sir Harford Jones, we shall see at once how the king's reception of Malcolm must have galled him. He could not be ignorant that Malcolm, on his previous mission, had insisted on the right to sit in the presence, as due to the power whom he had the honor to represent. Now Jones was naturally a far greater stickler for forms than Malcolm was. How then had he not claimed for himself this distinction, which had been contended for by Malcolm and conceded to him? We do not think there is aught uncharitable in the supposition that he intended and hoped thereby to supplant Malcolm in the good graces of the king and courtiers. "You see what an amiable man this Sir Harford is. He, though a real baronet, and sent by the king of England, does not even ask what Malcolm, who was no baronet at all, and sent only by one of the king's servants, insisted on. A fine unassuming gentleman is Sir Harford." Or read it thus: "See this Jones. He does not know what is due to a gentleman and an ambassador. Jan Malcolm Sahib knew what is right. He was no newly made baronet, but a soldier and a gentleman, and the friend of the great Lord Wellesley. But this Jones has been taken from a Clerk's desk, and had *Sir* put before his name merely to impose upon us." The former must have been the design, the latter the execution. Taking all this into the account, and remembering moreover that Sir Harford was a Welshman, we cannot wonder that the two ambassadors did not pull together. But we cannot dwell on the matter. The Governor-General had sent Malcolm in order to establish the principle that our intercourse with Persia should be conducted through the intervention of the Indian Government. This matter had been referred to England, and the answer came in due time, to the effect "that the Home

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'Government had determined still to regulate our diplomatic 'relations with Persia, and had, in prosecution of this intention 'to repudiate the power and authority of the Governor-General 'in that direction, appointed Sir Gore Ouseley ambassador to 'the court of Teheran." This intelligence left Malcolm no alternative. He was now no more than a private gentleman, on a visit to his friend Futteh Ali, king of Persia. The host was anxious that the visit should be prolonged, and that Malcolm should remain and render him assistance in the war that he was about to wage with Russia, and Sir Harford Jones strongly advised him to accept the invitation; but he did not consider that it would be right for him to consent:—

"Two days afterwards Malcolm was summoned to the presence of the King. Futteh Ali was seated in a small tent, to which no one was admitted but the Prime Minister and the English Envoy. In conformity with the custom introduced by Sir Harford Jones, Malcolm stood in the audience-chamber, but the King resolutely declared that his old friend should never stand in his presence, and a further order obtained compliance. Futteh Ali then commenced the conference by saying how greatly he had been disappointed by the out-turn of events at home, and the consequent determination of Malcolm to return to India; and then begged that he would stay and accompany Abbas Meerza and his army into Georgia. 'You will then,' he added, 'return and receive your leave as you ought, and be conducted through my country with the attention and distinction due to so favorite a servant.' To this Malcolm could only reply that, whatever his inclinations might be, his duty, after the decision of the Crown Government, which had deprived him of all authority in Persia, compelled him to withdraw from all further interference in his Majesty's affairs. 'I am constrained,' he said, 'to obey orders. That discipline which your Majesty is introducing into your army with us pervades all ranks. When the word *March* is given, we move forward, and at the word *Halt* we stand fast.' At this illustration the King laughed, and several times repeated in English the words "*Halt—March!*"—"*Halt—March!*" as though greatly pleased with the idea. 'Would to God,' he said, 'I could bring my Wuzeers and great public servants into such order.' 'I know what are the rules of your service,' continued the King; 'I know, however greatly I may regret it, that an officer is bound, in all cases, to obey the Government under which he serves; but you will, I hope,' continued the King, 'stay as many days as you can at Tabreez. And at all events' (he added, turning to the Prime Minister), 'as General Malcolm must go, take good care that every arrangement for his departure is made in a manner which will give him satisfaction. He always has been, and always shall be my first favorite among Europeans, and he shall receive his leave with every honor it is possible to confer upon him. Everything must be done that can give him gratification.' With the sounds of this gracious

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speech still ringing in his ears, Malcolm quitted the presence of the King.*"

And so the king was obliged to consent to Malcolm's departure. And he was sent away with all possible honour. He was made a Sepahdar or General in the Persian service; and a new order of Knighthood was instituted for his special honour. He was the first Knight of the Lion and the Sun; and, says his biographer, "many brave men, since that day, have written K. L. S., after 'their names." But even after the king had consented to Malcolm's departure, his son, Abbas Mirza, who was to command the army against the Russians, so strenuously urged him to remain, that he at last consented to accompany him to the field, if Sir Harford Jones would request him in writing to do so. This Sir Harford declined to do. But Captain Christie and Lieutenant Lindsay remained with the Persian Army, and did good service. And so Malcolm's mission to Persia was at an end, and he gladly turned his face towards India. On the 20th of September he was met on the banks of the Tigris by Mr. Rich, by whom he was hospitably entertained during his stay at Bagdad. It was like cold water to a thirsty soul to meet, in Mrs. Rich, the daughter of his dear friend, Sir James Mackintosh, and to talk right on about his wife and child. He was also able to do some little service in the fighting way :—

"At Baghdad, Malcolm and his companions were detained for some days by a revolt in the city, which rendered it impossible for him to obtain boats for the prosecution of his journey down the river. The interval of his detention he occupied in the preparation of his elaborate despatch to Lord Minto, detailing the results of his Mission. On the 29th the letter was finished, and then Malcolm, as ready always for play as for work, began to amuse himself. 'We pass our time very pleasantly,' he wrote; 'we have races almost every morning, games of chess after breakfast, and in the evening swim in the Tigris and play bowls.' The races were not all sport. One day Mr. Rich burst into Malcolm's tent with tidings to the effect that a party of Arabs had seized one of the chief people of the Residency, stripped him, and plundered five hundred piastres of public money. Malcolm instantly ordered his escort in pursuit of the robbers, who were mounted; and soon his troopers where in hot chase after the Arabs. Seeing, however, that the pursuit was likely to lead his men far from Camp, and apprehending that some acci-

* "He could not, however, immediately depart. Malcolm thus describes in his journal how the interview had a ludicrous termination: When I rose, I found one of my legs quite benumbed from the constrained posture in which I had been sitting. The King observed it, and smiling, desired me to stand where I was till my leg was quite recovered, which required a minute or two, that were passed in joking upon our want of practice in the eastern fashion of sitting."

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dent might happen, he took horse himself, called on the gentlemen of his family to follow him, and joined eagerly in the chase. After a hard gallop of some ten miles, they captured four or five of the robbers (including one of their leaders), as many horses and ponies, some fire-arms, and some plundered property. The object was gained. The plunderers were panic-struck; and a report of the gallant pursuit soon ran through the camp and the city. 'I feel satisfied now,' wrote Malcolm in his journal, 'that the Arabs will hereafter keep clear of our camp. A promptitude to avenge insult or attack is the only security against either among these barbarians.'*

"But this was a trifling incident in comparison with the great political events which were passing in the neighbourhood of Malcolm's camp. Baghdad and its vicinity had become the scene of a bloody struggle for empire, and every day seemed likely to evolve the tragic catastrophe of the drama. The Sultan had sent orders from Constantinople for the removal of the Pacha from authority, and the Pacha was bent on resisting to the death the commands of the Porte. The result was a civil war between the *de facto* ruler of Baghdad and the authorities sent to supplant him. The issue of the contest was doubtful. One day brought tidings of the success of one party; the next saw the triumph of the other. The Pacha was now confident, now desponding. The tide of fortune, as the war progressed, appeared to have turned against him. At last, his only hope seemed to be in the assistance of Malcolm and his friends. So mere a handful of men could have done little in such a contest; but the moral effect of the co-operation might have been great, and English generalship and English energy might have consolidated the scattered elements of the Pacha's army, and reinvigorated his declining cause. He conjured the Resident, therefore, by all the professions of friendship he had put forth, to solicit Malcolm to aid him. But Mr. Rich could only answer, that whatever his private feelings might be, his public character and the relations in which his Government stood towards the Porte prevented all possibility of his interference.

"But although it was impossible that Malcolm should take any active part in the struggle, he rejoiced in his appearance upon the scene in the crisis that had arisen; for although he could not lead the Pacha's troops to the battle, he could protect the British Residency, the safety of which, in such a conjuncture, might have been jeopardised by the surrounding tumult. He determined, therefore, under all circumstances, not to continue his journey until the strug-

* The good effects of this raid were soon apparent. A day or two afterwards Malcolm wrote in his journal: "I rode out this morning towards Baghdad. On passing a village on the shore of the Tigris the inhabitants came out, and with loud acclamations expressed their gratitude to me for having chased the Arabs from their vicinity. 'God prolong your shade,' said an old man (who seemed to be the head of the village); 'since the hour you pursued these fellows, not a plunderer has been seen on this side of Baghdad. We are all praying for you; as there is no doubt that if your camp had not been near, we should have lost all our property.' I was pleased with this testimony to the good effect produced by the sally we had made, and had no doubt of its truth."

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gle was at an end. 'I cannot bring myself,' he said, 'to leave this place till matters are more settled. With such bodies of unlicensed plunderers all round, the Residency is not secure. But the situation of Mrs. Rich is what has most influence upon my mind. I cannot think of leaving a lady in such a situation when I have the power, without any serious deviation from duty, of protecting her. If anything unpleasant were to occur, I never should forgive myself. A few days can make no great difference. I shall, therefore, stay till the battle is over.'

"On the 6th of October the issue of the contest no longer remained doubtful. On that day, Malcolm, warned by intelligence of the state of affairs that had reached him, threw out mounted pickets in advance of his camp, and drew a cordon of sentries around it. "We heard no more," he wrote in his journal, "till ten o'clock at night, when, in the midst of a rubber at whist with Mrs. Rich and others, we heard a cry, as if the camp were attacked, followed by trumpets and drums sounding and beating to arms. I immediately ran to the lines of the escort, and there found that the alarm was caused by the advance of a body of between fifty and sixty horse, who, on our sending a person to speak to them, proved to be a party with the Dewan Effendi, or Secretary to Government, who had fled and desired most anxiously to see Mr. Rich and me. We walked out a short way to meet him, and found he was come to solicit protection. He gave a very confused account of the action, but said he was satisfied that everything was lost, and so he had come to the only friend he had, Mr. Rich, in hopes of being protected for the moment, until he could make his peace with the conqueror. As this man had rendered very serious services to Mr. Rich in his former disputes with the Pacha, and was attached to the English Government, it was resolved to allow him to remain in camp; but all his followers, except one or two, were sent away, and strict orders were given to the line of sentries to admit no further communication with any fugitives. The Dewan Effendi, who is a very peaceable little man, had evidently taken no share in the action; but it was obvious, from his account, that the Pacha's troops were not likely to make any stand, and that all his principal officers were deserting him. The litte Effendi (he is not, without his tall cap, five feet high) seemed quite happy when he came into camp. 'Have any of you a nightcap?' was the first question he asked, when he came into the tent Mr. Rich had allotted to him. 'I shall sleep sound to-night, which is what I have not done for this week.'"

On the 25th of October, Malcolm reached Bussorah, and on the 29th, set sail on board of the *Ternate* Cruiser. At Bushire he remained two days, and found the stud of horses that he had collected there all well. Before reaching Bombay, he deemed it necessary to apply the razor to his cheeks and chin, lest little Margaret should refuse to acknowledge him, and say, "Papa 'nahi! hathee! hathee!" ("not Papa! an elephant! an ele-

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' phant !") So on the 20th of November, he once more set foot on Indian ground, and found the family circle increased during his absence by the birth of a son and heir.

And now that the mission was at an end, Malcolm had only to report progress and to furnish his accounts. The former task was more to his taste than the latter; for in performing it, he had little to do, except to bear testimony to the zeal and talents of the gentlemen who had composed "his family." The latter task was not so pleasant. He had to report large expenditure; and the Auditor General had a keen eye to mark excess. The Government put on record the judgment that "the expenditure ' might have been materially reduced without injury to the public ' service," but acknowledged that, granting the principles which Malcolm considered necessary to be carried out in regulating his out-givings, he had "not neglected the obligations of attention, prudence and discretion." In every other respect, Malcolm received the unqualified approbation of the Governor-General-in-Council, and he was allowed to remain in Bombay, and to maintain a staff of clerks and copyists for the purpose of arranging the materials which he had collected for an elaborate work on the history and geography of Persia; and so, "throughout the year, ' 1811, Malcolm continued to reside at Bombay, and to apply ' himself earnestly to his literary labors." In these he received most valuable assistance from Sir James Mackintosh, who seems to have corrected with great judgment, not attempting to bring the soldier's style to the standard of the scholar's, but lopping off excrescenses with a kindly hand :—

"His intercourse with Mackintosh was as improving as it was delightful; and early in the year there was an accession to the literary circle of Bombay very appreciable both by the lawyer and the soldier. At the latter end of February a vessel arrived from Calcutta, bringing Mountstuart Elphinstone and Henry Martyn. Malcolm was delighted to welcome the former—to talk over old times and present pursuits—proud to introduce so accomplished a man to his friend the Recorder.* Elphinstone in turn introduced

* The following is Mackintosh's account of the meeting:

"*Feb.* 26, 1811.—Malcolm brought Elphinstone to breakfast. We had an animated discussion about the importance of India to England. I contended that it was not of any great value. I observed that of possessions beyond sea, the first rank belonged to those which, like North America, contributed both to strength and wealth; the second to those which, like the West Indies, contributed to wealth, and created maritime strength, though they did not supply a military population. India certainly ranks below them. Nobody thinks of employing Sepoys out of India. Great as it looks and sounds, it does not add so much to the empire as new England did. After breakfast I carried Elphinstone to Mazagong-bunder, where he embarked for Panwell. He has a very fine understanding, with the greatest modesty and simplicity of character."

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Henry Martyn to Mackintosh* and Malcolm. The former recognised in the young devotee a man of acuteness and learning—spoke of him as a benevolent enthusiast, but said that his excessive meekness left a disagreeable feeling upon the mind. On Malcolm, however, the young Christian hero appears to have made a more favorable impression. Perhaps, the habitual cheerfulness of his manner communicated itself to the 'saint from Calcutta,' for he wrote to Sir Gore Ouseley, that Henry Martyn, who was then on his way to Persia, was likely to add to the hilarity of his party.

"'The Rev. Mr Martyn,' he said, 'one of the clergymen of Bengal, is here on his way to the Gulf. He requested me to give him a line to the Governor of Bushire, which I did, as well as one to Mahomed Nebbee Khan. But I warned him not to move from Bushire without your previous sanction. His intention, I believe, is to go by Shiraz, Ispahan, and Kermanshah to Baghdad, and to endeavour on that route to discover some ancient copies of the Gospel, which he and many other saints are persuaded lie hid in the mountains of Persia. Mr. Martyn also expects to improve himself as an Oriental scholar. He is already an excellent one. His knowledge of Arabic is superior to that of any Englishman in India. He is altogether a very learned and cheerful man, but a great enthusiast in his holy calling. He has, however, assured me, and begged I would mention it to you, that he has no thought of preaching to the Persians, or of entering into any theological controversies; but means to confine himself to two objects—a research after old Gospels, and the endeavour to qualify himself for giving a correct version of the Scriptures into Arabic and Persian, on the plan proposed by the Bible Society. I have not hesitated to tell him that I thought you would require that he should act with great caution, and not allow his zeal to run away with him. He declares he will not, and he is a man of that character that I must believe. I am satisfied that if you ever see him, you will be pleased with him. He will give you grace before and after dinner, and admonish such of your party as take the Lord's name in vain; but his good sense and great learning will delight you, whilst his constant cheerfulness will add to the hilarity of your party.'"

In supposing that Henry Martyn's cheerfulness was only a reflection of Malcolm's own, Mr. Kaye shews that he shares an error into which all must be led, who derive their ideas respecting Martyn only from his biography by Mr. Sargeant. Without, perhaps, containing a single mis-statement, that book is, in res-

* See Mackintosh's journal in the Life by his son: "Elphinstone introduced me to a young clergyman named Martyn, come round from Bengal on his way to Bussorah, partly for health and partly to improve his Arabic, as he is translating the Scriptures into that language. He seems to be a mild and benevolent enthusiast—a sort of character with which I am always half in love. We had the novelty of grace before and after dinner, all the company standing."

Again: "Mr Martyn, the saint from Calcutta, called here. He is a man of acuteness and learning. His meekness is excessive, and gives a disagreeable impression of efforts to conceal the passions of human nature."

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pect of the impression it produces regarding the subject of it, one of the most practically untrue books ever written. It is composed mainly from Martyn's Journals, and these were a rigidly correct transcript of his feelings *at the time when he wrote them*; but that time was probably a quarter of an hour in each day, when, in the solitude of his chamber, he mourned over his shortcomings, and often "wrote bitter things against himself." From these journals it would appear that a habitual gloom rested over his spirit; whereas we have good authority for saying that habitually he was of a cheerful and even a hilarious disposition. A more truthful view of Henry Martyn, as he lived in India, and as he associated with his friends, will be found in the life of Mrs. Sherwood, than we have met with anywhere else.

But Malcolm had "other irons in the fire," besides his History of Persia. A Blue Book had been published respecting the Madras mutineers; and Malcolm found that his conduct had been injuriously commented on by Sir George Barlow. He therefore prepared a pamphlet, containing a full statement of his proceedings in the matter. This pamphlet he committed to the care of Sir James Mackintosh, who was returning to England. It was published there, and answered by Mr. Barlow; andthen the matter dropped.

At the end of January, 1812, Malcolm himself, with his wife and children, took ship for England, nominally on a five years' furlough, but really without any settled determination as to whether he should return to India at all, or whether he should settle down quietly in England, as a farmer and a breeder of horses. It had long been "the nearest wish of his heart" to present his wife and daughter to his mother. But this was not to be; at St. Helena he received intelligence of the death of his mother. With what sincerity he mourned her loss we need not say. "It 'was," says his biographer, "a bitter disappointment. Such 'hopes and such disappointments are but the common lot of the 'Indian exile. It is the penalty he pays for turning his back on 'his native land."

We need not say that his reception in England was all that he could have desired. The members of his own family were overjoyed at his return. Public men, and especially Lord Hobart, now become Earl of Buckinghamshire, and President of the Board of Control, were eager to have his opinion on many points of importance, with a view to the renewal of the Company's Charter, which was then under hot discussion. We must give a specimen of his journal written for his wife on his first visit to Burnfoot:—

"Went to visit all, high and low, that had known me as a child; visited the graves of my parents, and heard the noblest

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praise of them from the aged, the infirm, and the poor, that they had aided and supported, and to whom the aid and support of the family is still given. I could not have believed, had I not witnessed it, what small means well directed could effect; but in a range of seven or eight miles I have heard blessings implored by almost hundreds upon the name I bear, not for accidental charity or temporary relief, but for families borne through distress, for the blind and the lame supported; children educated and raised, some to comfort and others to affluence. This good work was begun nearly a century ago by my grandfather and grandmother; it was continued, to the full extent of their power, by my parents; and my brothers and sisters are all blessed with the same disposition; but my eldest sister, Agnes, who in cheerful goodness, superior sense, and active benevolence, yields to none of her ancestors, is the guide to us all in this path. She knows the wants and the characters of all, and supplies accordingly. She never gives more than is actually necessary, that none may want that can be aided, and her attention and advice are often of more use than money. I was this day visiting an old lady of ninety-three, who has outlived her fortune and all her friends, but those at Burnfoot. Her inquiries about you were most earnest. "I love her," said she, "for her name, which was that of your grandmother. Is her Christian name Agnes?" "No," said I, "it is Charlotte." "I wish to God it had been Agnes," said old Mrs. Scott; "but *she is a Campbell, and that will do.*" I need hardly add my grandmother was called Agnes.*"

At the close of this year, Malcolm received the permission of the Prince Regent to "accept and wear the insignia of the Royal 'Persian order of the Lion and Sun." And further his Royal Highness was pleased to confer on him the order of Knighthood. Thus he became Sir John Malcolm. But it was only a civil Knighthood that was now conferred upon him, such as might be conferred on the Dean of the corporation of shoe-makers in any market-town, on his taking up an address of congratulation on occasion of the birth of a prince. As yet the order of the Bath was not open to Company's Officers; and it was not till 1815, that he could write himself K. C. B., being one of the first batch of Indian Officers, on whom that distinction was conferred.

By the Committees of both Houses of Parliament on Indian affairs, Sir John Malcolm was examined at great length; and although his opinions on various subjects would now be deemed illiberal and behind the age, we must remember that the forty-five years that have elapsed since then have been years of unexam-

* In a subsequent letter, Malcolm gives the following little anecdote, which is too good to be omitted: "I forgot to mention to you the speech of an old servant at Burnfoot (Andrew Nicoll), which I thought admirable. On observing to him that there had been many changes, but that I hoped he still found it a good house to live in, 'Faith,' said he, 'it's mair than that—it's the best house to *die* in of a' Scotland.'"

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pled progress. On many practical matters, Malcolm's opinions were of the highest value, and his answers throughout were given with the confidence of a man who understands his subject, and has made up his mind upon it.

While Malcolm was thus a prominent man in public, he was working hard at the preparation of his History of Persia for the press; and in the summer of 1815, it was published in two handsome quartos. It was received with various degrees of enthusiasm by his friends, by the reviewers, and by the public. At this distance of time, we can say with confidence that the book is one of very great merit. It had no precursor in its own walk, and hitherto it has had no successor. It opened up a new field to the knowledge of European scholars and European statesmen. It secured for its author a large amount of literary fame of an enduring character, and brought him into acquaintance with many men whose acquaintance was a privilege. It procured for him from the University of Oxford, the honorary degree of L. L. D., and shortly after its publication, it was translated into several languages.

But long before this, Malcolm had begun to turn his thoughts once more towards the east. He was still a young man, comparatively; and was as fit for work as he had ever been. He had come home without an Indian fortune, but with Indian ideas and habits. "He was not an extravagant, but he was a generous 'man; and it takes many years to teach one who has spent all his 'adult life in India how to turn a moderate income to good ac-'count." Although he held in India the rank of Brigadier-General, yet regimentally he was only a Lieutenant-Colonel. But he was not far from the top of the list, and if he returned to India and served till he should become full Colonel, he could then return with a handsome income. He did not, however, think at first of returning to India merely as a regimental officer. He had never, so far as we can make out, been with his regiment since he was an ensign or a very young lieutenant; and the position which he had occupied, and the work in which he had been engaged, must have unfitted him for the mere drudgery of regimental work. But he had left India with the full intention of returning if he could do so in a suitable position; and shortly after he reached England in 1812, he had good hopes of the Governorship of Bombay, but this was conferred on Sir Evan Nepean. Again in 1814, he had hopes of the Governorship of Madras, but this was given to Mr. Hugh Elliott. So all through 1812, 1813, 1814 and the earlier part of 1815, he was occupied as we have represented with multitudinous engagements, domestic, social, sporting, literary and political. All through these years he kept up a frequent and intimate correspondence with the man on whom all

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the eyes of Europe were bent, and when, in July, 1815, the Duke of Wellington asked him to pay him a visit in Paris, he joyfully accepted the invitation, and spent a couple of months in intimate association with his old friend, and in all the gaieties of the French capital at that important crisis. Mr. Kaye has acted judiciously in reproducing at large Malcolm's journal of this period, and we believe that even at this distance of time, it would be more than a safe speculation for the publisher to reprint this journal as a separate volume. There never was a more important epoch in the history of Europe, and no man had a more favourable "standpoint" than Malcolm, for viewing the performances. Soon after his return from the continent he made up his mind to proceed to India without any appointment; but it was not till near the end of the next year that he was able to carry his resolution into effect:—

"He started in October with a heavy heart; but he felt that the sacrifice he was making was for the benefit of those whom he left behind, and that the season of separation would be but brief. 'Write me comfort about yourself,' he wrote to his wife from the Channel. 'The ship sails well. We shall soon be in India, and soon back again, never, I trust, to part again in this world. . . . Think more of what we have of enjoyment than what we want. I am only sensible to misery when I think you unhappy.' Strong contrary winds, however, presently set in; and Malcolm, landing at Portsmouth, paid a visit to Lord Keith at Purbrook, and spent some days there during the detention of the ship. He spoke with gratitude of the kindness of his reception, and I have no doubt that he made himself welcome to every inmate of the house, even to the little children. 'The little girl, Georgina,' he wrote, it need not be said how characteristically, 'is quite a delightful child. She comes every instant to me for stories; and she has had that of the Tigers in the Tree, the Elephant and the Gun, the Bear and the Looking-glass, and half a hundred others that are so approved by my own darlings. She has in return played me some nice tunes on the piano, and 'Rolly-polly, gammon and spinage,' charmingly."

Although his spirits were not high, he spent the time during this voyage, as he always spent the time at sea, in literary composition and study, in gymnastic exercises and in fun. At the Cape he "was received with much cordiality by the Governor, 'Lord Charles Somerset, who was not sorry to find in his guest 'a man who knew almost as much about horses as himself." If Malcolm could read his own biography, he would vehemently protest against that word "*almost*." He had all his life through a passion for horses, and would not have been disposed to acknowledge that his judgment in regard to them was inferior to that of any man whatsoever. The ship was detained at the Cape; and Malcolm's leave was drawing to a close. He must

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touch Indian ground by the 1st of March, 1817, else he was liable to have his name struck off the list of the Company's service; yea, we are not sure that he was not liable to be tried and shot as a deserter! He therefore took a passage in the *Minden*, which was to sail a week sooner than his own vessel. In point of fact, he did not reach Madras till the 17th of March; but he had written from Portsmouth to the Court of Directors a letter anticipating the contingency, and they took a favorable view of his case, and allowed him to return to his duty without prejudice to his rank:—

"On the 17th of March, Malcolm again crossed the Madras surf, and was soon in the midst of friends at the Presidency. His sister-in-law, Mrs. Macdonald, was there with her husband—one of Malcolm's old Persian comrades,* and in their house he found a home second only to the one he had quitted. Nothing could have been more gratifying than his reception by the general society of Madras. 'I am half killed,' he wrote, 'with returning visits. All seem delighted to see me; and I believe the great proportion are sincere.' But all this kindness did not make him less anxious about his future prospects. His first care on landing had been to despatch a letter to Lord Moira, who had succeeded Lord Minto as Governor-General of India, forwarding strong recommendations from Mr. Canning and others, which, indeed, were not required; and asking whether his Lordship had any instructions. 'I am in orders as returned to my duty,' he wrote on the 29th of March, 'waiting to hear from Bengal in answer to letters to Lord Moira; and if not called round (to Calcutta), I shall proceed forthwith to the Deccan, to command a brigade in Doveton's force, where I shall at least be in fortune's way. Depend upon it, if there is work, I shall have my hands full. Nothing but complete employment, and a feeling that I am making progress in advancing both the public interests and those of my own family, can reconcile me to this terrible separation."

In due course, Malcolm received a very satisfactory letter from Lord Moira, in which he invited him to Calcutta, and promised him the first suitable employment that might accrue. And it was evident that the vessel of the State was nearing a point at which all hands, and all heads too, would be called to work. The state of things is vividly described by Mr. Kaye in the following extract:—

"There were events then evolving themselves which it was almost certain would take shape ere long in another Mahratta war. During the five years which he had spent in Europe or on the seas, great and significant changes had been unfolded in Hindostan. The Mahratta princes and chiefs had been fast becoming oblivious of the victories of Lake and Wellesley, and if they had not encouraged any wild hopes of bettering their condition by another appeal to arms,

* Afterwards Sir John Macdonald.

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they had ceased to observe a line of conduct calculated to avert such an event.

"But although it appeared to Malcolm, as he contemplated the aspect of the political horizon, that a war with the substantive Mahratta States was not very remote, there was another more immediate source of danger and inquietude out of which it was certain that hostilities must speedily arise. The lawlessness of the Pindarrees* had reached a point at which it was impossible any longer for the paramount power to look on without interfering for the protection of its own subjects, and the maintenance of the existing order of things, which these predatory cohorts threatened to subvert. The Indian Government, under stringent instructions from the Home authorities, had suffered events to take their course, until it was difficult to divert them into a safe channel. But now at last Lord Moira had obtained a reluctant and conditional assent to the prosecution of a vigorous course of policy, and had determined upon the destruction of these predatory bands, and the establishment on a sure basis of the tranquillity of Upper India. That this great and necessary measure would embroil us in a war with the Mahratta States—with Holkar's Government almost certainly; with Scindiah's very probably; with the Governments of the Peishwah and the Rajah of Berar scarcely less probably; suggested itself more and more palpably to Sir John Malcolm, the more he considered the state and temper of these Courts, and the degree in which they would be affected by our hostilities against the Pindarrees. He had been many years absent from India, but during that interval of rest he had corresponded with Mount-stuart Elphinstone and other eminent men, and had never ceased to take a lively interest in all that was going on upon the scene of his former labors. The troubles which had arisen were not wholly unforeseen or unpredicted by him and the other politicians of the same school. The imperfect—the summary winding-up of affairs in 1805-1806 under the Governments of Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow—had sown broadcast the seeds of future difficulty and danger, which were now bristling up everywhere —a crop ready for the sickle. During all this interval Malcolm had clearly seen that, sooner or later, the time must come for another armed interference in the troublous affairs of Upper and Central India; and now that the long-deferred crisis seemed really to be at hand, it was not without a justifiable emotion of pride that he felt there was not another man in the country who, in such a conjuncture, could render to the State the essential service which Lord Moira was now about to extract from Sir John Malcolm."

In accordance with Lord Moira's invitation, Malcolm set out

* The Pindarrees were bands of predatory troops—half soldiers and half robbers—who took service in time of war with the Mahratta chiefs, or carried on a desolating warfare, on their own account, against every petty state too weak to resist them. They had gradually increased in number and power, until they threatened to subvert all the minor principalities, and were continually making inroads into the Company's dominions.

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for Calcutta, and reached our palatial city on the 30th of April, 1817. It is a singular proof of the really sterling nature of Malcolm's good qualities, that he seems to have given equal satisfaction to all the successive Governors and Governors-General under whom he served. He was first brought forward by Lord Hobart, by whom, it appears, he was recommended to Lord Wellesley, who equally delighted to employ the man Malcolm in all affairs requiring tact and talent, as he delighted in the fun and frolic of the boy Malcolm. Lord Cornwallis was glad to acknowledge his merits, and solicitous to avail himself of his valuable services. Lord Minto was as much his personal friend, as he was his employer in a delicate and difficult, and, as it was expected to be, most important embassy. And now Lord Moira, pompous and magnificent as our readers all know him to have been, seems to have overlooked the free and easy style of Malcolm, perhaps even to have liked it. The following scene would, we think, form no bad subject for the painter. "He came out 'of his room yesterday in full dress, *as he always is;* and caught 'me, without coat or neck-cloth, playing billiards with an aide-'de-camp in similar costume. He smiled and made a bow." We suppose no one of our Indian viceroys has been more frequently painted than Lord Hastings. Our own collection of prints, which is not a very extensive one, contains two or three portraits of him as Lord Moira, and two or three as Lord Hastings, one masonic, one apparently military, and all thoroughly viceregal and *in full dress.* We think the hint we have given for a picture of him and Malcolm and the aide-de-camp, worthy of consideration on the part of our limners. In the course of a fortnight after his arrival in Calcutta, Malcolm's work was chalked out for him. He was to be "Governor-General's Agent in the 'Deccan, and Brigadier in the force serving in that quarter" under Sir Thomas Hislop: and so towards the end of May, he set out for Madras in a small country ship; and in the course of the voyage, which lasted a month, he wrote a letter of 200 pages to Lord Hastings relative to the contemplated operations against the Pindarrees. At Madras, he waited a few days to see and take counsel with his old friend, "Tom Munro." The following extract from a letter written at this period, will show how, like his old border ancestors, he was eager to have his foot in the stirrup, and to go forth to battle "as to summer sport:"—

"'Here I am at the old place; but how altered! Where is Close? Where is Webbe? Where is every one? However, we must not complain. Tom Munro, one of the school, will be here to-morrow. I have urged, and I trust with success, his appointment to the military as well as the civil power in the districts south of the Kishna, including Darwar and Khaursigul, which the Peishwah

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has ceded to enable us to pay the irregular horse of his own country and some infantry. I am only waiting to see Munro, and then start dawk for Bangalore, Hyderabad, Poonah, and Nagpoor; and having visited all these Residencies, seen the two forces under Smith and Doveton, I shall join Sir Thomas Hislop's somewhere near the Nerbudda, and have obtained all the information and all the opinions he can require. . . . . My situation is most flattering. As Governor-General's agent, all political work connected with our operations is in my hands; as Brigadier-General, I am destined for the most advanced force; and, what is really delightful, from the Governor-General down to the lowest, black or white, red or brown, clothed or naked, all appear happy at my advancement This general feeling, my dear friend, operates to check my presumption. I almost fear that I may not be able to fulfil the expectations which have been formed.' "

So, after a fortnight spent at Madras, he set forth on his journey, accompanied for the first sixteen miles by his sister-in-law, (Mrs. Macdonald) and her husband. He was attended in his travels by "little George Wareham," "a boy whom he had picked up 'on his outward voyage, to act as amanuensis, clerk, servant, 'factotum." A plucky little fellow was George. "Just as we were 'starting," says Malcolm, "the little fellow came up to me, and 'casting a look at the crowd of palanquin-boys, mussalchees, 'police-peons, and villagers, who were all talking loud in a lan-'guage of which he knew not one word, whispered, 'Sir, you 'have forgotten something.' What is it, I asked, with impa-'tience. 'You have forgotten,' he said in a lower tone, 'to 'load your pistols.' I could not help smiling; but thanking 'him, said, we were yet a thousand miles from any place where 'it would be necessary to load a pistol." The next notice that we find of little George, is a sad one; but it is equally creditable to the writer and to the subject of it. To Lady Malcolm, about the beginning of November, Malcolm says: "To complete 'my distress, I learnt yesterday from Hussungabad that poor 'George Wareham, of whom I have so often written you, must 'die. Never did a boy unite such warm affections, such noble 'principles, and such extraordinary talent. I weep over his fate, 'as I would over that of a son." It is well to know that the high tory, the friend of Asiatic monarchs, the friend of the hero of Europe, the knight with his decoration on his breast, the general with his sword by his thigh, has "so often written" to his lady-wife about "little George," the friendless boy whom he had picked up on board ship, and of whom living he had a generous appreciation, and for whom dying he had a tear of affection. It were well, doubtless, if these feelings were more common among the higher classes than they are; it were well if the lower classes knew and believed that they are as common as they are.

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Malcolm's journey to the Residencies in the Deccan was like an ovation. In the Mysore country he was "among people who 'greeted him as an old friend, and were eager to do him honor." On passing out of Mysore into the ceded districts, he was told that he was now in *Munro-ka-Mooluk*, and heard "rich Brahman Tehseldars, police-peons, palanquin-boys and village coolies" unite in the applause of his old friend. On approaching Hyderabad, where he had entered on his diplomatic career years before, he was met by Mr. Russell, and conducted to the palace of the Residency, and here he spent a few days in gaiety and relaxation. But here, as his diplomatic career had begun, so it had very nearly been brought to an end. "After this visit '(he says) I went to attend an auction of the effects of Mr. 'Charles Russell. As an immense crowd were standing in one 'room, bidding for a double-barrelled gun, the floor gave way 'with a great crash. I was in the centre of the place that first 'broke, and was precipitated down with men, beer, chairs, tables 'on my head." Several deaths were the consequence of this fall; but Malcolm, though so large and heavy a man, and in the very centre of the floor that gave way, escaped, the good hand of his God being upon him, "with some slight cuts and bruises, 'and drenched with beer."

From Hyderabad he started for Poonah, and accomplished the entire distance—364 miles—in three days; not bad travelling over such a country in the month of August. At Poonah he was welcomed by the Resident, Mountstuart Elphinstone, with the cordial greeting of old and sincere friendship:—

"His reception at Poonah by men of all classes and all characters was most gratifying. The natives of the place were scarcely less delighted to see him than were his own countrymen. In this he rejoiced on public grounds, for he believed that it would greatly increase his influence, and therefore his utility. But that which most gladdened his heart, was the opportunity of being again in familiar intercourse and under the same roof with Mountstuart Elphinstone. Their last meeting had been merely the meeting of two friends, with common social and literary tastes. They were busy then as brother authors; but now they met as fellow-craftsmen in the great political workshop, with labor of no common magnitude before them. There were then two men in India likely to compete with Malcolm for the great prizes of the service—perhaps to stand in the way of the advancement he so much coveted. They were Mountstuart Elphinstone and Thomas Munro. But ambitious as was Malcolm and eager for promotion, he never lost an opportunity of bringing forward the services and discoursing upon the merits of his two distinguished friends."

In this passage Mr. Kaye seems to have forgotten,—at least we should have expected that he would have alluded to it, had he

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remembered—that Elphinstone and Malcolm had met long ago in General Wellesley's camp in 1803. It is interesting to think how constant was the friendship of these two men, although their paths once or twice crossed each other; and that a friendship begun in 1803, is commemorated in 1856 by the dedication of the volumes before us to Mountstuart Elphinstone.

On the 7th of August, Malcolm proceeded to a place called Mahanlee, about seventy miles from Poonah, to pay a visit to the Peishwah, by whom he was received with all honor, and with every shew of gladness, which was probably not insincere. In fact the Peishwah looked upon Malcolm as a friend, and he could scarcely fail to be aware that a time was coming when he must be saved by his friends, or not saved at all. Badjee Rao was not a very bad man; but he was the victim of temptations which he could not control, because he was too weak to control himself. He might have known, and perhaps did know, that he could have nothing, but what we might choose to give him, and could be nothing, but what we might choose to make him; and it was perhaps this very state of dependence against which he recalcitrated. Or it might be that it is essential to the very nature of a weak mind to deal doubly. At all events the Peishwah never ceased to profess friendship and gratitude towards the English, and yet continually encouraged and supported their enemies. Trimbuckjee Danglia, the Nana Saheb of those days, he had aided and sheltered; and when his extradition was demanded, he had hesitated and procrastinated until a ring of British troops had been thrown around his capital. This was in May, 1817; and in August of the same year, was this visit of Malcolm paid him:—

"He was full of complaints and of professions. He declared that he had always been the friend of the British—that he had never forgotten the time when Wellesley, Close, and Malcolm had proved themselves to be his true friends in the midst of adversity; and when Malcolm spoke of the operations which had been undertaken for the suppression of the Pindarrees, he made large promises of assistance. He spoke freely of the difficulties of his position—of the many surrounding circumstances which rendered him so likely to be misunderstood—of the suspicious conduct of others which brought him into disrepute. But he repeated that he was faithful to the British alliance, and that he had been harshly treated by his friends. He was obviously both vexed and dispirited. Malcolm exerted himself to soothe and encourage the unhappy Prince, whose faults were mainly those of feebleness of character; and, knowing that his fears were his greatest enemies, said all he could to allay them. There were those who thought that the opportunity would be a good one for asking or demanding new concessions: but Malcolm had made up his mind to abstain from everything calculated to excite the alarm or increase the discontent of the Peishwah; and he believed that he

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left his Highness comforted, if not assured. At all events, it was only in accordance with Malcolm's disposition to look upon the bright side of things, hopefully and confidently, and he yet believed that the Peishwah would be true to his word.

"Badjee Rao may have been sincere at the time. He may have recognised, in Malcolm's presence, the soundness of his friend's advice; and believed that the English alliance was the one which would tend most to the support of his power. But he was utterly without steadfastness of character. There was really no reliance to be placed in his professions. And when Malcolm returned to the Residency to narrate what had passed at this confidential interview, Elphinstone, who had been for some years closely watching the crooked ways of the Peishwah, could not be persuaded to see anything in his promises and professions, but the boundless dissimulation which was so large an ingredient in his character. The two friends were long engaged in amicable discourse on the character and designs of Badjee Rao; and each confidently trusted to time to prove the soundness of his opinions."

From Mahanlee Malcolm returned to Poonah, and thence after a few days, he set out on his return to Hyderabad, which he reached on the 16th of August, and was incessantly occupied for some time in making arrangements for the equipment of the army. He had not only his own work to do, but that also of Sir Thomas Hislop, who was at this time dangerously sick. On the 3rd of September, Sir John Malcolm set out from Hyderabad, and proceeded on that service which was destined to be the most important one that occurred in the whole course of his life. "I expect (he 'wrote) to be at Nagpore on the 20th, and to take command of 'the two divisions of the army—the Commander-in-Chief's and 'my own—and to conduct them to a position on the banks of 'the Nerbudda, between Hindia and Hussungabad." Until he joined the army he travelled in the capacity of a civilian, attended by his political assistants, Captains Josiah Stuart and John Briggs: Lieutenant John Low, now our respected fellow-citizen and member of the Supreme Council of India, was his aide-de-camp: Cornet Max Elliot, and Lieutenant Bell were attached to his escort, and Lieutenant Laurie was surveying the route. Stuart, Briggs and Low had been with him in Persia, and were men with whom he delighted to associate; and the others were no less to his mind. In such society, and with the near prospect of being in command of an army, Malcolm was of course "in high feather." He pushed on whenever it was possible, and when compelled to wait, as he often was, for the subsidence of swollen streams, he divided his time between enquiries into the condition of the people, and such pranks and fun as showed that the "boy Malcolm" was still unsubdued within him:—

"Wading, as he said, through a beautiful country, in high health

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and spirits, living abstemiously, taking much exercise, shooting quails wherever he could find them, laughing at the petty misfortunes of his friends, and being laughed at in turn, Malcolm splashed on to the banks of the Godavery, which he reached on the 12th of September. On the following day, after a scene of tumultuous noise and confusion, in the midst of which he seated himself close to the river's edge and wrote a dozen public and private letters, he crossed the swollen waters and continued his march. But on the 16th, he was stopped by a torrent, which it seemed almost impossible to pass. Detention at such a time was vexatious in the extreme. He wrote to the Chief Secretary, saying:

"'Here I am stopped by a vile nullah that is swelled into a river, but expect to pass it to-morrow morning. You will judge of my vexation, when you read the enclosed and see how we are expediting our troops to the Nerbuddah, that there may be no possibility of our enemy being too early for us. I don't know exactly in what direction I shall move from Nagpoor. It will be determined by circumstances; but I shall be on the river with the first of our troops, and ready to carry into effect any instructions I may receive. . . . . I trust they will be early and particular. I conclude that we shall be told to be as orderly as possible—to conciliate the inhabitants, but to suffer no insult to pass unpunished. I state this because it is the manner in which I shall act, and direct those under me to act, in the absence of instructions. In loose Governments, like those of the Mahratta, there is no other mode of proceeding. I have seen the Duke of Wellington (who conciliated as much as any man) more than once order a storming party to parade for the attack of a fortified village of our good ally the Peishwah, and it has been on its march to the attack, before the gates were opened or supplies granted. . . . . I am more vexed than I can express at the delay I have encountered; but I am now proceeding with one tent, and will be stopped by nothing that an elephant can pass.'

"He had made up his mind to cross, and he carried out his resolution. After exploring the stream for some distance, he found a place where it seemed possible for an elephant to pass. 'For seven or eight hours,' he wrote, 'three of these animals kept going backwards and forwards through the stream, loaded with baggage, men, women, and children. Besides what were on their backs, half a dozen held on by ropes from them, and other ropes fastened to these animal-bridges hauled over horses and camels. The whole was a scene for the pencil of Hogarth.' It was something better too—it was a great obstacle bravely overcome. Malcolm was all eagerness now to push on; so, taking with him only his aide-de-camp Low, and Williams the amateur, with one small tent for the accommodation of the three, he left his camp behind him, and rode on as rapidly as the state of the roads would allow him to advance. He was 'nobly mounted on a grey Persian horse called Sultan, of great beauty, strength, and spirit.' On those wearisome marches, he said, he could not bear to find himself on the back of any other horse, though he had several noble animals with him."

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At length, on the 23rd of September, he reached the tents of his friend Mr. Jenkins, the Resident of Nagpore, who met him twelve miles from the city. Next morning they moved towards the city, and as they approached it, they were met by the Rajah Appa-Sahib, the successor of that Ragojee Boonsla, whom General Wellesley had beaten at Assaye. Here, as usual, he made himself popular. The following characteristic specimen of the conversation between the Rajah and Sir John is given by Mr. Kaye in a note :—

"The following account, in one of Malcolm's letters, of a conversation with Appa-Sahib, is amusing and characteristic : 'The Rajah was uncommonly kind to me, and at the last visit, though his wife was very ill, and he really looked sorry, I succeeded in making him laugh aloud in public durbar. He inquired about my family. 'A wife and five children.' 'Sons or daughters?' 'One son and four daughters.' 'How old is the son?' 'Eight years of age—a fine boy—very wicked.' (A laugh.) 'Why were not my family with me?' 'The children were educating.' 'What! daughters!' 'Yes—our ladies were educated, and became as clever, often cleverer, than our men. We admitted female succession to the throne. It was probable that ere long a female would wear the British crown—as several had done before.' 'Strange!' (With smiles.) 'Why was not my wife with me?' 'It was fortunate, at present, she was not.' 'How?' 'Her absence made me more able to execute the orders of my own State and of the Rajah. For instance, I meant to march to Aumeer on the following day—fifty-six miles, and horrid roads. If I had a wife, she would take five days for such a journey.' A loud laugh, and the Maharajah concluded by saying, 'Malcolm-Sahib makes fun of everything!'"

Having now completed his tour of the great native courts at Hyderabad, Poonah and Nagpore, and made arrangements as to the ways in which the Nizam, the Peishwah and the Boonsla were to co-operate with us, Malcolm's political functions were at an end; and it was with a high-bounding heart that he buckled on his armour, and found himself for the first time in high military command. On the 29th of October, he joined the army at Hurda, and, in the absence of Sir Thomas Hislop, assumed the command of the troops. On the 10th of November, he was relieved of the supreme command, by the arrival of Sir Thomas, and on the 15th, Sir John Malcolm crossed the Nerbudda, at the head of a light field force in pursuit of the Pindarees.

Some months before this Malcolm had written to his wife: "I would glory more in being the means of contributing to the 'annihilation of this system of murder and plunder, than in all 'the great victories that were ever achieved." But he was, for all that, too much of a sportsman not to wish for larger game

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than these "small deer;" and his wish was about to be gratified. Mr. Kaye labors to prove that it was our preparation on so large a scale for the extirpation of the Pindarees that first alarmed the great Mahratta chiefs, and that their suspicion that we aimed at them, led them to assume a hostile attitude towards us. It may be so, or it may not; certainly the extent of these preparations was caused by the fact that Lord Hastings believed that these chiefs were meditating war. Be this as it may, the Peishwah took the initiative. He rejected the counsel of his chief minister, Mooroo Dikshut, who was friendly to the English, and gave himself up to the guidance of Gokla, the bitterest of their enemies. At his instigation the Peishwah made insolent demands of the British Resident, which Elphinstone was not the man to grant. The Residency, which had been moved to Kirkee, was attacked. The Mahrattas were beaten; "re-inforcements were sent to the assistance of Elphinstone 'and the brigade. The Mahratta camp was attacked; the 'enemy were dispersed; Poonah was occupied by British troops; 'and the Peishwah was a fugitive."

We must now attend to the position of the pieces on the board, on the Mahratta side of the game. The Peishwah had, as we have just said, assumed an attitude of hostility, and had suffered defeat. The Boonsla was either hesitating, or playing a double game. But at last he openly declared against us, attacked the British Residency, was beaten and fled. Scindia had been equally undecided; but was proved to have intrigued, not only with the Peishwah, but also with the Nepaulese. But Lord Hastings advanced on his capital, and he had nothing for it but to submit. Holkar (not Jeswunt Rao, but Mulhar Rao, a boy of eleven years of age) was under the tutorship of a woman named Toolsee Bhaee, who had been the favorite wife or concubine of Jeswunt, and had gained a complete ascendancy over him. This lady, who was young, beautiful and clever, but licentious and vindictive, was reported to be in favor of English interests. But the soldiery could not be controlled. In fact the state of things was precisely that which existed in the Punjab before the last war. The Sirdars, with or without the consent of the regent, collected their troops at Rampoora, and marched to Mehidpore. On hearing of their movement, Malcolm, anticipating the orders of his chief, resolved to relinquish the pursuit of the Pindarees, and join Sir Thomas Hislop. Accordingly on the 12th of December, he united his division with the main body of the army at Oujein. Two days after, the army moved and took up a position at Gunnye, twenty miles from Mehidpore, where the hostile army lay. Here negotiations were entered upon and terms proposed, which, after the usual amount

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of vacillation and chicanery, were refused, and the wakeels of Holkar were on the 10th of December dismissed from the British camp. It does not clearly appear whether Toolsee Bhaee had really any leaning to British interests; but the chiefs supposed that she had. They therefore seized her on the same day on which the negotiations were broken off. "As day broke on 'the 20th, Toolsee Bhaee was taken from the tent in which 'she had been confined, carried down to the banks of the Sepree 'river, where the beautiful head of the unhappy woman was 'struck from her body, and her bloody remains cast into the 'stream." And now the die was cast. War to the knife was now without alternative. On the 20th the British army moved from Gunnye, and encamped at Hurneal. On the 21st, the same day of the year on which the battle of Ferozeshuhr was fought twenty-eight years later, they went on, Sir John Malcolm leading the advanced division, to attack the enemy at Mehidpore.

It was one of the shortest days in the year, but long enough to admit of great achievements. The battle of Mehidpore was one of the most decisive ever fought in India; and the main brunt of it fell on Malcolm's division. Every advantage, in numbers, position, and weight of artillery, was on the side of the enemy; but nothing could stand against the charge of our troops, when led on by a man of Malcolm's spirit and gallantry. They trusted him, and he trusted them. And in those days our sepoys were worthy of trust. It is somewhat remarkable that Malcolm should have been the virtual commander in the only pitched battle that he ever saw. His want of practice and training as a soldier in a subordinate position might have militated against his success, had the battle been of a different complexion. But what was wanted at Mehidpore was "hard fighting," and for *that* Malcolm required no special education. We cannot give a better comment on this brilliant action than was given by Mr. Canning in the House of Commons:—

"This brings me to the battle of Mehidpore—the only great general action which occurred in the course of the campaign. Of this battle I feel myself incompetent, even if it were necessary, to enter into the military details: the gazettes furnish a more perspicuous account of it than I could pretend to offer. But I may be permitted to say, that more determined gallantry, more inflexible perseverance, or greater exertion of mind and body on the part of every individual engaged, were never displayed, than in the battle of Mehidpore. The result was the defeat and dissolution of the army of the enemy—though not without loss on our side deeply to be deplored. This victory recommends to the gratitude of the House the name of Sir Thomas Hislop, by whose conduct and under whose auspices it was won; and that of Sir John Malcolm—second in command on that occasion;—second to none in renown—whose name will be remem-

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bered in India as long as the British tongue is spoken, or the British flag hoisted throughout that vast territory—*Hansard*, vol. 39."

Dr. Southey, in one of his light pieces addressed to his children, described himself as "Laureate to them and the King;" and we confess that we like some of the verses that he composed in the former capacity, better than any of the more ponderous productions that he put forth in the latter. In like manner we do not value the despatch in which Sir John Malcolm, Brigadier General, had the honor to report to the Adjutant General of the army, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c., so highly as we do the following letter to his son George, now a boy of about eight years:—

"To his son, George Malcolm, then a child at school, he wrote, two or three months afterwards: 'You bade me promise to write to you if ever I went to battle. I have been at battle. Mamma will tell you I have tried to behave so that you should not be ashamed of papa. If you became a soldier, you must recollect this, and behave so that papa will not be ashamed of you.' What follows is too characteristic to be omitted: 'I have a little horse not bigger than a mastiff dog. He trots into the tent, and eats off the table, which he can just reach. I take hold of his fore-legs, he rears up, and walks on his hind-legs round the tent. We have a monkey who sometimes rides this pony. It is such fun. I often wish that you were here. I was running after him and the monkey, some days ago, when my old Moonshee (Persian writer) came out and looked quite pleased. A gentleman asked him the reason and he said: 'This sight brings back to my mind old times—twenty-six years ago, when I first came to my master—only, that it is but seldom he plays in this way now. Then he did nothing else.' I have a number of fine horses; and I hunt almost every day—hares, foxes, and jackals. Four days ago I started an elk as high as a horse. I rode after him more than three miles, till he was quite tired, and then coming up, I threw a large spear into him, which killed him on the spot. There are many nice gentlemen who live with me: and play and hunt with me. But not one that is not a good scholar. So take care and be a good scholar, or papa will not let you play and hunt with him." '

The battle of Mehidpore closed the war. It was now the time for negotiation, which of course devolved upon Malcolm. He dictated terms, which were severe and humiliating indeed, but which, after the usual amount of vacillation, were accepted; and young Holkar descended quietly into the position of a "Protected" prince. Holkar being thus subdued, the feudatory chiefs and the Pindarrees submitted one after another, and in a very short time the country that had been so long a scene of anarchy and tumult, was restored under Malcolm's administration, to peace and prosperity. It is on his achievements as Governor General's Agent in Malwa that Malcolm's fame especi-

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ally rests. If "peace has its victories, not less renowned than war," we cannot but place the name of Malcolm at the head of a very select list of the servants of the East India Company, whose names deserve to be, and will be, held in perpetual remembrance. Malcolm and Munro, Colonel Dixon, Mr. Thomason and the two Lawrences, have been the greatest pacificators of India. We name these six without fear of doing prejudice to the fair fame of many others who have labored, and labored well and successfully, in the same field, of each of whom it may be said, as of one of David's captains of old, "he was more honorable than the thirty, but he attained not to the first three."

While Malcolm was going on, striving hard, and with good measure of success, to establish the reign of peace, justice, and prosperity in the Malwa territories, he learned that the Peishwah was on the move at the head of a large army, and that there was a probability that it would fall to his lot to stop his progress. But it did not at first appear whether he were to be stopped by war or by treaty :—

"It was soon apparent, however, that it was with diplomacy, not with war, that Badjee Rao was to be met. Late on the 17th of May, an emissary from the Peishwah arrived in Malcolm's camp at Mhow with a letter from his master. The conference between the Mahratta Envoy and the British General lasted during a great part of the night. Everything that could be urged in favor of the Peishwah was urged, but with no avail, by the former. Malcolm could not hold out any hope that the British Government would consent to restore Badjee Rao even to a state of nominal sovereignty. He had forfeited by his conduct all claim to title or dominion. But immediate submission, it was added, by hastening the termination of the war which he had so unjustifiably provoked, might even then induce them to consider with all clemency and generosity his fallen state. Finding that he could not move the officer, the Mahratta agent then endeavoured to touch the heart of the man. He appealed to Malcolm's old feelings of personal friendship. 'That friendship,' it was answered, 'was disregarded when it might have saved. I warned him of his danger, but my advice was thrown away. I shall still, however, be rejoiced to be the instrument of saving him from total ruin. All opposition is now fruitless. Let him throw himself upon the bounty of the British Government, and he will save himself, his family, and his adherents, from total destruction.'

"The Mahratta Envoy then, instructed by his master, implored Malcolm to visit the Peishwah in his camp. But the proposal was peremptorily rejected. 'It would have shown,' said Malcolm, 'a solicitude for his submission which would have operated against the object which it was meant to promote. Besides, it would have removed me from the position where I could best employ the means at my disposal for the reduction of the Peishwah, if I had been driven to war.' Instead, therefore, of himself proceeding to Badjee Rao's

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camp, he despatched a confidential officer to communicate upon his part with the Peishwah, and especially to urge upon him the necessity, as a preliminary to negotiation, of moving forward from the position which he then occupied in Scindiah's dominions and in the neighbourhood of Asseerghur, a fortress held by a party of our enemies, which we were afterwards compelled to reduce."

The negotiations that ensued cannot be contemplated without exciting the most painful feelings. The poor old man had brought ruin upon himself, no doubt; but still ruin was on him. And moreover he had brought it on himself more by that weakness and incompetence which led him to give himself up to the guidance of profligate men, than by any peculiarly large amount of personal profligacy. After sending various messages to Malcolm's camp, he begged for a personal interview, which being conceded, they met in the Peishwah's camp on the 1st of June, and, after the usual ceremonies, retired to a small tent pitched for the purpose. "The Mahratta prince was attended by two 'of his confidential advisers; the British General went alone."

All through the evening of that hot June day, the painful conference lasted. It was a representation in miniature of the relations between India and England. On the one side, there was the imbecility of effete royalty, now blustering about dignity, and now cringing and fawning in utter helplessness; on the other there was the manly and hearty sympathy of a large soul, but united with the stern inflexibility of a nation destined to conquer. In the state into which the Peishwah had reduced himself, the Friend could counsel nothing better than that he should accept the terms which the General offered. "The sacri-'fice demanded from you is, in fact, only the resignation of a 'power which you do not possess, and which you can never hope 'to regain; and your abandonment of a country which has been 'the scene of your misfortunes. This is all that you sacrifice; 'and in return you are offered a safe asylum, a liberal provision 'for yourself, and such of the most respectable of your adherents, 'as have been involved in your ruin." Eminently sound reasoning this, viewed merely as reasoning. But, rightly or wrongly, men will do something else than reason. They will occasionally feel a little. And we cannot very strongly condemn the Peishwah, if he did not at once *reasonably* leap down the precipice which he knew that he must descend, but fluttered the wings of feeling a little, in order to break his fall. And Malcolm felt for him. He was not the man to triumph superciliously over fallen greatness, even if the fall were occasioned by political profligacy. Yet the thing must be done, and the sooner it were done the better. Belisarius begging for an obolus,—Marius among the ruins of Carthage—Cardinal Wolsey bidding farewell to all his

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greatness,—was not a more pitiable spectacle than was the head of the Mahratta race, whispering in Malcolm's ear not to leave him, as his troops were not to be trusted, and it was only in Sir John's presence that he considered himself safe from their violence. At ten o'clock Malcolm returned to his own camp, and early next morning sent the Peishwah the following conditions of surrender:—

"'First.—That Badjee Rao shall resign for himself and successors all right, title, and claims over the Government of Poonah, or to any other sovereign power whatever.

"'Second.—That Badjee Rao shall immediately come with his family, and a small number of his adherents, to the camp of Brigadier-General Malcolm, where he shall be received with honor and respect, and escorted safe to the city of Benares, or any other sacred place in Hindostan that the Governor-General may, at his request, fix for his residence.

"'Third.—On account of the peace of the Deccan, and the advanced state of the season, Badjee Rao must proceed to Hindostan without one day's delay; but General Malcolm engages that any part of his family that may be left behind shall be sent to him as early as possible, and every facility given to render their journey speedy and convenient.

"'Fourth.—That Badjee Rao shall, on his voluntarily agreeing to this arrangement, receive a liberal pension from the Company's Government for the support of himself and family. The amount of this pension will be fixed by the Governor-General; but Brigadier-General Malcolm takes upon himself to engage that it shall not be less than eight lakhs of rupees per annum.

"'Fifth.—If Badjee Rao, by a ready and complete fulfilment of this agreement, shows that he reposes entire confidence in the British Government, his request in favor of principal Jagheerdars, and old adherents who have been ruined by their attachment to him, will meet with liberal attention. His representations also in favor of Brahmins of remarkable character, and of religious establishments founded or supported by his family, shall be treated with regard.

"'Sixth.—The above propositions must not only be accepted by Badjee Rao, but he must personally come into Brigadier-General Malcolm's camp within twenty-four hours of this period, or else hostilities will be recommenced, and no further negotiations will be entered into with him.'"

Having sent off these terms, Sir John Malcolm waited the result with agonizing anxiety. He had made a disposition of his forces that would have ensured the destruction of the Peishwah's force; and it is not to be doubted that military fame was on the cards, if the Peishwah should be so infatuated as to maintain a hostile attitude; such thoughts would arise in his mind, but they were determinedly repressed. On public grounds it

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could not be doubted that submission on the part of the Peishwah was far better than war both for him and for us; and Malcolm was a soldier, not a butcher. The terms were sent to the Peishwah at day-break, on the 2nd of June; with an announcement that his failure to present himself to Malcolm at noon on the following day, should be regarded as a rejection of the terms and a declaration of hostilities:—

"Having sent out horsemen along all the roads which led to his camp to turn back any envoys or messengers from the Peishwah who might be coming with new overtures or excuses for delay, Malcolm prepared to move forward at the appointed hour. By nine o'clock he had reached the ground at the foot of the hill on which Badjee Rao was encamped. At a short distance from our camp one of the Peishwah's principal agents was seen advancing upon horseback. He was about to dismount, when Malcolm arrested the movement. 'Is your master coming?' he asked, eagerly. 'It is an unlucky day,' replied the envoy. 'It will, indeed, be an unlucky day for the Peishwah,' cried Malcolm, indignantly, 'if he is not here within two hours.' 'He is afraid of guards and sentries,' said the envoy. 'He thinks that the orders of the Governor-General may compel you to place him in personal restraint, which will degrade him in the eyes of his people, Send some one to assure his mind, and he will come.' 'What nonsense is this?' asked Malcolm. 'The Peishwah is no fool. He cannot suspect us of placing guards and sentries over him to prevent his escape from the best situation in which he could be placed. I have received no such orders from the Governor-General. I have ventured, in anticipation of my instructions, to offer him the most liberal terms. But what does he do in return? After calling me from Malwah, after proclaiming me his only friend, he finishes by making me his dupe. It is the last time that he will ever be treated with by an English agent. Begone!' added Malcolm in a loud voice, and in the presence of a large concourse of hearers, 'and tell your master what I have said.'

"The envoy hesitated to depart. He had still another appeal to make. 'Will you not,' he said, 'send one of your Brahmins to the Peishwah to satisfy his mind?' 'If, replied Malcolm, 'he is really coming to my camp, I will not only send one of my Brahmins, but my assistant, Lieutenant Low, shall go out to meet him; and I will myself visit him unattended, whenever he approaches my camp.' The envoy departed, mounted his horse, and galloped to the Peishwah's camp. The Brahmin speedily followed. Soon tidings came in to the effect that a cavalcade was approaching, and that Badjee Rao himself was one of the party. On this, Low was sent forward to meet them, and by ten o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of June, the camp of the Peishwah was close to the British lines.

"Malcolm waited upon him. The fallen Prince appeared gloomy and desponding; he spoke of his hard fate—of the misconduct of others, which had forced him into this humiliating position—of the sufferings that were before him. But Malcolm spoke cheerfully and

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consolingly to him; said that, although further resistance might have delayed the hour of his final downfall, that fall would have been when it came at last—and nothing could prevent its coming—far more calamitous both to himself and his adherents; that now he was received as a friend of the British Government, a liberal provision had been made for him, and he would pass the remainder of his days in security and comfort; whereas another appeal to arms could have had but one result—it would have involved himself and his friends in irretrievable ruin, and made them outcasts and wanderers for the rest of their days."

And so Badjee Rao, the last of the Peishwahs, became a pensioner of the British Government, and he vegetated on his £80,000 a year for a quarter of a century. It is evident that Lord Hastings would have preferred that the quarrel should have been settled by the sword. But he was heartily glad that it was settled; only he was staggered by the amount of the pension; and it must be admitted that in this instance, as in others, Malcolm devised liberal things.

Badjee Rao was much depressed when he entered Malcolm's camp, but Malcolm was just the man to animate and enliven him. His bearing towards him, it need scarcely be said, was that of a gentleman to a gentleman, and Badjee soon became contented and cheerful, and perhaps as happy as his nature admitted of his being in any circumstances. It is but a small measure of happiness that is competent to men of his stamp. He was never, even in his best days, a ruler of men,—of himself or of others, and it was quite as pleasant to be ruled by an English gentleman as by a native Wazir.

And so the Ex-Peishwah marched along with Malcolm, encamping at a little distance from him. His troops gradually melted away and returned to their homes. But there was one body of his army that could not so easily be got rid of. These were Arabs, who were guarding the mountain passes, and who now rushed in from all sides, clamouring for their arrears of pay; and Malcolm saw that it would be necessary for the safety of his prisoner that he should take the matter into his own hand:—

"Stil tenacious of his dignity—still eager to make a show of power—Badjee Rao had declared that all would be well, and that he could manage his adherents. But at noon, on the 9th of June, a messenger entered the English camp, and announced that the Peishwah's tent was surrounded by his mutinous soldiery, clamorously demanding their arrears of pay, and threatening to resort to acts of violence if their claims were not promptly satisfied.

"Though the main body of Malcolm's troops had marched as usual in the morning, he had kept in the rear, under the belief that their services would be required, a detachment consisting of a regiment of cavalry, a battalion of infantry, some guns and about six

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hundred irregular horse. They were ready to act in a moment against the mutineers; but Badjee Rao still declared that he could induce, by promises of payment, the refractory troops to march towards their homes, and implored Malcolm not to attack them lest they should sacrifice his life to their resentment. For seven hours, therefore, the British troops were kept under arms, but inactive. Still the turmoil was unabated; still the language of the chief mutineers was loud and defiant. So Malcolm sent an express to recall the troops which had marched in the morning, and in the meanwhile exhorted the Peishwah, who was in an extreme state of alarm, to compose himself during the night, for that next day he would assuredly be relieved from the danger which then threatened him. At the same time, Malcolm sent messages to the chiefs of the mutineers, warning them of the certain destruction they would bring upon themselves by committing any acts of violence; but promising them on the other hand that if they would depart in peace, the pledges voluntarily made to them by the Peishwah, should be amply redeemed.

"The night passed quietly away. On the morning Malcolm went out to reconnoitre the neighbourhood of the Peishwah's camp. It was at a distance of about a mile and a half from our own headquarters, pitched upon a spot of low, jungly ground on the banks of a watercourse, which, flowing in a serpentine direction, surrounded three sides of the encampment. The low trees and brushwood on the banks of the nullah, and the uneven, stony surface of the ground, were favorable to the operations of the irregular Arab troops who occupied it. But Malcolm's quick soldierly eye discerned at a distance of some two hundred yards from the front of the encampment a spot on which he could form his force, with the left of his line resting on the watercourse, and his right extending to a hill, the crest of which commanded the whole camp. As soon as he received intelligence that the troops which he had recalled were close at hand, he made his formations, and prepared for action. His object, however, was rather to overawe the mutineers than destroy them. There was no doubt of the result of an engagement. But the lives of the Peishwah and all his family were in danger. The mutineers encompassed his tent. His attendants and followers, including numbers of women and children, were hemmed in by the refractory troops. To have opened a fire upon them would have been to have destroyed scores of innocent lives. The moment was one of extremest anxiety. Malcolm had nine six-pounder guns loaded with grape, and if he had opened upon the mutineers, the massacre would have been dreadful. He abstained to the extreme limits of forbearance. An Arab picket fired on our men, and two of our grenadiers were wounded. Still Malcolm would not fire a shot, or suffer a man to move. The display of force was sufficient. The chiefs of the mutineers were now coming forward, to sue for terms. Galloping forward, and stopping the fire of their men, they advanced towards the English general. He told them, in a manner not to be misunderstood, that the Peishwah had already paid them a large sum of money; that other points for

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which they had contended had been guaranteed to them on the faith of the British Government; and that therefore, as they had no longer any pretext for continuing in a hostile attitude, if they did not immediately draw off their troops from the tents of their late master, our batteries would open upon them and they would be destroyed to a man.

"They implored him to be patient for one more moment. They asked only that he would suffer them to return to their lines and bring with them the principal Jemadars of the force to hear Malcolm's promises confirmed. The permission was granted; and the jemadars came. "Give these men your hand," said the chief, Syud Zein by name; "promise them that, if they release Badjee Rao, you will not attack them, and all your commands shall be obeyed." To one after another Malcolm gave his hand and the promise they required to assure them; and then they hastened to their lines. In less than a quarter of an hour, their tents were struck, their troops had moved off; and Badjee Rao, attended by his own Mahratta guards, came up to the front of the English line, where Malcolm received him with a general salute.

"The Peishwah, who had been overwhelmed with terror, was now in a corresponding state of joy. He was profuse in his expressions of gratitude. He called Malcolm the saviour of his honour—the saviour of his life; and declared that he would, for the remainder of his days, be guided in everything by the advice of his preserver. There was no blessing in life, he said, equal to that of a true friend."

After crossing the Nerbudda, the Peishwah was sent off, under the escort of Captain Low, to Benares, where, as we have stated, and at Bithur, he lived for about a quarter of a century. It is not unworthy of notice, as shewing the respect of the English for their engagements, that, although the Governor-General had strongly disapproved of the amount of pension allowed him,—although an element of Malcolm's justification was the age and debility of the Peishwah, so that it was almost assumed in the treaty that he should not live any thing like so unreasonable a time, and although it may safely be assumed that abundance of pretexts might have been found for colouring a breach of faith, yet the pension was strictly and duly paid during all these years, in the course of which it must have amounted to somewhere about two crores of rupees, or two millions sterling.

We need scarcely remind our readers that the legacy which Badjee Rao left us was the execrable Nana Saheb. This inhuman monster is the adopted son of the last of the Peishwas.

And now Malcolm, having got rid of Badjee Rao, resumed, with his wonted energy, the work of civilizing Malwah. His head-quarters were at Mhow, whence he exercised "a military 'and political control over the greatest part of Malwah, and as 'far south as the Taptee." This territory he ruled with great

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judgment, and had the gratification of seeing order and happiness take the place of anarchy and all its consequent evils.

But we have seen nothing of the "Boy Malcolm" for a long time. Here is a specimen, which is well worthy of preservation, were it only for the allusion it contains to the Duke of Wellington's Hindostani. Writing to the Duke on the 25th of September, Malcolm says :—

"'The day before yesterday the whole of the officers in camp dined with me to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of Assye; and it was celebrated with proper enthusiasm by men who were sensible to all the advantages the Indian army derives from having its fame associated with your history. I have never yet written any poetry about you, and therefore expect pardon for making you the subject of a song for the day, a copy of which I enclose.* It is the same measure as that in which Moore has made the Genius of Erin call upon you to relieve her land, and sings equally well with the appropriate air of 'Paddy Whack.' If Moore is very Irish, you will perhaps say I am very Asiatic.

"'Our Assye festival did not finish with my dinner. My native aide-de-camp, Subadar Syud Hussein, a gallant soldier, owes his rise to that day. He was the leading havildar of the Fourth Cavalry in the charge; and he afterwards dashed into the centre of a party of the enemy's horse, and bore off their standard. His commanding officer, Floyer, brought him and the standard to you; and upon the story being told, you patted him upon the back, and with that eloquent and correct knowledge in the native language for which you were celebrated, said, 'Acha havildar; jemadar.' A jemadar he was made; and though the anecdote has no doubt been expelled from your memory to make room for others of more interest, it holds an important place in Syud Hussein's; and amid all his subsequent successes in Persia and in India, which have raised him to medals, pensions, and a palanquin from Government, his pride is the pat on the back he received at Assye; and he told me the other day with great *naivete* that he felt raised by your actions, as your increasing fame gave increasing value to the notice you had once taken of him. This grateful soldier followed my feast by one on the 24th to two hundred subadars, jemadars, havildars, and naicks of my division; and a grand nautch which he gave in the evening to about four hundred spectators, was attended by all the English officers in camp. A very good transparency of your head, with the word Assye, which had ornamented my bungalow, was put up by him in a large tent, and the Persian name of Wellesley Sahib Bahadur, in Persian characters, announced to those who had not seen the light of your countenance in the original, for whom the picture was intended. The subadar was pressed to call you the Duke

* The song which Malcolm wrote on this occasion—one of the most spirited of his poetical compositions—will be found in the Appendix. It was sung by Captain Fleetwood, of the Rocket Corps.

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of Wellington; but he said (and I think very justly) that was your European name, but your Indian name was Wellesley Bahadur."

"'P. S.—Since writing this letter, all the Pariahs at head-quarters met and gave a feast, to help which they purchased thirty bottles of Pariah arrack. Led by the riot they made to the place of meeting, I went with some others to see what was the matter. A drunken mehtur came up and said, 'We all get drunk for Wellington name.'"

This song is given by Mr. Kaye in his Appendix. He characterizes it as one of the most spirited of Malcolm's poetical compositions. Malcolm could do better things than write poetry, but poetry he could not write.

It was his peculiar faculty of putting every one around him into good humour that constituted one great element of Malcolm's success. Thoroughly in earnest as to the work he was engaged in, disposed always to look at the brighter side of every picture, acting on the principle that as a man he had an interest in all human things, confident in his own powers, and preferring the accomplishment of the end to the establishment of any preconceived theory respecting the means, he effected vastly more than a man of a different temperament could have achieved, and enjoyed the highest gratification that is permitted to men in this evil world, the sight of great good accomplished by his instrumentality.

He was now contemplating a speedy return to England, when more stirring work detained him. On the 10th of February, 1819, intelligence was brought to Malcolm that Appa-Sahib, the deposed Boonsla, or Rajah of Berar, who had for some time been hunted by our detachments, had broken from the hills, and accompanied by Chettro, the last of the Pindari chiefs, had made his way to Asseerghur, a strong fortress belonging to Scindia, the gates of which had been opened to him, but closed against his companion. Immediately on receiving this intelligence, he moved forward with his force, to co-operate with General Doveton. At first it was supposed that Jeswunt Rao, the commandant of the fortress, had acted on his own responsibility, and that his conduct would be disapproved by Scindia; but it soon appeared that he acted under instructions from Head-quarters at Gwalior. Jeswunt attempted, as usual, to amuse Malcolm by negotiations; but he was wide-awake, and was gradually surrounding the place; and the preparations being now complete, it was intimated to Jeswunt Rao that if he did not surrender himself before the 13th of March, the fortress should be attacked on the morning of that day. A move on the part of Scindia however put off the actual commencement of

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operations till the 18th; and the active work soon restored the force to health and spirits, which they had lost, while lying inactive at the foot of these walls in the "tremendous heat" of these equinoctial days. The assault was carried on with vigor, and despite of a few mishaps, especially an explosion in one of our batteries, which destroyed nearly a whole company of sepoys, it soon became evident that the garrison could not much longer hold out; and after striving hard to gain more favorable terms, they submitted to unconditional surrender. On the 9th of April they marched out, and the English bunting was hoisted amid the boom of a royal salute. Thus fell Asseerghur, the last stronghold of any great moment that remained in the hands of the Mahrattas. Having done his work here, and done it well, Malcolm set off to return to Mhow, to put matters in order, with a view to his quitting India for ever.

To this last step he was all the more inclined, as he had been mortified by his being once more refused the Governorship of Bombay. Mr. Kaye's statement on this subject places the matter in so clear a light that it requires no comment:—

"It has been incidentally stated that whilst Sir John Malcolm was pushing forward the operations for the reduction of Asseerghur, described in the preceding chapter, he was under the depressing influence of a heavy disappointment. Perhaps, however, it is hardly right to say that he was depressed by the news which arrived from England of the appointment of Mr. Elphinstone to the chief seat in the Bombay Government. The feeling with which he regarded his supercession was of a more active kind. It was a strong sense of unmerited injury, not altogether unmingled with resentment. He conceived not only that his just claims had been slighted, but that he had been dealt falsely with by men in whom he had reposed confidence—that if no actual pledge had been violated, there was still something of an implied or constructive promise which had been broken by the authorities at home.

"The expectation, which he had long cherished, of being appointed to succeed Sir Evan Nepean, was a reasonable one. It was reasonable, whether viewed in relation to Sir John Malcolm's distinguished services and just claims, or to the degree of encouragement which had been held out to him both by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. Malcolm, it is true, was a man of a sanguine temperament; but he had not, in this instance, viewed the amount of support, fairly indicated by the assurances he had received, through any magnifying medium of his own. With a full knowledge of all that passed before he left England, and all that was written to him after his return to India, I cannot see how he could have formed any other conclusion than that he would be appointed, on Nepean's retirement, Governor of Bombay. If he had just ground for this belief in 1816, surely the events of the two following

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years, which had strengthened his claims, might also reasonably have strengthened his conviction that he would not be passed over.

"But although in the peculiar circumstances of the supersession, there was something to increase Malcolm's mortification, there was much, on the other hand, to soften and subdue it. He had been passed over in favor of a younger man—of one who had fewer years of hard service on which to base his claim to such preferment. But no man in India estimated the character of Mountstuart Elphinstone more highly than John Malcolm; no man loved and respected him more. If the crown which Malcolm had coveted for himself, had been placed on the head of another, he felt in his inmost heart that the head was eminently fitted to wear it, and he rejoiced in the prosperity of his friend. "You will probably have heard," wrote Lord Hastings early in March, "that you were the losing candidate in the election for Bombay at the India House. Knowing as I do your feeling towards Elphinstone, I am aware this event will not be attended with the slightest degree of mortification, whilst the warm testimony rendered by all parties to your worth and services makes a speedy reparation of the disappointment certain." It was hardly possible that there should not have been some mortification; but the Governor-General saw clearly what was the honey at the bottom of the cup. Malcolm himself had in the strongest language recommended Elphinstone to the favorable consideration of the Court of Directors, and had dwelt with enthusiasm upon his eminent merits and distinguished services. But although he had often talked of Elphinstone succeeding him as Governor of Bombay, it had never entered into his calculations that there was any possibility of his friend preceding him there. He would, however, have written quite as warmly had the contingency been foreseen."

Malcolm would now have immediately retired, had not Lord Hastings strongly urged him to remain. His Lordship had before this proposed that Malcolm should be Governor of Bombay, and that the territory ceded by the Peishwah should be created into a Lieutenant-Governorship, to which Elphinstone should be appointed. As the former appointment had been given to the latter man, he was now desirous that the latter should be given to the former. In this expectation, and with the promise of the Grand Cross of the Bath, which he preferred to a Baronetcy, and which it was understood that he should receive as soon as he should attain that rank in the army which should make him capable of it, he toiled on at Mhow, converting the country which had been so long the scene of disorder and anarchy into a field of peaceful husbandry. But the hope that had sustained him was not destined to be realized. The Peishwah's territories were annexed to the Bombay Presidency. And another disappointment awaited him. Mr. Elliott retired from the Governorship of Madras in 1820, and all the exertions of

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Malcolm's friends on his behalf were unsuccessful. As in the former case, his disappointment was lessened by its being Sir Thomas Munro that was appointed in preference to him. But still it was a disappointment; and it is a great thing to be able to say of him that he bore it as a man should bear disappointments:—

"And after all there was another consideration, of a local and present character, to reconcile him to the loss of the Madras Government. He could hardly have done so much good, upon any new scene, as he was then doing in Central India. At the head of the Government of a Presidency, how much time must he have necessarily bestowed upon forms and ceremonies, and social amenities, and matters of detail little affecting the happiness of the people. But in Malwah he was as a partriarchal ruler among them—the father and the friend of rude but grateful communities, who blessed the name of Malcolm as that of a tutelar saint. There could be no higher object of ambition. 'I am busy with my report,' he wrote on the 3rd of April, from Nalcha, thirty miles to the westward of Mhow,' and with all kinds of improvements. I have fixed my head-quarters in an old palace, from which I expelled (I speak a literal fact) tigers. The old ruins of this place, and the celebrated city of Mandoo, have for more than a century been shared by tigers, and Bheels more destructive than these animals in their ravages. The tigers I shoot; the Bheels are my friends, and now serve in a corps I have raised, or cultivate lands. I have made, and am making roads in every direction. A great fair at a holy place, which has not been visited for seventy years, was a week ago crowded by at least 30,000 people. I gave guards at the place, and cleared the road; and I confess that I was a little sensible to the flattery of the poor creatures making the air ring with 'Jy Malcolm jy!' (success to Malcolm), &c. &c. This, and the discovery, a few days ago, that among the Bheel ladies, tying a string upon the right arm of their children, whilst the priest pronounced the name of *Malcolm* three times, was a sovereign cure for a fever, are proofs at least of my having a good name among these wild mountaineers, which will do me as much, and more good than one in Leadenhall-street.' I am told that Bishop Heber used to relate how, when travelling in Central India, he inquired what was written on an amulet worn by a native child, and was told that it was nothing more than the word 'Malcolm,' which was considered, in that part of the country, the most efficacious of charms."

Thus cheered and encouraged, he went on with his work, and occupied his scanty leisure with the preparation of a Report on the history, the institutions and the resources of Central India, which was afterwards published in a goodly quarto volume, and which has been to us and to many others a source of much valuable information. Sir Thomas Munro brought out for him the Insignia of the Grand Cross of the Bath, which he,

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being now Major-General, was entitled to wear. At last, having finished his report, and made a grand tour of his province, he reached Bombay in September 1821, and was invested by Sir Charles Colville with the Grand Cross, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the whole community. On the 2nd of December, he once more quitted the shores of India, to return overland (as we now call it) to old England. On the 20th of December, he touched at Mocha, and on the 9th of January, he landed at Cosseir, whence he proceeded by land to the banks of the Nile. In the month of February, he was at Cairo, where he met Mahomet Ali. On the 25th of that month, he embarked at Alexandria on board His Majesty's ship *Cambria*, and after beating about for some time, he was obliged to leave her at Corfu, she being sent on active service. After staying a few weeks here, he obtained a passage in a Government Yacht, for Italy. After "doing" Naples and Rome in the proper tourist style, though *with a difference*, he crossed the Alps. On the 26th of April, he was in Paris, and after another day or two, he was *at home*.

And now, for a time, Malcolm was to occupy a new station and to play the *role* of a country gentleman; and never was the part played with more success. At Hyde Hall, in Hertfordshire, he gathered around him the choicest Indian, and the choicest English society. The following picture is too well painted, and the subject is too agreeable, to make it possible for us to exclude it from our gallery, albeit, like that in the *Vicar of Wakefield*, it be somewhat too large for our wall:—

"Happy were those days spent at Hyde Hall—joyous the scenes they witnessed. They saw Malcolm, indeed, in a new character—a character new to him, almost, it may be said, new in itself. There never was a finer mixture of the Indian nabob and the English country gentleman. Many of the best qualities of both shone out conspicuously from him at this time. Liberal, open-handed, hospitable in the extreme, with catholic tastes and catholic sympathies, a man of infinite merriment, active as a stripling and playful as a child, he was an Englishman without his reserve, his exclusiveness, and his suspicion, and an Indian without his lassitude, his querulousness, and his irritability. He threw open his doors, invited many to enter, and played the host in a hearty, genial manner, as refreshing as it was spontaneous. There are men now living in high places, who look back to those days at Hyde Hall as among the happiest of their lives, and others who have gone before to their honored graves cherishing to the last the same grateful recollections of the kindliness which never failed, the cheerfulness that was never clouded—the inexhaustible love and perfect lovableness of the master of that sunny home.

"Among others who were frequent inmates at Hyde Hall were some Cambridge men—Fellows of Trinity—to whom he was much

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attached. First on the list in respect of time—though in respect of love all bracketed in that tripos—was Julius Hare, afterwards Rector of Hurstmonceux and Archdeacon of Sussex. It was in Hare's rooms at Trinity that Malcolm first met Whewell and Sedgwick, now the Master and Vice-Master of that great College—collegiate magnates of the first class, with names honored in no lower degree in the great university of the world. It seems that Malcolm had gone to Cambridge on a visit to Hare, taking with him Schlegel, whose acquaintance he had made in London, I believe in the first instance through Madame de Staël. Whewell and Sedgwick were invited to meet them; and the evening still dwells in the memories of the survivors as one almost without a parallel for the wonderful flow of talk that enlivened it. Schlegel, somewhat egotistical, turgid, and opiniated, threw off the lecturer and the pedant, and, under the contagious influence of Malcolm's joyousness and geniality, discoursed with a pleasant freedom and self-abandoment, not common to his nature. Malcolm himself, then as ever, had an inexhaustible fund of stories of all nations, and Schlegel did his best to cap them. They, who then saw the historian of Persia and Central India for the first time, were no less struck by the extent and variety of his information than they were charmed by his geniality of manner. The impression thus made was strengthened at every subsequent meeting, and has not been obliterated by death.

"Hare, Whewell, and Sedgwick became, as I have said, frequent and ever-welcome guests at Hyde Hall. Malcolm's hospitality was of that best and pleasantest kind which made every one who came within its influence thoroughly at his ease. There was a kindliness and a joyousness in it, which many said were unequalled in all their experience of mankind. The conversation in which Malcolm and his friends indulged was animated and exhilarating, but there was no leaven of ill-nature in it. 'Conversation,' wrote one whom I have named above, 'may have all that is valuable in it, and all that is lively and pleasant, without anything that comes under the head of personality. The house in which, above all others, I have ever been an inmate, the life and the spirit and the joy of conversation have been the most intense, is a house in which I hardly ever heard an evil word uttered against any one. The genial heart of cordial sympathy with which its illustrious master sought out the good side in every person and every thing, and which has found an inadequate expression in his delightful 'Sketches of Persia,' seemed to communicate itself to all the members of his family, and operated as a charm even upon his visitors.'*

"Another great charm of the conversation of Hyde Hall was that it was so perfectly natural and spontaneous. It was not the custom there to talk for effect. Playfulness, not unmingled with wisdom of the most unobtrusive kind, was the prevailing characteristic of the society to be met in that joyous home. Grave men threw aside their gravity there, and became sportive as children. There

* Julius Hare's *Guesses at Truth*.

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could not have been a better place for diggers and delvers after truth, wearied by their profound researches in the mines of science; for there was none in which such recreation was to be found—a recreation literally of energy and activity, which sent men back refreshed and strengthened to their work, and, what was more, with an enlarged humanity, a deeper love for the fellow-men for whom they were laboring with such grand results. It was no mere compliment, but a truth felt in his inmost heart, which Julius Hare wrote to Lady Malcolm, when he said, 'It is impossible to leave Hyde Hall without being, not indeed, like the wedding guest, 'a *sadder* and a wiser man,' but certainly a wiser one, and, if one were not going away, a gladder.' If a man could not be merry and wise at Hyde Hall, we may be sure that there was no mirth and no wisdom in him."

It was at this period that Malcolm composed his "Sketches of Persia," which were not published till 1827. We well remember the pleasure with which we read this book, when it was reprinted, about a dozen years ago, in *Murray's Colonial Library*. In the autumn of 1823, he paid a visit to Ireland, on the invitation of his old friend Lord Wellesley, then Lord Lieutenant. Here he was fully occupied with "walks, dinners, Irish stories, 'Indian tales, politics, sense and nonsense (which is better.' ") Here also he visited Donnybrook fair, and we may be pretty sure that the "Boy Malcolm" gained the ascendant for the time over the grave Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G. C. B. In the course of his return home, passing through Wales, he was capsized in a carriage, and very nearly sent over a fifty-feet precipice. For some months after this, Malcolm was deeply engaged in Indian and Persian politics. But in the autumn of next year 1824, he took a holiday, and set out for Scotland. We cannot resist the temptation to quote the following letter, so genial is it, and so well does it shew the happy, kindly nature of the man :—

"When we left Dollar, I went to a woman standing at the door of a house to inquire the best way to Tulibole. 'You'll gang just on till you come to a stane on the road; then ye'll turn and gang straight by the Crook.' 'What,' said I, 'straight by a crook!' 'Ay,' replied the dame, with an unmoved face; 'but it's no a crook in the road, but a crook in the river, which ye must gang by! Then, when ye're doun on a wee east (about a mile), haud west for twa miles, and when ye come to a road between twa dykes, which gangs north, just go down it and you'll see the Toun!' I reported the directions, at which Johnstone laughed. The Toun,* he informed me, meant the old solitary house of Tulibole, at which we at length arrived. Lady Moncreiff was not well, but I passed a most delightful day and evening with the old gentleman. Sir Harry Moncreiff, though seventy-eight, retains all his faculties perfect. He is a man who mixes sound

* The word is Saxon for a house, and the country people still use it in its original signification.—J. M.

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piety with great energy, judgment, and decision. He leads, and has long led, what are mockingly called the Highflyers of the Scottish Kirk. But to this evangelical party, Scotland owes the steady resistance to those daily attacks made upon her excellent and moderate establishments. An attempt is now in progress to give favorites and Government parsons to offices, such as that of principal* of a college and minister of a large parish. It has succeeded; but so much has been done by Sir Harry, Professor Macgill of Glasgow, and others, to expose the evil tendency of acts that by giving men more duties than they can perform, must either render them negligent heads or professors in a college, or unfaithful ministers of religion, as also the danger of making pluralists in the Scotch Establishment, that the experiment will probably not be repeated. I shall buy you Sir Harry's Sermons and works on the Evidences for Christianity, by which you will judge of the piety and strength of his mind. He has other qualities you would like. He is the most cheerful of men, and is full of entertaining anecdote, with a warm heart to his friends, and amongst the dearest of those the Burnfoot family have ranked for forty years.

"'From Tuliboli I made an excursion of thirty-five miles to see old Mr. Low, of Clatto, the father of John Low, who was so long with me in India, and ranks at the head of my list of *soldier favorites*. I had given no warning, for I was uncertain to the last whether I should be able to visit them. When I entered the drawing-room, I found a respectable-looking old lady, whom I knew from her countenance to be the mother of my friend. I announced myself and she gave almost a shout of delight. She hastened out of the room the moment she had seated me near her daughter, and returned with one of the heartiest and happiest-looking men, on the verge of fourscore, I had ever seen. His large hand was stretched out to welcome the General about whom his boys (his son William had also been with me) had written so much. Their letters, said he, have contained little, for six years, but Sir John Malcolm, and here you are at Clatto! I told him I was aware he had heard enough of me, and was therefore determined to let him see what kind of a person it was about whom his sons, particularly John, had plagued him so much. At this moment Colonel Bethune, a son-in-law who lived near, and had come in, was going to send away his horse to walk home, but I begged he would lend him to me, as I saw the spires of the auld town of St. Andrew's at about a distance of six miles. 'It is now two o'clock', I said; 'I shall return by five, after seeing this once celebrated residence of royalty and present seat of learning. Besides, I have four old Indian friends that I must shake hands with.' 'You are welcome to the horse,' said Colonel Bethune. 'It rains,' said Mrs. Low. 'I will not halt long enough,' I replied, 'at any place to get wet.' 'Go along,' said old Low. 'It is exactly as John wrote us; and bring any or all of your friends that you can persuade to dinner. I have sent for my youngest son Henry, who

* This was done in a late appointment at Glasgow, and carried by the influence of Government to please the Duke of Montrose.—J. M.

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is ten miles off, shooting; but the servant knows why he is wanted, and said he would find and bring him if above ground.'

" 'Away I trotted, saw the noble remains of monasteries, cathedrals and palaces at St. Andrew's, shook hands with a General Campbell, who was kind to me as a boy; with a Colonel Wilson, who was secretary to my commander when I was *at the wildest*, and whose goodness has helped me out of many a scrape; and with Captain Binny, who taught me Persian; and with Colonel Glass, a brother sportsman. They were not less surprised than delighted with this flying visit, and it gave me much gratification.

" 'I got back in time for dinner at Clatto, were I passed a delightful evening. The old gentleman, who had returned from India forty-four years, married a Miss Malcolm, bought the estate, and built the house (an excellent one), in which he has ever since lived. He or rather she—for it is as usual the mother's work—has brought up a large family, all of whom are well settled in life. Two of the daughters married intimate friends of mine, Colonel Deas, and Colonel Foulis; another married Colonel Bethune, who has the adjoining estate; and one, unmarried, lives with Mrs. Low's sister, Lady Fettes, near Edinburgh. With the family materials I had, and the praises truth entitled me to give their sons, you may suppose conversation did not flag. But there was another source of pleasure to the old gentleman. Several officers who had been his friends as ensigns had by accident been my commanding officers when I went first to India, and I had been at the same stations he had. The revival of these personalities and localities delighted him beyond measure. He gave me Madeira sixty years old which he had brought from India. His memory was as fresh as if he had only left the scenes of which we talked a few months. 'I have to thank God,' said he, as we parted, 'for the health and happiness I enjoy; but I was really beginning to think it was but a frail tenure a man of my age held life upon. This visit, however, is like a new lease. I shall live for some years to come upon the recollections of this day.' Mrs. Low, with whom both you and your mother would be much pleased, confirmed this speech next morning at six o'clock, when she rose to get me my breakfast before I went away in the Cupar coach. She gave me more calm, but not less sincere thanks for my considerate visit. I assured her I had gratified myself as much as I had them, and went towards Edinburgh quite in good humor with myself and all the world.' "

After ten days spent in Edinburgh, he paid a visit of two days to Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford; thence to Minto; thence again to Burnfoot; and in the month of November, he returned to England. In May 1825, he went to France, and was present at the coronation of Charles X. The autumn of this year he spent on the Moors in Scotland. The two stories following are too good to be omitted:—

" It was on one of the land excursions to which allusion has been made (most probably on his journey through Wales), that being in the inside of a stage-coach he fell, *more suo*, into conversation with

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a fellow-passenger. His companion was obviously a dignitary of the Church of England—a man of extensive acquirements, power and subtlety of argument, and force of expression. The conversation ranged over a considerable variety of subjects, sometimes eliciting concordance, sometimes antagonism of sentiment between the speakers. After some time, the conversation turned upon a topic of Indian interest, upon which there was a serious difference of opinion. Malcolm, as may be supposed, maintained his position with much confidence, and supported his arguments by the assertion that he had spent the best part of his life in India. 'It may be so,' said his companion, 'but still I cannot yield to you—I have conceded many points in the course of our conversation, but I stand firm upon this—for the very highest authority on Indian subjects, Sir John Malcolm, is on my side.' 'But I am Sir John Malcolm,' was the answer. 'It is true that I did say so; but I have since had reason to change my opinion.' Upon this they exchanged cards, and Malcolm was little less pleased than his companion, when he found that he had been arguing with the scholarly Coplestone, Bishop of Llandaff.

"Another story, equally amusing, though less flattering to Malcolm, must be told in this place. Having need one day to proceed somewhere below London—in all probability to the docks—Malcolm hired, as was the wont at that time, a boat, and was sculled down the great silent highway of the Thames. He had not proceeded far when the waterman asked him if he had any objection to take in a couple of ladies who wanted a cast down the river. Malcolm's ready good-nature would have at once assented to the proposal, even if there had not been within him a spice of chivalry and a love of adventure which rendered it rather pleasing to him. But when the boatman pulled alongside the steps of Billingsgate Market, and took in two oyster-wives with their baskets, a cloud gathered over his face, he drew his cloak around him, folded his arms, and sate stately and reserved in the bows of the boat. The evident annoyance of the gentleman was not lost upon the oyster-women. They exchanged looks and gestures with each other, and presently broke out into verbal comments. 'Didst ever, Bess,' said one of them to her companion, 'go down to Margate by one of them hoys. It's rare game to see the folks aboard them. There be such differences. Some will be all chatty-like and conversable, with something pleasant to say to every one, as though they had come out to enjoy life and make the best of it. Others can't make the best o' it, anyhow; but they gets sick, and goes to the side o' the vessel, and it's all up with them in rough water. Them I pities, poor things! Others, again, won't make the best o' it; but they thinks themselves too good for their company, and they goes into a corner, and they wraps their cloak about them, and they folds their arms, and sits silent and dignified.' * * * *

"The effect of this, accompanied as it was with a practical imitation of the old soldier's dignified demeanour, may be readily conceived. Malcolm burst into loud laughter, enjoyed the joke, pocketed the affront, and took the hint. In the course of a few minutes he was

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discoursing volubly with the oyster-women about the mysteries of their profession. He was pleased, interested, instructed. Before he reached the docks he had added largely to his stores of information. And it used to be observed afterwards that Malcolm had a wonderful knowledge of the oyster trade; and people marvelled where and how he had contrived to acquire it.

"'To think that I should have been such a fool in my old age,' said Malcolm, when he got home and told the story to his wife—'I, who have been all my life priding myself on my openness and accessibility!'"

Although the narrative has now been brought down to the close of 1825, we must allude, however briefly, to the negotiations that were carried on in the spring of the previous year, with reference to the Governorship of Madras. Sir Thomas Munro being about to retire, Malcolm took the field as a candidate for the succession. The great obstacle to his success seems to have been the fact that his father-in-law, Sir Alexander Campbell, was Commander-in-Chief in that Presidency; and it was not without some reason that this objection was urged, although it was probably urged, not because it was reasonable, but because it was convenient. The contest was carried on for a long time with considerable asperity; and although Malcolm knew, almost from the beginning, that his cause was hopeless, and although his friends advised him to withdraw from the contest, he would not consent. The Court of Directors were on his side, the King's Government were against him. He seems to have been actually appointed by the Court, but the sanction of the Government could not be obtained. After this, there was a negotiation as to the constitution of a Central India Government; and Malcolm was nearly as good as appointed to it; but this also broke down; and it was not till June 1827, that Malcolm was appointed to an Indian Government. On the 13th of that month, he was entertained at the customary banquet by the Court of Directors, as Governor-elect of Bombay; shortly after he sailed from Portsmouth, and on the 26th of October, he arrived at Bombay. His reception there was all that could be desired. His character was well known; and all, from the highest to the lowest, rejoiced in his advent.

The most noticeable event in Malcolm's governorship was the "tame elephant" controversy, with which our Indian readers are familiar, while to others it has little interest. We quite agree with Mr. Kaye in regarding Sir John Malcolm's conduct as, upon the whole, right; and Sir John Grant's as, upon the whole, wrong. But in the progress of the controversy, there were, as is generally the case, faults on both sides. But although this unhappy controversy bulks largest in the history of Malcolm's

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administration, it must not be supposed that it engrossed all his attention. The Governor of Bombay had much to do, and he did it well. He attended to everything himself, and conducted all the business of the Government with his usual zeal. Mr. Kaye judiciously sums up the character of his administration :—

"It was not in the circumstances of the times that Malcolm's administration of Bombay should be a brilliant administration. It was permitted only that it should be an useful one. And that it was so he had an assured conviction. He had labored, though at the age of threescore, with the same unabating activity that had distinguished his early efforts in the public service ; the same energy, the same courage, the same integrity, the same steady persistence in right through evil report and good report, characterised all his proceedings ; but no man knew better than Malcolm himself how small a place in history is made for the best acts of the peaceful administrator, in proportion to that which is reserved for the achievements of the diplomatist and the soldier.

"If Malcolm's government of Bombay had been what is generally understood as a "popular" one, it would have been little less than a marvel. A "popular" governor is a governor who pleases the European community of the settlement—a community mainly composed of the members of the public service. It is little to say that with the public services Lord William Bentinck was not "popular" —he was absolutely detested by them. The same odious work of retrenchment which, in the discharge of his delegated duty, he had carried out in defiance of popular clamor in Bengal, Malcolm had superintended in Bombay. It is true that neither Bentinck nor Malcolm was more than the instrument of a necessary economy decreed by the Home Government ; but a man who suddenly finds himself poorer by a few hundreds a year, or sees the road to lucrative promotion blocked up before him, is not in the best possible frame of mind to draw nice distinctions between the authority that directs, and the agency which inflicts, the penalty. The odium in such cases, is too likely to descend upon the Governor who gives effect to the instructions which he receives from the higher powers, at home: and it requires no common tact to escape the vicarious punishment. If any man could escape, it was Sir John Malcolm, and I believe the kindness of heart which moved him by personal explanations to soften the pain and annoyance which he was compelled ministerially to inflict, carried him through the perilous ordeal without making for himself any enemies.

"There were some who, considering all the circumstances of the case, doubted the possibility of this. And when Malcolm's friends proposed to raise a subscription for the purpose of erecting a statue in his honor, Sir Lionel Smith, who, doubtless, had Malcolm's interest and good fame at heart, besought him to arrest what he thought so injudicious a movement. The old soldier alleged that the Governor, who at such a time persevered in the course of duty without favor or affection, must have made many enemies, who would

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rejoice in the failure of such a scheme, and that it was not in the nature of things that there should be any other result than failure. But there were friends of Sir John Malcolm who believed that there was sufficient good sense and good feeling in the Presidency to secure a worthy response to the proposal to do honor to such a man at the close of so illustrious a career of public service; and the noble marble statue by Chantrey which now adorns the Town Hall of Bombay, is a monument of the soundness of their judgment.

"Nor was this the only parting honor that was rendered to Sir John Malcolm. Addresses were presented to him by all classes of the community: by the natvies, of whom he had ever been the large-minded and catholic-spirited friend; by the Eurasians, or people of mixed race, whose condition he had striven to elevate and improve; by the English residents, who could appreciate his many fine qualities and estimate at its proper worth his half-century of distinguished service; by the Asiatic Society, the members of which were eager to express their sense of his high "literary qualifications, his constant and sedulous devotion to the cultivation of literature, and to the promotion of true knowledge, and the removing of error;" and by the Christian Missionaries, who bore public testimony to the "facilities which he had granted for the preaching of the Gospel in all parts of the Bombay territories, his honorable exertions in the abolition of Suttees, and to the kind manner in which he had countenanced Christian education." He did not lay down the reins of office without the utterance by all classes of expressions of sincere regret at his departure, and many earnest prayers for his continued happiness and prosperity."

And now Sir John Malcolm's Indian work was done. Jack had been "at the bottom" of a very large amount of the good that was done in the course of the consolidation of our Indian empire. Proceeding overland he reached England in February 1831, and found himself in the heat of the controversy respecting Parliamentary Reform. Mainly with the view of advancing Indian interests, he entered Parliament as member for the borough of Launceston in Cornwall, and distinguished himself considerably by his speeches against the Reform bill. On the same subject he wrote and published a pamphlet, which does not seem to have been much regarded. In fact the cause which he advocated was unpopular, and the view which he took of it was one which could not command the sympathies even of those who were at one with him on the general question. His great object was to retain the "close" and "rotten" boroughs, that they might afford seats to men who should be able to represent Indian interests in the House of Commons,—an object unquestionably desirable, whatever may be thought of the means by which he proposed that it should be compassed.

On a dissolution of Parliament, Sir John Malcolm offered himself as a candidate for the representation of the Dumfries

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boroughs. He was unsuccessful in his canvass, but gained "golden opinions from all classes of men." A public dinner was given to him and his brothers, Sir James and Sir Pulteney Malcolm, by the gentlemen of Eskedale and Ewesdale, and probably never were the echoes of Langholm taxed to the same extent as when they were called to give back the cheers that greeted the "three Knights of Eskedale." Sir John was not returned to Parliament; and spent his time in superintending the repairs and additions on a house that he had bought at Warfield in Berkshire, and in various literary avocations.

But a great struggle was going on; in which Malcolm was more in his place than in contending against Parliamentary Reform. The commercial monopoly of the Company was threatened;—that Company whose salt he had eaten for more than half a century; and Malcolm was not the man to withhold whatever powers or influence he possessed, when these could be turned to account in the service of his old masters. The Queen's Government gave way to the pressure from without, so far as to propose to the Court of Directors a new charter, which was to preserve to the Company the territorial Government of India, but to deprive it of all commercial privilges. A Special Court of Proprietors was called for the 15th of April 1833, for the consideration of the ministerial proposal; and it was imposed on Malcolm, as one of the most influential of the Proprietors, to propose resolutions, signifying the acceptance of the ministerial measure on certain conditions. Suffering under a severe attack of influenza, he went to the Court, spoke for two hours, manfully and eloquently; then sat down, and fainted away. The Court being adjourned from day to day, Malcolm was for several days in his place, but took little part in the proceedings. Had Lady Malcolm been in London, it is probable, that she might have won him to that rest which he so much needed; but she was at Hastings, and it was not till the 28th of the month that he consented to quit what he considered to be the post of duty, and to join her there. In good spirits at the thought of meeting his wife and daughters, he left his home in the morning, but when the carriage stopped at the coach-office in Charing Cross, his servant opened the door and found him lying insensible on the bottom of the carriage. For some days the flame flickered in the socket; it flared up a little towards the middle of May; but on the 30th of that month it went out altogether. The warm heart ceased to beat, those inexhaustible spirits were frozen at the spring. Thus lived, and thus died, Major General Sir John Malcolm, G. C. B., a man who had few equals in his day—a great and good man.

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ART. IV.—*A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms, and of useful words occurring in official documents, relating to the administration of the Government of British India, from the Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Uriya, Marathi, Guzaratki, Telugu, Karnata, Tamil, Malayalam, and other languages.* By H. H. WILSON, M. A. F. R. S.

IT is almost as difficult a task to review, as it is to write, a Glossary. But it is much more difficult than usual when we have a work before us, which from its very title page seems to touch, if not to embrace, any or all of the departments by which any district or all the districts of British India are supervised. The very announcement at the head of the article suggests everything that is wide and indefinite. The term judicial comprises the courts with their establishments, the police with their duties, and the laws with their operation. The term revenue may bring us at any moment in contact with the Sudder Board, or with a jungly cultivator in the backwoods, dibbling a little rice into a patch of ground, which he has previously burnt and cleared. Our horizon is extended still further by the admission of such words as 'useful' and 'official.' And in how many cases may not a word of commonest use, bear various meanings, or be still a stock subject for discussion as to its real or precise intent? What a wide field for contention and disquisition is not suggested by the simple word Zemindar!

It must be clear that to attempt regularly to review a work of this kind in all its branches, would demand an experience, a depth of learning, and an amount of philological accuracy, such as are possessed by the compiler alone. To praise Cicero *Cicerone laudatore opus est.* It would be impertinent in us to attempt any general survey of Mr. Wilson's latest contribution to the stock of oriental literature, which already owes so much to him: and we can therefore only promise to give such a notice of this work, as may explain the principles on which it was compiled, the aid given or refused to Mr. Wilson in the compilation, and his manner of dealing with some of the most familiar as well as the most recondite terms which puzzle the Indian tyro, and keep the English philanthropist at bay. In doing this we do not forget that a cursory notice of the Glossary has already appeared in No. xxxvii. of this *Review.* But that notice was given of the original two volumes, as they appeared with all the imperfections which the carelessness of some correspondents, and the blundering laboriousness of others,

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had cast upon their head. Moreover, the very defects there complained of, have been now removed. The two volumes have been reduced to a quarto of reasonable size. Every word is written in some one native dialect, besides English, in use in the north, south, or central part of the Indian peninsula, as the case may be, and on some instances in two or three. The native words in the English character are spelt under the orthographical system of Sir William Jones, with some few modifications, consonants and vowels being represented by precisely the same letters and sounds in the English language as they are in the oriental. But this plan, while it is the only one that ensures accuracy and satisfies the Pundits of all nations, being obviously calculated to perplex the unlearned, Mr. Wilson has grouped round the correct form, all the numerous conceptions and metamorphoses which an unlucky phrase has been compelled to undergo at the hands of ignorant, careless, and dull-eared officials. Again, the Glossary has been furnished with an index, of at least 26,000 words, in which the same word is repeated in its different disguises and malformations, some of which appear to have caused Mr. Wilson the most poignant anguish, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter. The result of this additional labour is, that no person can well have any difficulty in discovering the word he is in search of, though his oriental attainments be of the most elementary description. And when we add that the type is clear, the paper excellent, and the price moderate, it will at once be apparent that the task of reviewing the Glossary has to us been one rather of pleasure than of toil.

The original plan under which the compilation was attempted, is as follows. The Court of Directors, with their usual praiseworthy desire to facilitate the acquirement of the eastern languages by their servants, decreed, about the end of the year 1842, that a glossary of words in current use in different parts of India, should be compiled. To this end a rough glossary, already in existence at the India House, was reprinted with an abundant blank space after each word, and a considerable number of copies were sent out from time to time to the various presidencies of India. We can remember their arrival in Calcutta during the year 1844. Immediately on their receipt, the local Government acted on that traditionary policy, which has so often marred its best intentions, and which has led to no one result except the accumulation of crude remarks and ill-digested correspondence. For, one of the traditions of Government, rarely departed from, is, or used to be, that without the issue of a circular, calling for 'opinions,' nothing whatever can be done. If the criminal code is to be made more or less stringent, if the law of distraint is to be relaxed, if additional

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powers or emoluments are to be conferred on the police, if a toll bar is to be established on a line of road which is not laid down, or at rivers yet unbridged, if widows are to re-marry, or converts to the Christian religion are not to lose every farthing they have in the world, opinions must be called for from the magistrate, the commissioner, the collector, or the judge. This at first sight promises well enough, as tending in the direction of representative Government, and as putting the chief executive or legislative authorities in possession of the feelings of important sections of the population as regards the measure under discussion, without which no prudent Governor or Council would venture to legislate or to act. For, it is through the head of an office or of a district, or of a division, that the opinions of castes and tribes, or artizans, or landholders, may find a legitimate vent. And it must be a wrong system where some regard is not paid to the prejudices or predilections of the majority. But the mistake often is that in the indiscriminate call for opinions, the opinions of those best qualified have not been got at. For instance, it is proposed to amend the laws under which either arrears of revenue, or arrears of rent, are at present levied. A circular is despatched by the Government to the Board of Revenue, by the Revenue Board to the Commissioner, and by the Commissioner to every officer in charge of a Collectorate. There is, usually, no attempt at selection. Every man in charge of a treasury must be supposed capable of giving an opinion on the merits of the new law, and no man not so in charge, can be supposed to know any thing about it. But it may happen that the best commissioner has lately been presented to the Sudder Court, and that a collector has been sent to a zillah judgeship, while two or three of the officers entrusted with the revenue are either assistants holding office temporarily, or magistrates lately changed from police and judicial business. Thus, the ripe experience of years in a particular department or division may be lost to the State, and in its place, with one or two carefully considered opinions, we may get a host of crude and hasty productions, diversified by pleas of inexperience, or inability, or want of time. This would be remedied, if instead of circulars issued to all officers indiscriminately, we had circulars issued to particular individuals selected for their past experience or general aptitude for discussion, whatever employment they might happen to be filling at the time. This plan of selecting men to give opinions, would still further act as a wholesome stimulus to professional ambition. At present, many men think circulars, simply to be a bore. They lead to nothing tangible or direct. A hasty, slovenly, ill-considered opinion, shorn of publicity, brings no discredit. The most elaborate and

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logical disquisition may convey no reward or encouragement, or may be lost in the crowd of its bad and unworthy companions. We do not say that this has always been the case, and we know that the contrary plan has been pursued in some instances with remarkable success; but what we always lament over is the chance of a multiplicity of answers, which are not in point, and which afford no help towards a right decision. In the case of the Glossary, however, we do not forget that promiscuous reference to almost every officer in every district was supposed indispensable for the attainment of departmental, rural, or local terms. Every one was invited to give the result of his experience in settlement, in the detection of crime, in shooting and hunting, or in whatever had brought him in immediate personal contact with artizans, fishermen or ryots. The consequence of this was that some men, who had a fund of curious information as to their profession, had not the time, or did not know how to display it to advantage: others asked a few questions of their native subordinates, and put down the answers at random, as fast as given; some gravely took down a dictionary, and supplied the blanks in the glossary therefrom, thus attempting to recruit the later, more copious, and more extensive from the drier and earlier work: others supplied Mr. Wilson with every thing, which he had at his disposal: many made fearful havock of oriental orthography, and many quietly returned the glossary, in precisely the same state as it had reached their busy and unwilling hands. It strikes us that to collect local terms and usages for the end in contemplation, the following plan would have been attended with a good practical result. In every district, or certainly in every division, there are one or more officials, who, whether they be philologists or not, are endowed with considerable energy, which they are willing to devote to any object, apart from their secular duties, by which the public service is to be benefitted. Let such a man be selected, and informed that it is the special desire of Government that a list of peculiar customs, rustic phrases, and agricultural terms, not to be found in ordinary dictionaries, prevalent within a certain area, should be made up within a given time: let such a person be empowered to employ such natives or European subordinates as he may think qualified to record what they already know of such sub-divisions of the task, as their avocations may have made familiar to them: let such a man further, of his own accord, impress on such a subordinate, the importance of the duty, by personal conference or demi-official correspondence, to the exclusion of formal and annoying circulars: let him show that his heart is in the business, and we will venture to say that a mass of quaint and curious in-

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formation might be soon collected together, which in the hands of a scholar, like Mr. Wilson, would have been turned to practical good effect. Had, we say, such men as Mr. Mills, when in Cuttack, or Mr. Ricketts when in Chittagong, and others, been applied to after the above fashion, it is probable that a page or two of lamentation as to want of "the public zeal and philological proficiency of the East India Company's Civil Service," would have been omitted from the preface to the Glossary.

Bereft of support from the living in India, the compiler turned to the records of the dead, or to the written labours of men still at work in England; and those who know anything about dictionaries or glossaries, may readily conceive that it was no easy task to consult all the "selections" and "analyses" and "vocabularies:" all the "digests," "reports," "cases," "circulars," and "transactions," and "travels," which in the last half century have been printed by enquiring individuals, literary societies, and philanthropic Governments. Still, this labour was more or less carefully encountered and gone through, and a well deserved compliment is paid to the late Sir H. M. Elliot, for the work in which, under the modest designation of a 'supplemental Glossary,' that able, lamented, and accomplished scholar had contrived to collect an immense mass of information relative to the tribes and castes, to the agricultural and commercial customs of nearly all Upper India, extending from Oude or Rohilcund on one scale, to Saugor and Jubbulpore on the other: the whole digested and arranged with the greatest order and lucidity, and set off by erudition devoid of pedantry, drawn from the resources of an intellect to which the classics, the learned tongues of India, the repositories of Hindu and Mahommedan literature, the tongues of Schiller, Dante, and Bossuet, and the vernaculars of the people with whom his official lot had been cast, were all equally familiar. The work in question unfortunately embraces only half the alphabet, and is now completely out of print; not only in Calcutta, but even at Agra before that city was sacked and burnt. We have heard something of a mass of materials which Sir H. Elliot had collected with a view to its completion, and we should be glad to think that, if this be the case, his executors would know how to make use of such a legacy; but in any case we trust, that in more settled times the Government of Agra, or the Supreme Government, will think fit to order a reprint of the glossary as it stands. No book can well be more useful, or more attractive, to an assistant set to work at his first station. And after the storm which has swept over the Upper Provinces, carrying destruction in its train, there is no saying what practical hints may not be forth-

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coming, to supply gaps and deficiencies, from the volume in question. A reprint will, moreover, be a graceful tribute to the memory of a public servant, who, if excelled by others in statesmanship, in the science of governing aliens, and in broad and comprehensive measures, was excelled by none in the combination of extensive and profound learning with great official ability.

With these remarks we now come to the glossary itself, and we feel that in such a review the fairest thing to the author is to endeavour to shew how he has dealt with some words of universal acceptation all over India, as well as with some of those peculiarities known to exist on this side of the Peninsula, with which a reviewer, dwelling by the Ganges, may be supposed to have some acquaintance. Southern and western India, with their eight or ten languages between them, we gladly leave to the praise or blame of men competent to the task.

Those who are acquainted with Mr. Wilson's literary predilections, and official career, will naturally expect to find a flood of copious and exact information on all points relating to the literature, and the religious and social observances, of the Hindu; and in this, they will not be disappointed. Most of the castes and the ceremonies, the dark or bright days of the calendar, the offerings of rice to deceased ancestors, the life of the Hindu from the birth to the marriage and the funeral torch, are all to be found clearly set forth in their appointed places. Mr. Wilson's connection with the mint at Calcutta may be traced in his explanation of the word rupee. A very brief explanation of this familiar term would be disappointing, whereas, on the other hand, it would be endless to enumerate all the varieties of the rupee that were ever known, and wrong to turn a glossary into a work on coins. For instance, there were sixty-four kinds of rupees current in the Punjab alone, when we occupied that country. The glossary takes a middle course between abruptness or total omission and prolixity, and gives us two columns and a half, on the origin, weight, standard, and purity of the coin.*

* It is the nature of a glossary to be discursive, and with the privilege of a reviewer on such a subject, we cannot help remarking on the omission to designate the two shilling coin struck some years ago in England, by this obvious title. By keeping the superscription and the standard different, there would have been no fear of interference with the rules of exchange or of confusion in the money market. But from our German connections, it was thought necessary to coin a very unsightly looking article, and to designate it by a continental name. This utter forgetfulness of India is exactly what happens in every other instance, when India, not mutinous, nor at war, nor made a party question, may be intimately concerned. The English rupee would have constantly reminded the nation of that splendid prize which had been won by so much blood and valour, aided by such signal good fortune, and consolidated by so much statesmanship and administrative talent. Neither France nor Russia, we think, would have

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We pursue the glossary, and the task proposed to ourselves, which is, as we have said, mainly that of showing how Mr. Wilson has treated some familiar terms which required a precise definition, and of supplying such additional information as chance, or local research, or knowledge of the practice of one department or another, may have placed at our command.

We commence with the first letter of the alphabet, and with the very common word *adawlut*, which so many have to do with, in some shape or other, and which nearly every one desires to see improved. The distribution of the courts under the Mahommedan and the Company's Governments are given with correctness, but one peculiarity about the use of this term was evidently unknown to the compiler, which is as follows: The word *adalat* or *adawlut* signifies a court of justice of any kind, but in the mouths, not only of officials and native lawyers, but of villagers and tradesmen, it is exclusively restricted to designate *the civil court*. To the agriculturist, the moonsiff, the sudder ameen and the civil judge, hold an *adawlut*. But the term is never applied familiarly to the courts, either of the magistrate, or the collector. It is precisely in these points that the learned compiler, whose time in India was divided between the learning of Benares and the civilisation of Calcutta, very often fails.

The word *ail*, or *a-eel*, from the same cause, seems to us not given with force and distinctness sufficient. It is said to be a bank or mound of earth, forming a division between fields, a boundary mark, an embankment. Now, the fact is that these marks or boundaries, which may often be counted by hundreds and scores in any plain within two or three hundred miles of Calcutta, do not often arrive at the dignity of a mound or of an embankment. Now and then, we may have an *ail* which, with three or four different turns and twists, leads right across the rice field from one village to another, at the height of two feet,

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acted in this way towards their "brightest gem." Nor again, to pursue the topic of English apathy a little farther, do we think that there is one single European nation that would take the trouble to build a sparkling fairy edifice to comprise all that was most attractive in statuary and in architecture all over the universe, and not reserve one small court, one single gallery, one limited niche, for copies of the luxuriant tracery of Hindu temples, of the gigantic structures of rock-caves, or towering pagodas, or for the exquisite creations of imperial Agra and Delhi, which were destined for the devotion of the multitude, or to cover the relics of kings and queens. Is there, we ask, one other nation in Europe, however benighted, groaning under despotism or convulsed by civil factions, in whose Crystal Palace there would not have been an Indian court with a fac-simile of the tomb of Akbar, of the Kutub Minar, the highest pillar in the world, and of the unrivalled Taj Mehal, to which the altar in the Or San Michele at Florence is as copper to refined gold? So much for our boasted taste, our liberality of thought and sentiment, and our world-wide research!

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without interruption, save where it has crumbled away by the constant action of the water, or has been purposely cut to admit of the passage of the water from a higher to a lower level, or to enable the ryot to set his fish-weir in a suitable gap. In such cases the *ail* forms a tolerable path-way from one village to another. But in most instances, the *ail* is a mere long strip of earth from about three to sixteen inches in heighth, and six to twelve in breadth, enabling the ryot to define his own plot of ground, and to reach it without going through the crops of his neighbour. The permanence of these "institutions," for they are nothing less, is very remarkable. In spite of litigation, encroachment, heavy rain, indistinctness of rights and claims, these light boundaries remain untouched and unchanged for years and generations. A few shovels-full of earth are occasionally added where the rain water is to be kept in, and thus the *ail* descends in the family, like the property which it demarcates.

The word *bad-maash*, or *bud-maish* is one to which recent events have attached a more than ordinary signification. The glossary says, "a disreputable person, one following evil courses." It is, however, something more than this. It usually means one who has been imprisoned for larceny or felony, or one who ought to be so imprisoned: a notorious bad character, without ostensible means of livelihood, apt to change his residence, and often lurking in the suburbs of great towns, on whom energetic darogahs and active magistrates keep a watchful eye. In the late sad outbreaks in populous bazars, some of the worst atrocities were committed by these scoundrels. In some parts of the country whole villages are composed of such men, and we have known cases where rents have not been collected for months and years, simply because no decent person dare enter a particular *Alsatia*, tenanted by professional thieves, who would turn out to defend the sanctity of their asylum, and who have no property which it could be worth any landholder's while to distrain, and where there is no one to purchase such, if, by chance, any were found. There is a stringent but necessary law, under which such notorious bad livers, against whom no overt act, but mere vagrancy or evil reputation may be proved, can be called on to furnish security for good behaviour, or in default be at once set to work in jail, at hard labour in irons. We venture to think that when order is restored in the disturbed districts, this salutary enactment will not be permitted to sleep.

A *balagashti* is rather vaguely denominated "a superintendent of watchmen, an inspector of police; a watchman, a patrol." This term is more generally reserved in Bengal for that particular body of police, which remain at the head station

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of a district, not regularly appointed to any one police station, but ready to move at the direction of the magistrate on any point where a disturbance may be apprehended. They constitute, in fact, a sort of body guard, and their main fault is that they are not numerically sufficient.

Barani koortee is very properly noted under the head of *barani* from *baran*, a Persian word signifying rain, which we are surprised to find a scholar like Mr. Wilson, putting down as Hindi. The double term is used for a riding cloak, or coat, to keep off the rain, and in the mouths of Europeans is vulgarly called *brandy koortee*, and fondly imagined to have some connection with strong liquors and cigars. It is almost superfluous to say that, *originally*, it has no reference to either one or the other.

The universal word *bazar* is explained with pith and correctness, as "a market, a daily market, a market place. As opposed 'to a bazar, a *hat* is held only on certain days; a *gunj* is where 'grain, and the necessaries of life are principally sold, and 'generally wholesale. Bazars and *hats* are sometimes included 'in *gunjes*." As a compact definition of three terms, which are too often confounded or misapplied, the above is almost perfect. We would only add that a *hat* may be held anywhere, sometimes in the centre of a bazar, once or twice in the week, and sometimes away from it, in a cleared space, under some fine old trees. That is to say, there are bazars and *hats* in the same spot, and again bazars which have no weekly or bi-weekly *hats*,—and *hats* where there are no permanent shops to form a bazar. All these, if we mistake not, are very clearly defined in one of Shore's early minutes on the Perpetual Settlement, published in the celebrated *fifth Report:* and each are the source of large profits to the owner, much convenience to the neighbourhood, and frequent litigation to all parties.

On the word *Brahman* we might expect that Mr. Wilson's tendencies would lead him on to prolixity. But we were agreeably disappointed to find that he has managed to compress the principal divisions of this numerous and important class, such as Kanouj, Gour or Bengal, Mahratta and so on, into little more than a column. Considering his long residence in Bengal, we are however surprised that he should have set down the *kulin* families of Lower Bengal as six in number. We have heard first class Brahmans repeatedly enumerate them as five in number, adding with a boast which almost rivals that of the Arcadians, who were older than the moon, and which beats the Spaniard, from whom kings were descended, that the *kulin* had existed in the race of Brahmans, as long as the gods had existed in the Mount of Meru, the sacred Ganges on the face of the

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earth, and the sun and moon in the sky. To these five, popularly known as Mookerji, Banerji, Chattarji, Gangooli, and Ghosal, Mr. Wilson adds a sixth, *Kanjláha*, rarely met with, and whose title to equal rank, we are sure, would be disputed by the *kulin* peerage of Bengal in committee.

The word *caste*, which has proved such a bugbear, and the bonds of which are tightened or relaxed as convenient, and on which treatises might be written, is judiciously compressed into a few lines. Due attention is given to the startling fact that the "lower orders of Indian Mahommedans pretend to distinctions" of caste; indeed, we can enumerate five separate divisions in the neighbourhood where we are writing, some of whom will smoke from the same *hookah*, or drink from the same brass pot, though they will not intermarry; and the origin of the term is correctly given as Portuguese, the word *casta* in that language signifying race, or species. For the thousand castes, which are to be found all over the Peninsula, the reader is very properly left to range through the Glossary at large.

In some of the revenue terms, there is occasionally a slight indistinctness. For instance, we take the not unusual word *khas mahal*. The word *khas*, we are told, is "applied to the 'management of estates, and the collection of the revenue by 'the officers of the Government, without any intermediate 'person between them and the cultivators," and *khas mahal* is a district "held in the management of the Government." It would be more correct to say that the *khas mahals*, or "own lands" of the Company, are those where that Political Reality possesses the right to *rent*, besides the right to *revenue*. *Khas mahals* in Bengal are composed of resumed estates, the proprietors of which have refused the proffered terms of settlement and of estates settled in perpetuity, which having come to the hammer for arrears of revenue, have been purchased by Government in the absence of other purchasers. It is not the object of the revenue authorities to compete for such estates. They are generally lands which were either too highly assessed, or which have deteriorated through mismanagement or bad seasons. They are, further, small in extent, and are bought in for Government for the sum of one rupee. After the lands have been identified, which is often a matter of some difficulty, the amount which each individual tenant is to pay, is settled summarily: or the amount formerly paid by each middleman is fixed as the amount payable for a year. After that period a regular settlement, with a detail of all rights and liabilities, is made for a term of years; and as collection of rent by a native *Tahsildar* or collector generally ends in vexation and disappointment, the estate is farmed out to some independent third party,

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native or European, who collects the rents on an agreement which leaves him some margin for profit. The number of these estates in any district, compared with those not belonging to Government, is necessarily small. The large, popular, and profitable estates rarely come under public auction: or if they do, they are eagerly competed for by capitalists, who well know the advantages of a secure title and a sound investment in lands settled in perpetuity, and conveyed over by the *flat* of the collector.

The term *khatauni* affords a curious example of diversity of spelling. It is admitted by Mr. Wilson himself that it may be spelt in eight different ways, according to the dialects in which it is current, without grievous wrong; and no less than eight more corruptions are carefully enumerated, such as *khuteonee, cuteaan, kuttowni*, &c., &c. The term has also various significations. In Bengal it usually means an abstract of the accounts of the lands of any village, shewing the nature of the tenures and the extent of land held by each cultivator. In the North-West Provinces it is an account made up from the field-book, in which the plots of ground, belonging to each principal share in a village, and to each individual, are grouped together; and in Marathi, it is a sort of ledger made up from a merchant's day book. All these have been collected by Mr. Wilson from independent and reliable sources.

The word *gungajali*, or swearing by the water of the Ganges, was a phrase common enough before the introduction of the present judicial oath in our courts, when Brahmans and Hindoos were adjured in this way to speak the truth, as Mahommedans were on the *Koran*. We have lately heard a good deal about it in the cases of sepoys who had thus bound themselves to save or to destroy the lives of particular officers. It is curious that the word should also be employed to designate the private treasury of the Maharaja of Gwalior, which at one time was the richest of any in India, and a particularly fine kind of wheat grown in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories. Neither of these significations are given in the glossary, though we have them on the best authority. In either case it is obvious that the secondary meaning shows its connection with the primary one, by designating something pure or excellent of its kind, and therefore little short of holy. Mr. Wilson does not forget to note that the word *Gunga* or *gang* is ordinarily employed to designate any river, anywhere, great or small, amongst the lower orders, for such is the universal acceptation of *gunga Ji*.

On the word *hackery*, which many persons employ under the notion that they have got hold of a pure native term, the glossary tells us that though in common use, it is neither Hindi nor Bengali, though it may be a corruption of the Portuguese

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Accarretai, to carry. The common use of this term is peculiar to Europeans. We never heard a native get nearer to it, than a *sakar* or *sagar gari*. But *goru ka gari*, a bullock cart, is the simpler and more common phrase everywhere. Similarly, as to the word *paddy*, employed by Europeans to designate rice, the Glossary tells us what we were previously quite ignorant of, viz. that the word is Malay, meaning rice in the husk, either growing or cut, and it is no doubt in use in the Straits' settlements. But what, in this and other like cases, is to be deprecated, is, that Europeans should imagine that by talking of paddy and hackeries, they are talking of words which any native of India can by any possibility have heard of or read before he comes to have a smattering of English.

On the word *guru*, we expected something more than that it means a spiritual teacher of the Vedas, in early times, or a person who initiates others into a particular sect or tribe, in later days. The *guru* of the present day is a sort of half chaplain, half wandering friar, who goes about to the houses of his various disciples or members of his flock, meeting with great respect and attention, and eating everywhere of the best. His acquirements often consist of a smattering of Sanskrit: such as current *slokes* or couplets inculcating morality and social duties. When this worthy graciously signifies his intention of staying a day or two with one of his flock, the house is swept and cleaned, new cooking and eating utensils are bought in the bazar; milk, curds, fruits and vegetables, the best of their kind, are set before the expounder of religion, who condescends to partake of them, and to accept a present of money, according to the means and station of the disciple, the whole being an equivalent for the honour of the friendly visit, and for the refreshment of what an old covenanter would have termed, "a dry clatter 'of morality driven about the luggs." Several Hindus have naively confessed to us that they thought such entertainments a monstrous bore. But, on the other hand, the unctuous relish with which the *guru* himself describes one of these visits, from memory or by anticipation, must be seen to be appreciated. A lower sort of teacher is the *guru mahashahoy* or village *dominie*, a sort of Erasmus Holiday, who with a small smattering of Bengali, or Hindi, keeps a school, which he does *not* call an academy, in a shed not much better than a decent cow house; in which assemble daily from twenty to thirty boys of different castes, who, in most cases without books of any kind, learn to spell, read, and write from dictation; whose materials are the sand of the floor, or the leaves of the plantain and the *tal* tree: and whose whole stock of learning does not get beyond a slight knowledge of accounts, agricultural or commercial, a few cur-

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rent couplets about wealth, women, poverty and fate, and an ability to write out a note of hand for twenty rupees, or a petition or letter to a man of some rank and station. Yet we venture to think that on these rude and elementary institutions, on these teachers without knowledge, on these schools without books, taken as they stand, must be based originally any attempt to create a vernacular literature, or to establish a Normal School, and to give a better and wider education to the children of the masses. And no system which does not avow and act on this principle—that of building on the foundation of the natives, elevating their tone, supplying their wants, directing their studies, and amending their deficiencies—can ever end in any thing but decrepitude and failure.

The word *physician* is a very delusive explanation of the Bengali word *kabiraj*. This functionary is a mere ignorant pretender to medical knowledge, who with a few charms and simples, and without the slightest rudiments of science, practises or experiments on the *corpus vile* of a villager, as prejudiced and ignorant as himself. It is almost an insult to the members of the medical profession anywhere, but especially to the Indian medical profession to which Mr. Wilson belonged, that the term physician should be set down in the glossary as representing a class that have not even the cleverness and the occasional dexterity of quacks.

The word *kshetra* is correctly described as "a field, and a 'place of pilgrimage." By the natives of Bengal, with the honorific prefix of *sri*, it is invariably applied to designate Jagannath, a pilgrimage to which is often the one great event in the life of an unwieldy Baboo. We are surprised that this peculiarity should have escaped the notice of the compiler, who must have heard the term so applied some hundreds of times in the course of his Indian experience.

We are glad to find the derivation of the common word cooly, or *kuli*, which in common with Shakspeare and other Orientalists, we had hitherto conceived to have been Turkish, and to have come into the Hindustani language, with sundry military expressions, in company with the swarm of Patan and Usbek horsemen that helped to fuse the languages of the Court of the conquerors, and of the conquered, into the copious and not inelegant Urdu language. The word comes from the south, and not from the north of India. It is Tamil originally, but has spread into other languages, and is used both by natives and Europeans, though many of our readers must know that on this side of India, the word *mutiya*, from *mot* a burden, is in more familiar and general use than the word cooly.

Mahamari is given as meaning a plague, or any great epi-

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demic, in Bengali or Sanskrit. Surely Mr. Wilson cannot have so far forgotten his medical knowledge, as not to remember, that the *mahamurree*, as it is corruptly termed, is a mysterious disease that appears in the Rohilcund Terai in particular years, or seasons of the year, confines itself to that one locality, decimates whole villages, and has, we believe, like cholera, hitherto defied the skill of the entire faculty. Of all omissions, this omission of a portentous visitation, which has been written and reported on by doctors and civilians, has caused us the greatest astonishment.

That the word *muflis*, which originally means a pauper or bankrupt, should not have been given in its secondary meaning, is also remarkable. It is employed by natives to express a 'bachelor,' an unmarried man, under the idea feelingly conveyed by the tax-collector in Nicholas Nickleby, that a bachelor must be a poor and miserable individual. Nor is it less surprising that, after the Seikh wars, and the settlement of the Punjab, Mr. Wilson should have omitted to mention that the word *manjha*, or land lying between the *outfield* and the *infield* of a village, is *par excellence* applied to the tract of country lying in the very centre of the Bari Doab, whence Runjeet Sing drew the best and bravest of his forces, and where we have found a warlike and manly population, once the foemen most worthy of our bayonets, and now happily amongst the really "staunch" and "faithful" of our friends.

The word *pukkha* or *pakka*, or *pucka*, strikes us as well and tersely defined. It is "ripe and mature, or cooked:" "complete as a statement:" "solid as a building," or, Mr. Wilson might have said, as a bridge, or road: "intellectually mature, intelligent, knowing:" "the contrast in all respects of *kachcha*," or *kutcha*. This is very *pukka*, which is perhaps the best praise that can be given to such a definition. The words *pucka* and *kutcha*, which latter is also explained with lucidity and precision, are in fact, the main opposing powers of good and evil in our system of actual Government. Settlements that will not stand the trial of years; investigations that leave the whole ground to be gone over again; decisions like those of Mr. ———, (the reader may supply the blank by one of some of the public functionaries with whom he is acquainted): roads laid down, edifices repaired or erected by the late Military Board, whether apparently solid or not: abortive attempts at legislation: laws which do not touch the real evil, or which being passed, never get beyond the statute book; measures of social or internal reform which are beyond or behind the requirements of the age:—all these are essentially *kutcha;* they tantalise the philanthropist and the reformer, by a vague show of amelioration, they are propounded with pomp

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and pretentiousness, and they end in vapour and smoke. For the exemplification of the word *pukka* in public matters, we have, fortunately, not to go very far. The measures which resulted in the crushing of the mutiny within the Five Rivers, were unquestionably *pukka*. So, we doubt not, will be those for the restoration of our power, the punishment of the guilty, the reward of our faithful allies and dependants, and the re-introduction of order, security, and peace. *Pukka* was the experience and the understanding of the late lamented Mr. John Colvin. So was a project of reform when it came forth from the vigorous hands of Lord Dalhousie. And so are a minute or a speech by Mr. Grant. *Pukka* and *kucha* statesmanship are, indeed, two things which time rarely fails to detect, just as it tries the durability of a public building or a bridge.

The *panj-tan* are five holy persons, well-known to all good Mahommedan Shiàs. They are, the prophet, his daughter, his son-in-law, and the two martyrs, Hassan and Hosain. An Urdu couplet, easy of remembrance, links them together thus:

> Nabi, o Ali, Fatima aur Hassan
> Hosain, ibn-i-Haidar ye hain panjtan.

But we regret, as we shall have occasion to notice, that Mr. Wilson has vigorously excluded from his Glossary, couplets, saws, and proverbs, which exist in such abundance in all dialects, and from which a judicious discrimination might have selected the most apt.

In connection with the above phrase, we may notice the definition of the *tazia*, or model of the tomb of the two martyrs, above alluded to, as it exists at Karbela to this day. Mr. Wilson says, "it is usually made of a light frame-work of *bambu* slips 'covered with paper, painted and ornamented with mica and 'glass, and artificial flowers, and illuminated within and with-'out; it is sometimes of considerable size and elaborate execu-'tion, and according to the wealth and piety of the owner, may 'be constructed of more costly materials, as glass, ivory, sandal-'wood, or silver; the common ones are usually thrown away, 'or destroyed at the end of the solemnization. The more valu-'able ones are preserved." We select this as a good illustration of the position which a glossary ought to hold, removed from the brevity of a mere dictionary on the one hand, or the copiousness of a work on manners and customs on the other. And this position, in the above and in other instances, has been hit with exactness. A glossary should have sufficient detail to attract and satisfy, and yet should avoid trenching on the province of the historian, the biographer, or the writer on social usages.

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To return to one or two official terms, we must observe that *taufir* or *towfeer*, does not merely mean "an augmentation of the 'revenue, either from extended cultivation, or the lapse or re-'sumption of alienated assignments." In Bengal the word denotes lands, not on the *Towjih* or rent-roll of perpetually settled estates, such as is kept up in any collectorate: lands which may, at any time, be re-settled and assessed at their proper rate. The word simply means excess, or increase, but, officially, it marks with a broad line of separation, the lands assessed in perpetuity, under Lord Cornwallis's policy, from lands which may have been excluded then, and identified, or cultivated, or resumed, and then settled at any subsequent period.

We are at a loss to imagine the authority under which Mr. Wilson set down *khass khamar*, amongst his addenda, as "private 'land, or land uncultivated by the proprietor." Wherever we have met the term, it has borne the very opposite signification. *Khass khamar* is applied to land held like a home farm, by the proprietor, and not cultivated by ryots who pay rent, but usually by private servants, who store the produce in their master's barns: or it may designate indigo lands, sown and cultivated by the servant of the factory, and not through cultivators receiving advances for the same: or the word *khamar* alone may mean the portion of an estate, from which the owner collects rent, without the intervention of any middleman, from the ryots; and in the North-West provinces the word *kham* which is very similar, is applied to the process of collection by government from a share in a village, the holder of which has defaulted: a most unpopular mode of collection, and one seldom resorted to, except *in terrorem*, or when the rest of the brotherhood or co-parceners refuse to be responsible for the share of the defaulter. The *kham* process is, however, invariably preferred to the actual sale of the share.

In the same way we should be glad to know the incorrect source from which the mongrel compound *digri-jari* was set down, as "the written sentence or decree of a court." The first part of the compound is indeed the written sentence, or in plain English the *decree*, and all readers of Shore's notes will remember his description of the civil trial, terminating by the head native official shouting out "Diggory," which, to this day, is the way natives always pronounce the word. But the Persian word *jari*, lit: "*flowing*" is a very different thing, and added to the *digri*, it means the execution of the sentence, that is, the sale of the land attached, the realisation of the amount of debt adjudged to the plaintiff, the investment or the giving actual possession of the real property won in the suit. All who have had anything to do with the Mofussil, know that

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this tangible and substantial process is a widely different thing from a mere copy of the court's decree, whether that decree be the production of an intelligent native clerk, and composed in elegant Persian, as it used to be in former days, or the *bonâ fide* handiwork of the presiding judge, written by himself in his native tongue. The decree, as far as the paper, the reasoning, and the calligraphy go, may be all very well, under the excellent system by which all public officers are now required to write their own orders. But the paper may be mere waste paper. The tug of war may come again when identification is to be made out, and possession is to be given. But we feel that to pursue this topic would lead us away into the haze and maze of protracted litigation, and we reserve for a future article the consideration of the measures which have as yet been passed for the better administration of justice, as well as of those in contemplation, by which rights successfully contested in court, might be more speedily and satisfactorily enforced out of court.

Toshakhana is scarcely sufficiently described as a "store-room, 'in which objects of curiosity are kept." With native Governments, and with the British Government to this day, it means the place where the *cimelia regni* are kept from profane eyes. A native *toshakhana* with its store of uncut emeralds, brocade stuffs, gold tissue, chains set with precious stones, scarfs, shawls, and embroidered cloaks, is a remarkable sight, and so is the British *toshakhana, after* the annexation of a new kingdom.

We think, that most persons will be somewhat disappointed at finding so curt a notice of the three great deities, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, as Mr. Wilson has thought fit to give us. A notice of their principal festivals and places of worship would not have been inappropriate, under each deity; but Vishnu is separated from his *avatars*, and the various Hindu festivals in honour of Shiva are scattered up and down the glossary. Possibly, little was given for the very reason that there would be a temptation to say too much, and because a book on mythology and not a glossary ought to be consulted by those who require to be initiated into Hindu mysteries. If this be the case, we are ready to admit the difficulty of drawing the line and of knowing where to stop.

The degradation of the term *khalifa*, the successor of the Prophet, to the menial servants, such as the cook and the tailor, has been very properly noticed: Mr. Wilson might have added to the *nal-band* or farrier also. In this instance, as well as in that of the sweeper, who is transferred into a *prince*, and the water-carrier who is made *an inhabitant of Paradise*, the late Mr. Henry Torrens had an ingenious theory that these nicknames were ironically given by the soldiery of the camp of the emperor,

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where the Urdu or camp language was gradually formed. ('Vide note Art III. No. VIII., on the Urdu language.')

In some of the notices of the lower castes, the glossary will be found deficient. Under the word *kolhu* or oilman, no notice is given of the very large caste of Mahommedans, who follow the occupation of making mustard oil, and who are totally distinct from the Hindu *Teli;* nor under *karigar,* which signifies workman, is there any allusion to another exceedingly numerous section of men of the same religion, who follow the occupation of weaving; who, though gradually giving way to the influx of piece goods, supply one-half the clothes of the village population, and are quite separate from the *Tanti* or Hindu caste of weavers. Again, while *Dutt* and *Ghose* are rightly set down as divisions of the *Kayast,* or writer-caste in Bengal, *Bose* is said to be a mere adjunct to names, whereas it is a distinct class or family of the same caste, and *Mittra* or *Mitter,* the fourth great division of the writer-caste, is not specified at all.

The various terms of rent-free tenures in Bengal, such as those given for the support of Brahmans, Hindu temples, the tombs of Mahommedan saints, and for Mahommedan ascetics, are briefly but correctly stated. Some additional information might, we think, have advantageously been given on the operation of the resumption laws and the policy of Government in this respect: the more so, as two good columns have been written on the various kinds of Inams prevalent in the west and south of India. Under the term *lakhiraj* or *bazyaft,* once of great significance, something might have been added as to the process and effect of resumption in Bengal. These lawful and proper measures, to which unfortunate delay, permitting and encouraging the transfer of real property, gave a great appearance of harshness, for all practical purposes, terminated about fourteen years ago. The extensive machinery of Special Deputy Collectors, and Special Commissioners was abolished. The additional rent-roll was made up, and it was found that while the expense of resuming lands had cost Government altogether about 120 lacks of rupees, the yearly addition to the national income was about forty lacks. We speak from the remembrance of official papers, but we are inclined to think that the above figures will be found nearer the mark than those given in Mr. James Young's valuable Revenue Hand-book, where the Bengal resumptions are said to have cost in all eighty lacks, and to have brought in thirty lacks a year by the rent-roll. The policy of Government at the commencement of active operations was freely canvassed, and some of the ablest and most vigorous pens were employed to attack or defend resumption suits. The hardship really was, not that zemindars and others should be compelled to restore possessions illegally obtain-

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ed, or to show documents for their claim to exemption, but that in the years that had elapsed, during which only languid and unconnected attempts had been made by the established revenue authorities, property had changed hands by private transfer, and documents had been lost, and every temptation was thus held out for the manufacture of title deeds, with the signets of Viziers and Nawaubs. In this sudden start to life of Government, which arose like a slumbering giant to require its own, lay the real grievance to owners of real property, which to this day has not ceased to be acutely felt. Yet the Government, as operations were carried on, gave birth to many measures calculated to sooth irritation and to relieve pressure. Broadly, the resumptions were to take in every estate, or all lands alienated since the year 1765. But exceptions were successively made in favour of grants, which had passed under the review of the old provincial courts in the last century, the annual produce of which was not above 100 rupees; of all grants made before the year 1771, not exceeding ten beegahs, and appropriated to religious purposes; of hereditary grants held since the year 1765, by mere prescription without any formal title deed; of grants not exceeding 100 beegahs in extent; of grants which being divided into several lots never reached the amount of fifty beegahs in any one particular village, a chance being thus given to the owner of *more* than 100 beegahs, if his land lay scattered in two or three villages; of all grants under ten beegahs which had been held rent-free since the 1st of December, 1790; of all grants *bonâ-fide* appropriated to religious and charitable purposes; and of grants held rent-free for thirty years, which last could only be assessed by the special orders of Government. To these were added a proviso that the revenue to be assessed on rent-free lands, identified and resumed, should not exceed one-half the rental, which practically means that such estates have been taxed at eight annas a beegah, the gross rental being taken at one rupee. We believe, however, that this rule, meant as a relief or an indulgence, will be found to impose a heavier burden than what many of the permanently settled estates have to bear. The professional survey, which is to show the taxation on the area of land, will, we think, bring to light many instances where the demand on account of Government, is not one quarter of the rental, nor one-twelfth of the produce of the land.

The resumption operations, which had a languishing, we may say, a mere nominal existence for some years after the abolition of the machinery of the special courts, have been completely stopped as regards Government. Landholders and farmers may, however, claim to assess all lands under one hundred beegahs, held rent-free by middlemen or ryots within the limits of their

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estates. Suits to determine the right to rent may be tried in the collectorate or the civil court. Whether, as Government has withdrawn its grasp from these alienations, be they originally lawful or not, it were not desirable that all suits of the kind should terminate, and that those who have the good fortune to hold small parcels of land exempt from payment of *rent*, should be permitted to hold them without fear of a law-suit, is a question which we should feel inclined to answer in the affirmative. These bits of land, held by Brahmins, Faquirs, saints, and oftener by men of secular professions, though bearing no proportion to the area of land-paying rent, are very numerous. They are to be met with in almost every district. They are valuable, not so much from their productiveness, for it may well be imagined that the soil least productive was generously given away, but from their simple exemption from any tax. They tend to the advantage of the agriculturist, for we are happy to say that there is a sort of tacit understanding between the cultivator and the grantee that the former shall not pay too highly to the latter, when everything to him is clear profit. Fourteen annas or one rupee a beegah is a very common rate for *lakhiraj* land, and to possess a neat piece of twenty or thirty beegahs, house or garden, is often the life-long ambition of a respectable householder. We should be glad to think that few suits for such lands were to be instituted in future. We may put aside this subject with two remarks: the first, that resumptions which it took forty years to dispose of in Bengal, were disposed of in six years in the Punjab; and that no man, but a theoretical Member of Parliament, would ever imagine that the Inam commission in Bombay had the slightest connection with the mutiny in Bengal.

We have now finished our strictures on either erroneous or defective information. It is next to impossible that in so copious and comprehensive a work, there should not be found by any person with moderate local knowledge, something which he could amplify or amend. In fact, the Glossary was commenced on this very principle, viz. of getting at out-of-the-way information in holes or corners, and it is the failure to respond to the call for materials that has thrown the compiler back on some imperfect or impure sources, and has excluded him from others altogether. With Mr. Wilson's general qualifications for the task, no one will be disposed to quarrel, and even his determined way of spelling the native words in corresponding English letters, can offend no tyro, seeing that the corruptions are given in the index as accurately as corruptions ever can be, which in one and the same document are often spelt in two or three different ways. Sometimes, however, where oriental words have been regularly Anglicised, this scrupulousness is

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carried a little too far. We doubt if many well-read men would at the first glance recognise our powerful enemies, the rulers of Mysore, in their original costume of Haidar and Tipu, and as for the divisions of the country generally, given under the word *zila*,* we doubt if many persons were aware that the railway properly runs through *Bardhman*, or that *Katak* was the capital of Orissa. At the same time the corruptions constantly try our patience the other way. For instance, being attracted by the curious term *Weedyman*, we turned to the glossary, and were astonished to find that this was a mere corruption of the Sanskrit and Mahratta *Vidhyamana*, one who is present, as a witness, on a money transaction. After this we can pardon Mr. Wilson's ebullition of feeling at Kabuliat and its corruptions, and at *Hul Fun*, for *Halfan*, "judicially, on oath," which Mr. Wilson evidently thinks the basest of bad jokes.

In conclusion, we venture to think that this Glossary, so far from being a temporary or occasional work, may become a regular permanent text-book for all persons, whatever their bias or profession, or in whatever part of India resident, who desire information on strange rustic agricultural terms, on plants and their produce, in regard to which the glossary is very well furnished, and on the principal castes, festivals, and customs, which, with a generic resemblance in the main, vary so much in particular districts and provinces. We see no reason why there should not be a second edition of such a work, corrected and enlarged by additional research and information. We do not think that Mr. Wilson has named amongst the books that he has consulted, the curious and instructive work entitled topography of Dacca, by Dr. Taylor, compiled, under one of those general requisitions from Government to which one official in fifty deigns to pay attention, as far back as 1840: nor a neat little and unpretending, but useful book by Mr. P. Carnegy, a deputy magistrate in the Upper Provinces, entitled "kutcherry technicalities," nor do we think that Mr. Wilson is just to the Bengali Dictionary of Carey, when he terms it "singularly defective in technical and colloquial words." We also must again

* There is some incorrectness in the *correct* spelling of the different Bengal zillahs. West Burdwan is Bancoorah or Bankhunda, Chittagong is Chatgaon not Shatgaon. Jessore is Jashar, not *Jaisur*. Silhet is not Silhat, but Srihat, and Tippera is *Tripura*, not Tripara. If we are to have a correct orthography, Mr. Wilson cannot be too particular. It is not right, either, to say that the Commissionerships of Assam, Arracan, Kachar, Hazaribagh and Tenasserim have been recently included among the zillas of the Lower Provinces. The above places are still what they have always been, non-regulation provinces, and nothing has been done except to extend to them the supervision of the Board of Revenue. Tenasserim, too, we believe, is now under the Government of India, not the Government of Bengal.

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express our surprise that every thing in the shape of proverb or couplet, with which all Indian dialects abound, has been rigidly denied admittance to the Glossary. If Mr. Wilson holds the opinion that quaint saws in prose or verse, current amongst rustics, are "beneath the dignity" of a glossary, we must differ from him, deeming as we do that a terse and pithy couplet often takes deeper root in the memory than the most lucid narrative or the most labored explanation. Such are, in fact, the condensed sense of the wise men of past and present generations: they relieve the tedium of dry and protracted disquisitions, and give colouring and life to the occupations of tribes hardly known. It is their point and frequency that lends such a charm to Sir H. Elliot's work, and Mr. Wilson, who wisely has not been above noting the slang of professional Thugs and robbers, just as Lord Macaulay did not disdain to dive into the London Spy and Tom Ward for materials for his History, might with good effect have scattered a few Hindi and Persian proverbs through his text.

We should have been glad, for instance, to have met some of the quaint or descriptive verses from Sir H. Elliot's store, which tell us that a hundred weighmen, cheats as they are supposed to be, with their false measures, are not equal, in craftiness, to one single inhabitant of Bundelcund; how highly esteemed is the agricultural caste of the *Kurmi*, for the reason that the wife, sickle in hand, follows her husband to the field and weeds it in his company; how the ryot is seen strutting about with elated countenance on the day when the first fruits of his harvest are brought home, but moving dejectedly when, as a necessary consequence, the peon of the landholder makes his call for rent; or how under a strong feeling that men whose lives do not expose them to the sun, should not be sun-burnt, a prudent person is forbidden to get into a ferry-boat with a dark-coloured Brahman, or a light-coloured Chamar—in other words such persons, being unlucky, should be forbidden, under the Horatian precept:

——— Sub isdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemve *tecum*
Solvat phaselon.

We trust that the learned compiler may have an opportunity, by the demand for his glossary, of considering the value of our partial strictures. We repeat that complete accuracy was not to be expected in a first issue, and in our comments, we have been guided by that local and departmental knowledge, by which a man at his particular trade or business ought to be more confident than one who embraces so wide a range of country, or by which an untravelled individual may be a better guide to his

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own parish, than the best and most accurate map of the kingdom would be. We have not, on the first acquaintance of certain terms through Mr. Wilson, referred to other sources for the purpose of picking holes in his definitions, and while we might yet give a fair list of phrases imperfectly or inacurately expounded, or of others omitted altogether, we feel that it is impossible to possess those who have not seen the work, with a correct idea of its wide and comprehensive range of enquiry, its extensive and deep learning, its general order and lucidity, and its adaptation to residents in all parts of India, whether it be to the soldier in his camp, the missionary in his school, the civilian at his desk, or the antiquarian in his library. Such a work had, in truth, long been a desideratum, and we can conscientiously recommend it to all thinking persons, who do wish to carry away with them from India some more accurate knowledge of the country, and the people with whom they come in contact, beyond what is contained in the remembrance that Indian heat is excessive, but may be made endurable by active thermantidotes, watchful punkah-pullers and an unfailing supply of ice, that India is somehow not quite the thing that it used to be for the pocket, that caste is very degrading and opposed to improvement, and that all native servants are cheats and rogues by profession or choice.

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ART. V.—*Friend of India; Englishman; Hurkaru; Phœnix; Newspapers.*

AT the close, exactly, of the one-hundredth year after the battle of Plassey, in which Clive seized the keys of Hindostán for the Honorable East India Company,—the Lord of the whole earth, who giveth and taketh away kingdoms, has placed a riddle before the rulers of India, more difficult of solution, more disastrous in its consequences if unsolved or solved wrongly, of far richer reward if rightly understood and vigorously acted upon, than the enigma of the Theban Sphinx—the mutiny of the Bengal native army. At Thebes, the deadly plunge from the rock was the lot of the unsuccessful competitor, the crown of a famous but small Grecian kingdom, the prize offered to the successful interpreter. Here, any misinterpretation of the character and the causes of the revolt of the Bengal sepoys, adopted by the British Government, would inevitably lead to yet direr calamities, and finally to the overthrow of a splendid empire; the right understanding of, and the right dealing with, the present crisis, will cause the name and power of Britain to rise still higher in India and all over the east, will deepen and widen the foundations of a kingdom, which, re-established after this rude shock, may prosper, and prevail, and see no change until all the kingdoms of the world belong to our God and to His anointed.

In days like these, when every heart which has learned to pray is lifted up to the throne on high for the restoration of peace and order in the north of India, which has suddenly been convulsed by a tropical cyclone of revolt, as wild, as savage, as inhuman, as any on record; when every head which has been taught to think strains its powers to discern some rays of light amidst the thick darkness, pens which have never stirred on themes of politics may, yea ought to engage in the discussion of a question of such vital importance, not only to the cause of British supremacy, but to that of law and order, of civilization, and religious progress among one-sixth of the human race. When the wisest among politicians doubt, waver, and are at their wits' end, amidst the uproar of the tempest and the fearful strainings and groanings of the vessel of the state battling with a raging sea, the unlearned, now ceasing to hear dogmatic and confident discourses, which they might be expected to say their humble "amen" to, may well try to reason for themselves; and when traditionary Government-craft and grey-headed statesmanship are confounded, children and babes may open their

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mouths, and chance to utter words, furnishing a clue to the solution of the dreadful puzzle.

Our object is not to recount the history of the mutiny, which has marked the year 1857, in the annals of India, with a red line of blood, never to be effaced from the memory of its rulers or their subjects; but to enquire into the nature and the causes of the lamentable convulsion, which will ere long appear to have been a turning point in the affairs of British India, either from great and seemingly increasing prosperity to insecurity and ruin,—or from a century of continuous advancement full of promise, to a glorious age, fulfilling the brightest anticipations of hope in successive triumphs of European civilization, science and religion, among races, once the foremost of mankind, but now sunk into that moral and intellectual torpor, which is the never-failing effect of old age upon idolatrous nations. A few short sketches of some of the principal events, the night of horrors, which has passed over northern India, may suffice.

Early in the year, symptoms of discontent showed themselves among the regiments of the Bengal army. Cartridges of a new color, and greased, it was suspected, with objectionable matter, had been issued. The sepoys murmured, grumbled, petitioned, protested. Government, blameable in the first instance for its carelessness, soon corrected their error, and withdrew the objectionable cartridges. Matters were fully explained to the sepoys, but to no purpose. The rumour spread and prevailed, that the Government had formed an insidious plan to subvert the religions of their sepoys, and that the introduction of larded and tallowed cartridges was intended to deprive, as a preliminary step, Mussulman and Hindu sepoys of their caste. All the measures of second-thought wisdom, which the Government adopted, proved unavailing. The 19th regiment B. N. I., stationed at Berhampore, mutinied on the night of the 26th February. They refused to take blank cartridges issued for parade exercise on the following morning, seized their arms, threatened their Colonel and their officers to shoot them, but were at length pacified; and then addressed a petition to the Major General commanding the Presidency division, stating, that for more than two months they had heard rumors of new cartridges having been made at Calcutta, on the paper of which the fat of bullocks and pigs had been spread, and of its being the intention of Government to coerce the men to bite their cartridges; and that, therefore, they were afraid for their religion. They admitted, that the assurance given to them by the Colonel of their regiment, satisfied them that this would not be the case; but added, that, nevertheless, when on the 26th

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of February, they perceived the cartridges to be of two kinds, they were convinced that one kind was greased, and therefore refused them. It must be noted, that the cartridges thus objected to, had been used by the recruits of the 19th regiment up to that date, and that they had been made up by the 7th regiment, which had preceded the 19th at Berhampore. "The men of this regiment," in the words of the order read to them on the day of punishment, "had refused obedience to 'their European officers. They had seized arms with violence. 'They had assembled in a body to resist the authority of their 'commander. The regiment had been guilty of open and 'defiant mutiny." The punishment awarded to this "open and 'defiant mutiny" was this. After the lapse of a month, the 19th regiment was ordered to head quarters at Barrackpore, where it arrived on the 31st March. The General in command had collected every element of power within reach of Government. H. M.'s 84th had hastened from Burmah to Barrackpore. A wing of H. M.'s 53rd had marched up from Calcutta. A troop of Madras artillery, on the way to its own presidency, was detained there; a second troop had been called from Dum-Dum: the body-guard of the Governor General was on the spot; every soldier that was available from the presidency appeared on the parade. The Europeans and native Artillery were drawn up on one side, the four native regiments, who were suspected of strong sympathy with the 19th, opposite; the regiment under sentence marched into the centre. General Hearsey then read an order, which gave a clear account of the offence committed, pronounced upon it a just and sound judgment, the terms of which have been quoted above, and then announced the decree passed by Government upon a regiment guilty of open and defiant mutiny, in the following terms: "It is, therefore, 'the order of the Governor General in Council, that the 19th 'regiment N. I. be now disbanded; that the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates be discharged 'from the army of Bengal; that this be done at the head quarters of the presidency division in the presence of every available 'corps within two days' march of the station; that the regiment 'be paraded for the purpose, and that each man, after being deprived of his arms, shall receive his arrears of pay and be required to withdraw from the cantonment." The arms were piled, and the colors were deposited with them, but the uniforms were not stripped off. Pay was delivered, and the disbanded regiment was marched off to Chinsurah, to await there the arrival of their wives and families. Thus was the first overt act of mutiny on the part of the Bengal army dealt with by Government. To have stopped short of this—in any other than an Indian

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army—inconceivably light punishment, would have been an official announcement, that discipline was henceforth to be abolished. Yet, such was the public feeling in India at the time, that most newspapers applauded what was called the temperate yet decided policy of Government.

At Barrackpore were then stationed four native regiments, the 20th, the 34th, the 43rd, and the 2nd Grenadiers. During the month of March the disaffection of the native troops took a serious form. Mutinous meetings were held. Several arrests of native officers took place. On Sunday, the 29th March, a Brahman sepoy of the 34th regiment, who had perhaps drugged himself to run a muck, attacked and wounded the Serjeant-major and the Adjutant of the regiment with sword and musket, within sight of the quarter guard of the 34th. Lieut.-Colonel Wheeler ordered the guard to fire on the sepoy. They refused to obey his orders. Lieut.-Colonel Wheeler quietly reported the circumstance to the Brigadier. On the approach of a guard of the 43rd, the sepoy shot himself, but his wound was not dangerous. He was then seized. All this happened in the lines of the 34th regiment, of whom none moved in defence of the serjeant major or the adjutant. In this case punishment was inflicted less tardily.

The sepoy who had shot adjutant Baugh's horse, and inflicted severe wounds upon this officer and the sergeant major Hewson, who had come to his assistance, was hung within about a week after the commission of the crime, and the jemadar who had ordered the guard to stand still, when they were commanded to arrest the Brahman criminal, and upon whom, during the enquiry, all blame was thrown by his men, paid the same penalty after a fortnight. In the mean time a party of the men of the 34th regiment refused to march on guard duty to Calcutta, and were, of course, placed under arrest. The punishment of the mutinous regiment was slower. It was on the 6th of May, that the second disbanding took place at Barrackpore. At daylight two sides of a square were formed by H. M.'s 53rd and 84th, the 2nd, 43rd and 70th N. I., two squadrons of cavalry, consisting of the body-guard, the 11th irregulars, and a light field battery with six guns. When the line was formed, the seven companies of the 34th, who had been present in the Barrackpore lines on the 29th March, about four hundred strong, were halted in front of the guns; the order for disbandment was read out, and after a few energetic remarks upon the enormity of their offence, General Hearsey commanded them to pile their arms and strip off the uniform which they had disgraced. Their arrears were paid up, and in two hours the disbanded sepoys were marched off to Pulta Ghaut for conveyance to

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Chinsurah, the grenadiers of the 84th, and a portion of the body-guard, attending their footsteps. Thus half a regiment of mutineers, who had, it was well-known, contemplated massacre and essayed murder, were sent away in peace with their pay in their hands. Thoughtful men began to feel alarmed at the extraordinary leniency of Government in dealing with the spirit of mutiny, which showed itself bolder and bolder all over the cantonments of the Bengal army, and began to light the beacon of incendiarism in all directions, at Umballa, Meerut, Phillour, Lucknow, Dinapore, and other stations. The Governor General's order spoke, indeed, in terms sufficiently clear and strong of the criminal conduct of the regiments.

"The mutinous sepoy was permitted to parade himself insolently before his assembled comrades, using menaces and threatening gestures against his officers, without an attempt on the part of any to control him.

"No such attempt was made, even when he had deliberately fired at the serjeant-major of the regiment.

"None was made, when—upon the appearance of the adjutant, Lieut. Baugh, and after having reloaded his musket unmolested, the mutineer discharged it at that officer, and shot his horse.

"When the horse fell, not a sign of assistance was given to Lieut. Baugh, either by the quarter guard or by the sepoys not on duty, although this took place within ten paces of the guard.

"During the hand-to-hand conflict which followed between the mutineer and Lieut. Baugh, supported by Serjeant Major Hewson, the men collected at the lines in undress, looked on passively; others in uniform and on duty joined in the struggle; but it was to take part against their officers, whom they attacked with the butts of their muskets, striking down the serjeant major from behind, and repeating the blows, as he lay on the ground.

"When the adjutant, maimed and bleeding, was retiring from the conflict, he passed the lines of his regiment, and reproached the men assembled there, with having allowed their officer to be cut down before their eyes, without offering to assist him. They made no reply, but turned their backs, and moved sullenly away.

"For the failure of the quarter guard to do its duty, the jemadar who commanded it, has already paid the last penalty of death. In this guard, consisting of twenty sepoys, there were four, who desired to act against the mutineer; but their jemadar restrained them; and when, eventually, the order to advance upon the criminal was given by superior authority, the majority yielded obedience reluctantly."

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Such was the language of the Governor General. But, what was his course of action? Two individuals only had suffered death after a tedious process of enquiry, while, to judge from the stern tone of the order, every man of the guard, who remained a quiet spectator of the outrage, should have been tried by court martial, and shot within twenty-four hours. One sepoy of the 34th, indeed, made an exception. He ran to the help of the adjutant and saved his life. He was murdered shortly afterwards, and his murderer, of course, escaped detection. The mutinous corps were sent to their homes unmolested. Mutiny was deprived of the terrors of condign, swift, vigorous punishment, and again a large body of disaffected men, irritated, but not humbled or frightened, by loss of pay or pension, was cast adrift upon the country.*

Simultaneously almost, in the beginning of May, Lucknow and Meerut, places far distant, the former the capital of the lately annexed kingdom of Oude, the latter a principal military station forty miles from Delhi, became scenes of demonstrations of mutiny. At Lucknow the 7th Oude Irregulars showed signs of insubordinaton. On the 3rd May, information was given at head quarters, when the European battery of eight guns was at once sent off at top speed towards Lucknow. The cavalry, 48th N. I. and 71st N. I. followed. These regiments were joined by the Queen's 32nd. All were quickly drawn up in front of the mutineers at Moosah Bagh. The artillery unlimbered, the guns were loaded with grape. A port-fire was lighted by some artillery-man, at the sight of which the mutineers threw down their arms, and ran. Their arms were gathered, and the men were confined in their lines. Fifty of the ringleaders were taken prisoners. Thus the first rise was put down with vigorous promptitude. On the 12th of May, Sir Henry Lawrence held a great durbar, in which he delivered a spirited oration in Hindusthani, as introductory to the distribution of handsome rewards among a number of officers and privates of the 48th and 13th N. I., who had distinguished themselves by fidelity and bravery. He gave magnificent sabres, costly shawls, cloaks, and embroidered cloths to a subadar and a havildar, and to the privates handsome swords, turbans, pieces of cloth, and Rs. 300 each. All saw

* In justice to the Government it ought, however, to be considered, that, if sterner measures had been adopted, *and had succeeded in quelling the mutiny*, it would never have been known how great was the evil to be repressed, and the severity of the measures employed in its suppression, would have been severely censured by many of those who now condemn the Government for its leniency. One thing is certain, that the measures adopted by the Government were more severe than those adopted on his own responsibility by Sir Charles Napier, upon an occasion which he believed to be equally critical.—ED. *C. R.*

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that the representative of the British Government was as ready to reward and honor the deserving, as vigorous in the suppression of insubordination, and the punishment of mutineers.

When this imposing ceremony took place at Lucknow, Delhi, the ancient capital of the Mogul empire, where a pensioner of the house of Tamerlane held his idle court, and spent his eleemosynary revenue of sixteen lacs a year, granted by the East India Company, had become the centre of the sudden revolt. The 3rd cavalry, stationed at Meerut, had, on the 24th April, refused the new cartridges. Major General Hewitt, who commanded there, had taken prompt measures a little in advance of the Barrackpore procedure. Eighty-five men were tried by court martial, and sentenced to terms of imprisonment, varying from five to ten years, with hard labor in irons. On Saturday morning, 9th May, the troops were drawn up in line, the sentence read out, and the prisoners, stripped of their uniforms, were fettered and marched off the ground. General Hewitt had now, it seems, spent all his vigor. A large body of men had been punished for a crime, which it was known their comrades were quite willing to share with them, and common sense must have suggested the necessity of carefully watching the regiment, and of cutting off every chance of the rescue of the prisoners. But, when these were lodged in jail, the General ordered the 6th dragoon guards, a battalion of H. M.'s 60th rifles, and the artillery, back to their lines. The time, from the Saturday morning parade to six o'clock on Sunday evening, was most likely spent by the native troops in rousing themselves by the aid of *bhang*, and equally exciting club-meetings, to a state of frenzy; for at that hour, when the evening service was about to commence, and many of the officers and other residents would assemble at the church, a part of the 3rd cavalry galloped to the jail and liberated the prisoners; the rest, together with the 11th and 20th N. I., commenced an attack upon the Europeans collecting at the church, and murdered all who fell into their hands, without distinction of age or sex. Colonel Finnis, whilst attempting to bring his own corps to reason, was shot down by men of the 20th N. I. A considerable number of officers were destroyed in the first moments of the outbreak. Then the mutineers, joined by the liberated convicts and the scum of the large town, (Meerut has a population of 40,000) spread themselves over the station, and, amidst the conflagration of public buildings and private residences, committed acts of atrocity too horrible to relate. Fiendish cruelty and sensuality revelled triumphantly. At least fifteen hundred British soldiers were in their lines at a few miles' distance. There was a corps of heavy dragoons, a battery of horse artillery, and a batta-

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lion of rifles, troops enough, and more than enough, to have exterminated the whole crew of mutineers long before the dawn of morning. It was the first day after the full moon. The night was as bright as many a northern day. General Hewitt might have crushed in that night the head of the Hydra, which raised itself against the British dominion from the depths of a long matured revolt of pretorian mercenaries. Alas, he was no Hercules, but a Major General, by seniority, in the East India Company's army. Two, yea three hours were spent in preparations, and in marching from a few miles distance the European force, which the mutineers would have never thought of facing. Meantime the work of butchery and incendiarism went on without let or hindrance, until the tardy arrival of the European soldiers. At their first volley the mutineers fled. They fled in the direction of Delhi, and were followed by the dragoons to the distance of a few miles. Early on Monday morning, some men of the 3rd cavalry galloped into Delhi, and gave the signal of revolt to the native regiments stationed there, the 30th, the 56th, the 74th regiments N. I. These men cut down and shot Mr. Simon Fraser, the commissioner, and several officers, whom they met in the streets. The three regiments immediately joined the mutineers. There were no European troops in Delhi. A troop of native artillery, mindful of their old reputation, refused to join, and escorted their officers and some other Europeans to Allyghur. Between eight and nine o'clock, the Meerut mutineers, headed by the 3rd cavalry, marched in open column over the suspension bridge, which spans the Hindun; they were directly admitted into the palace, through which they passed cheering into the city. Resistance was impossible. The mutineers, who had served their horrid apprenticeship at Meerut, were masters. All Europeans, who fell into their hands, were massacred, men, women, and children. The Mussalman rabble of the great city, which holds 152,000 inhabitants, and the convicts set free from the jail, swelled the number and fury of the lawless sepoy banditti, and celebrated their infernal saturnalia in true eastern style. Most of the European ladies and women were dishonored, and then cruelly destroyed. It is said, that some forty ladies, who had taken refuge in the palace, were kept alive by the mutineers for one fortnight in infamy and despair, and at last turned out naked into the hands of the Delhi mob, who, after wreaking upon them their bestiality, cut off their breasts, and finally hacked them in pieces.

All Government treasure, the money of the bank, whatever belonged to Europeans, was, of course, pillaged. This was the

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beginning of the four months and four days, during which Delhi was held by the king of Delhi and his army of mutineers, until the British army, under General Wilson, stormed the walls and commenced the capture of the city, which was completed on the 21st September. Complete as was the triumph of the traitor sepoys, it received an ominous check from the valour of nine British soldiers, Lieuts. Willoughby, Raynor and Forrest, Conductors Shaw, Buckly, and Scully, Sub-conductor Crow, and Serjeants Edwards and Stewart, who defended the Delhi magazine against fearful odds to the last extremity, and then blew it up with hundreds of eager foes. Conductor Scully volunteered the sacrifice of his life in the service of his country, and perished amidst the ruins. The majority of his heroic companions, though scorched, bruised, and wounded, effected their escape amidst the general consternation. Allyghur was, at the commencement of the mutinies, held by an apparently loyal corps, the 9th Regt. N. I. In a manner almost incredible, yet perfectly in keeping with the character of the ignorant, credulous, impulsive sepoy, the regiment changed its mind suddenly and marched to Delhi. We relate the strange incident on account of its full exhibition of a singular trait of the sepoy character. One of the emissaries of treason had found his way into the Fort of Allyghur, and was tampering with the men to induce them to join the ranks of the mutineers at Delhi, when he was seized by consent of the whole body, and handed over to the commanding officer. A court martial composed of native officers, was held, which condemned him to death, and a parade was ordered for his execution. At the appointed time, the regiment assembled, and the gallows received its victim. But, before the traitor was cut down, the rifle company from Boolundshahur came in and marched to the ground. A fanatic from the ranks stepped out, and proclaimed, that they had destroyed a martyr to the cause of religion, since the Company's Government were firmly bent upon destroying caste throughout India. The men listened, debated, wavered, and finally broke out with loud shouts, declaring their intention of marching to Delhi, which resolve was speedily put in execution. A number of the well-disposed assembled round the officers, and told them, that, although they were powerless to withstand the general will, they would take care that no harm should happen to them; and they kept their word.

On the 12th May, suspicions arose of the loyalty of the native infantry regiments, and the 8th light cavalry, at Lahore. Sir John Lawrence knew how to act in a case of emergency. A consultation amongst the heads of departments was immediately held, and measures taken forthwith with perfect secrecy.

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There was but a single European regiment, H. M.'s 81st. A ball, which had been previously advertised, was attended by all the European residents of the station, care being taken not to exhibit the slightest apprehension of impending danger. The festivities were unbroken, but at daylight the whole of the garrison turned out at what was thought to be an ordinary parade, and then, in the front of guns loaded with grape, and with the Europeans on either flank, the four regiments were ordered to lay down their arms. The surprise was complete, and they obeyed without a moment's hesitation. Whilst the work of dancing was going on, three companies marched quietly to the fort, turned out the native guards, and took possession. The whole business was managed with tact and discretion, and was completely successful. On the 13th of May, after the news of the Meerut revolt had reached Ferozepore, the 57th and 45th N. I. mutinied. The former regiment listened to reason, returned to obedience, and was disarmed; the latter was attacked by H. M.'s 61st, and the 10th light cavalry, who remained true to their salt, and in great part destroyed during the conflict at the station, and on their subsequent flight across the open country.

At the same time, alarming news spread regarding the safety of Benares and Allahabad, where a very doubtful spirit prevailed among the sepoys.

Such were the opening scenes of the first act of the Indian tragedy of 1857, soon to be followed by horrors still greater, if possible, by deeds of foul bestiality, infamous treachery, and fiendish cruelty, unparalleled in the history of civilized nations. These first scenes were enacted in the first half of the month of May, at places far apart, Lucknow, Meerut, and Delhi, Ferozepore, Lahore, by large bodies of an army of one hundred thousand men, mutinous to the core, unrestrained by a sense of religion, devoid, with rare exceptions, of every feeling of loyalty, honor or morality, by masses of inflamed rebels, banded together against overweaningly confident, unsuspecting, and unprepared masters, aliens in race and color, language, and religion, whom they now hated and despised in exact proportion to the obsequious awe, with which their unquestioned superiority had inspired them in days now past. The four days, from the 10th to the 14th of May, gave British supremacy a shock, which was felt all over India, and from which the Government has begun to recover only after four long and dreary months of humiliating exposures and panics, of appalling disasters, heart-rending catastrophes, and of anxieties bordering on despair.

On the 16th of May, the supreme Government published the following proclamation, which is a good specimen of Indo-British

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statesmanship, promulgating manifestos, waste paper in India, but excellently adapted to the notions and the temper of the British houses of parliament, and of the home public in general,—of that art, of which the first adept and master among the Indian Governors-General was the Marquis of Wellesley, who, before his well-planned and successful attack on the formidable and implacable enemy of British power in the south of India, addressed to poor Tippoo Sultan long and labored state-papers on international law and general principles of Government, which the fanatical Mohammedan could not, if he would, have understood, but which created quite a sensation among political men at home, and fully convinced John Bull, that a more righteous, a more disinterested, a more unavoidable war had never been waged. Lord Canning's proclamation runs thus :—

"The Governor General of India in Council has warned the 'army of Bengal, that the tales by which the men of certain 'regiments have been led to suspect, that offence to their religion 'or injury to their caste is meditated by the Government of 'India, are malicious falsehoods.

"The Governor General in Council has learnt, that this sus-'picion continues to be propagated by designing and evil-minded 'men, not only in the army, but amongst other classes of the 'people.

"He knows, that endeavours are made to persuade Hindoos 'and Mussulmans, soldiers and civil subjects, that their religion 'is threatened secretly, as well as openly, by the acts of the 'Government, and that the Government is seeking in various 'ways to entrap them into a loss of caste for purposes of its 'own.

"Some have been already deceived, and led astray by these 'tales.

"Once more, then, the Governor General in Council warns all 'classes against the deceptions that are practised on them.

"The Government of India has invariably treated the religious 'feelings of all its subjects with careful respect. The Governor 'General in Council has declared, that it will never cease to do 'so. He now repeats that declaration, and he emphatically pro-'claims, that the Government of India entertains no desire to 'interfere with their religion or caste, and that nothing has been, 'or will be done by the Government to affect the free exercise 'of the observances of religion or caste by every class of the 'people.

"The Government of India has never deceived its subjects, 'therefore the Governor General in Council now calls upon them 'to refuse their belief to seditious lies.

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"This notice is addressed to those who hitherto, by habitual 'loyalty and orderly conduct, have shown their attachment to 'the Government, and a well-founded faith in its protection and 'justice.

"The Governor General in Council enjoins all such persons to 'pause before they listen to false guides and traitors, who would 'lead them into danger and disgrace.

"By order of the Governor General of India in Council,

CECIL BEADON,

Secretary to the Government of India."

Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary, May 18.

This was a bottle of oil poured out upon a stormy sea to quell the wild tumult of its waves. But the Governor General did not put his trust in papers or any other contrivance of mere state craft. He summoned European troops from all quarters, from Burmah, Madras, Ceylon, the Mauritius, Bombay, Persia, with which peace had been concluded, yea from New South Wales; despatched ships to intercept the Chinese expedition under the direction of Lord Elgin, and applied for speedy and considerable reinforcements to the Home Government. Martial law was proclaimed in the disturbed districts. An act was passed, suspending the liberty of the press. In short, no stone was left unturned, no resource was forgotten, in the most strenuous endeavour of collecting every element of strength on the side of the Government, to make head against the sudden storm. It is beside the scope of this article to criticize the measures adopted by Government during an unprecedented crisis, or the siege, if it may so be called, of Delhi, which was ordered and prepared by General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief, who died at Kurnoul, on the road to the scene of operations, commenced by General Barnard, who was taken away by cholera before Delhi, carried on by General Reed, whom sickness soon incapacitated, then by Lieut. Col. Chamberlain, who was severely wounded a few days after taking the command, and brought to a successful issue by General Wilson, on the 14th September, when the Government forces, consisting of British, Seikh and Goorkha troops, stormed and took the north side of the walls, with the Cashmere, Cabul and Moorgates, and thus made themselves virtual masters of the rebel city. Nor shall we venture to paint the sickening scenes of the dreadful Cawnpore tragedy, in which five hundred British men, women, and children were butchered, like a flock of sheep, through the revengeful treachery of an upstart, petted and

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finally disappointed Mahratta Brahman, Nana Saheb, the adopted son of the Ex-Peishwah, Bajee Rao, by an immense band of mutineers, naturally heartless, goaded by the consciousness of unpardonable crime, exasperated by the long and heroic resistance of the handful of Feringhees, and excited to demoniac cruelty by the insolence of momentary triumph, and the undefined dread of final ruin looming in the distance. Nor can we venture upon even a brief outline of the memorable siege of Lucknow, sustained by the fearless, the noble, the faithful Henry Lawrence and his successors, and their brave companions in arms, from the end of May to the end of September, against all the powers of a warlike country in insurrection. Neither is it to our purpose to trace the order, in which the mutiny-mine exploded from the borders of the Panjáb to Dinapore, near the angle of the Ganges, where it takes its southerly course, a few hundred miles to the north of Calcutta; from Lucknow in Oude to Indore and Gwalior, Nagpore, Jubbulpore and Saugor in the direction of the Bombay and Madras presidencies, at the terrible rate of almost a regiment a day, either breaking out in violent mutiny, or being cautiously disarmed, during all June, July and part of August, until one hundred thousand sepoys were involved in the dreadful controversy, the arm of Government for a time paralysed in Bengal and the north-western provinces, and the whole north of the Indian empire to the east and south of the Panjáb, where John Lawrence and his honored associates, with clear heads, stout hearts, and strong hands, kept mutiny and treason in check and awe, appeared involved, or on the eve of being involved in one terrible conflagration. The history of the past five months, closing with the storming of Delhi and the relief of Lucknow, is fresh enough in the hearts of the readers of these pages. Its horrors need no retouching. Our object is not to narrate, but to reflect on the great tragedy, the first act of which has just ended, and to offer the results of patient, serious, impartial search after the true interpretation of the Indian crisis, to the earnest consideration of our readers.

It is certainly a very significant fact in the history of the revolt, which has, with the suddenness and destructiveness of a hurricane, swept over Bengal, Oude, and the north-western provinces, that after the lapse of five months, the all important question as to its character and causes, is yet far from being satisfactorily comprehended by the witnesses of its outbreak and progress, the sufferers in mind, body and estate from its violence and cruelty, and the actors in the bloody scenes of strife between established authority and lawless turbulence. Yet we entertain a strong hope, that we shall succeed in giving such an interpretation of

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the terrible enigma, as will satisfy readers of common sense, who can divest themselves of prejudice and passion, and have patience enough to dig below the surface of symptoms,—the hopefulness or gloom, the coincidence or disconnectedness, the harmony or contrariety of which may be equally deceptive,—into the reality of things, into the depth of general principles, which act upon unchanging human nature with unvarying uniformity among all races, in all places, and at all times. Our subject of enquiry is the character and the causes of the present crisis. Let it be clearly understood and never forgotten, that the crisis has arisen from a mutiny of the Bengal army.

A mutiny, not an insurrection, has placed in jeopardy, for a season, the British domination over Hindustan. The revolt has nowhere, except in the recently annexed Oude, assumed the features of a general insurrection. It is true, that the people of the lower provinces have not turned against the mutineers nor hunted them down, like the sturdy peasantry of the Panjab; but who will expect Bengalis to take up arms in any cause? And farther to the north the people have certainly sympathized in a great measure, naturally enough, with a mutinous army drawn principally from themselves. Many a Hindu in the provinces convulsed by the revolt of a whole army, no doubt, considered the cause of the "Kumpani Bahadur" hopeless, and it would be too much to expect subjects of a foreign Government, humane and liberal indeed, but pressing heavily upon the masses of the people by a financial system which derives the principal resources of the state from the land-tax, to endanger or sacrifice property and life in the cause of strangers. We have no right, therefore, to construe the equivocal attitude of the population of several districts into a proof of their participation in a general insurrection against the Government. It is a mutiny, then, which we have to deal with, and a mutiny, not of the Indian army, but of the army of Bengal. One infantry regiment of the Madras army lately showed a stubborn temper at Masulipatam, when they were ordered to march to Hyderabad without their families, but they have remained loyal throughout the crisis. One cavalry regiment, who had volunteered for service in Bengal, on the way to the Presidency, attempted a strike for higher wages, and was punished by being deprived of horses and fire-arms, by the discharge of native officers, and the stoppage of promotion. There were rumours of insubordination and mutiny in a third Madras regiment, stationed in Burmah. All the rest of the Madras army, from Cannanore to Madras, from Hyderabad to Trichinopoly, all the troops stationed in the Mysore, have remained orderly, steady, loyal, under the pressure of considerable temptation. Many Madras regiments have volunteered for employment in

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Bengal, and the 17th and 27th regiments are doing excellent service there against the mutineers.

The Bombay army has not behaved so well. Part of the 27th regiment Bombay N. I., mutinied at Kolapore; the 29th regiment at Belgaum; the 21st at Kurrachee, a squadron of the 2nd Bombay light cavalry at Neemuch, and a company of artillery at Hydrabad in Scinde. But, as the rest of the Bombay army has proved loyal, the cause of the partial mutinies may be, as is generally believed, the large admixture of Hindusthani sepoys, who are found in the ranks of Bombay regiments to the number of sixteen thousand. Certain it is, that the Bombay sepoys, as a body, have remained staunch, under the severest trial by which the fidelity of the East India Company's Indian army has yet been tested.

Had the whole Indian army mutinied, and had it revolted simultaneously, or had the British power been assailed by a popular as well as military insurrection, the majority of Europeans in India would have perished within a month, and the reconquest of Hindustan, instead of the pacification of two presidencies, would be the task now imposed upon the British nation.

The Bengal army consisted of seventy-four regiments of regular infantry, and ten regiments of regular cavalry. It formed, with the irregulars and the contingents, more than one-half of the whole Indian army. With the exception of the Seikhs and Goorkhas, this force was drawn from a locality of comparatively narrow limits, viz: the kingdom of Oude and the adjacent provinces of the Company's dominions, the ancient Aryavarta, and still the reputed focus of pure Hinduism. All who enlisted had to be men of high caste. Men of low caste, or of no caste at all, were expressly excluded, or, if by chance found in the ranks, ignominiously expelled. Especially in the cavalry regiments a considerable number of Mohammedans were to be found, but these were partly by descent, partly by habits and feelings, formed under the influence of Brahmanism, rather hinduized Mohammedans, than true Musulmans; and on the point of caste—thoroughly sympathized with their Brahmanic companions in arms. A warlike population of four or five millions thus furnished the British Government with the chief strength of its military establishment in the northern presidency. The inevitable consequence was, that the Bengal army, unlike the armies of the western and southern presidencies, which are recruited from different castes, countries and languages, had from its very formation a distinctive character, in which pride of caste was the prominent feature, strongly stamped upon every regiment. The army of the chief presidency enjoyed

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from the beginning the peculiar privilege, great in the eyes of orthodox Brahmanism, of being engaged for home service only, while the Bombay and Madras armies were levied for general service, and had to proceed on foreign duty, like European troops. The Bengal sepoys, when their services were required across the black water, had to be solicited to volunteer, which they did very sparingly, and not by regiments, but by individuals. Once, several years ago, a Bengal regiment, by some oversight, received orders to embark for Burmah. They protested, and pleaded the terms of their engagement. The strong-willed Marquis of Dalhousie, little accustomed as he was to yield to men or circumstances, waved the point, and inflicted upon sepoy insolence, no other punishment, but a long and wearisome march by land to the place of the original destination of the regiment. This is the army which has revolted; the largest, the most compact, the most highly privileged, and by far the proudest section of the Indian forces.

Very different views have been taken of the character and causes of the mutiny by men in office and out of office, both in India and in England. One party has ascribed the revolt to religious fanaticism, roused into action by the apprehension of danger from the aggressions of Christianity, professed by the Government of the country, favored and assisted by the new Governor General, Lord Canning, forced upon the sepoy by zealots in military office, like Lieut.-Col. Wheeler, who commanded the 34th Regt. B. N. I.,—and preached throughout the length and breadth of the land by an increasing number of missionaries.

Lord Ellenborough, who may be considered as the spokesman of this party, brought the charge against Lord Canning in the House of Lords, that he had given donations to several missionary institutions, declaring it inadmissible in the case of an Indian Governor General, to draw a line of distinction between his public character and his private actions, and contending, that such conduct was fraught with the most imminent danger to the safety of the Indian empire, and proved Lord Canning's unfitness for his high and responsible office. A very feeble defence was made by the friends of the Governor General. Doubts were suggested of the correctness of Lord Ellenborough's information, and it was proposed to make a reference to Lord Canning himself on the subject. Their Lordships seemed to be agreed on the principle, that any personal profession of Christian piety, or any act of munificence on behalf of Christian missions in India, was incompatible with the character of the Vice-regal representative of the British nation in Hindustan, inasmuch as every manifestation of Christian zeal by

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so high a functionary, must appear to the people of India as the symptom of an intention on the part of Government to subvert the religions of the country, and to establish their own. If Lord Canning's private charities endangered the safety of the empire, what must have been the dreadful consequences of the abolition of suttee and infanticide, of the extension to all India of the "Liberty of Conscience Act" which secured to Christian converts, as well as others, the possession of their civil and private rights,—of the legalization of the remarriage of widows, and of other measures worthy of the British name, adopted by former and the present Government? Had not Lord Dalhousie and former Governors General been guilty of the same fault? Had the donations of the Governor General attracted public notice in India? Had any class of people, or any individual, in this country, taken offence and expressed or hinted any apprehensions on that score? No! the anxiety felt by Lord Ellenborough was all his own, and had arisen in his mind from a nervous jealousy, lest the people of India should discover, that the Christianity of their rulers was more than a mere name and hypocrisy. Lord Ellenborough's speech has received its best answer from the mouth of a Hindu speaker at a public meeting of the British Indian Association, held in Calcutta, on Saturday, 25th July last. Baboo Dakhinaranjan Mukerjee spoke as follows: "Lord Ellenborough, on the 9th of June 'last, was pleased to observe in the House of Lords, that the 'recent mutinies here are attributable to an apprehension on the 'part of the natives, that the Government would interfere 'with their religion, that the fact of Lord Canning's rendering 'pecuniary aid to societies, which have for their object the conver-'sion of the natives, operates detrimentally to the security of the 'British Indian Government, which must be maintained on the 'principles of Akbar, but could never be maintained on those of 'Aurungzebe, and, if it be a fact, that the Governor General has 'subscribed to such societies, his removal from office would 'obviate the danger arising from the error. If the premises laid 'down by Lord Ellenborough be correct, there could be no two 'opinions as to the unfitness of Lord Canning to fill the Vice-re-'gal chair, and the urgent necessity of his Lordship's immediate 'dismissal from office; but in considering so momentous a ques-'tion, it is requisite, that the facts upon which Lord Ellen-'borough grounds his premises should be fairly enquired into, 'and no place is so appropriate to institute that enquiry as 'Hindustan, nor any assembly more competent to decide on 'that subject, than the one I have the honor to address. First, 'let us then enquire, whether the present rebellion has arisen 'from any attacks made or intended against the religious feel-

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'ings of the people by the administration of Lord Canning? 'Secondly, what are the real circumstances, that have caused 'this rebellion?

"Speaking, as I am, from the place, which is the centre of 'the scenes of those mutinies, that have drawn forth the remarks 'of Lord Ellenborough, and possessing, as we do, the advantages 'of being identified in race, language, manners, customs and 'religion with the majority of those misguided wretches, who 'have taken a part in this rebellion, and thereby disgraced their 'manhood by drawing arms against the very dynasty, whose salt 'they have eaten, to whose paternal rule they and their ancestors 'have for the last hundred years owed the security of their lives 'and properties, and which is the best ruling power, that we have 'had the good fortune to have within the last ten centuries; and 'addressing, as I am, a society, the individual members of which 'are fully familiar with the thoughts and sentiments of their 'countrymen, and who represent the feelings and interests of the 'great bulk of Her Majesty's native subjects, I but give utterance 'to a fact patent to us all, that the Government have done nothing 'to interfere with our religion, and thereby to afford argument 'to its enemies to weaken their allegiance.

"The abolition of the diabolical practice of infanticide by 'drowning children in the Gunga, by the Marquis of Hastings; '(Baboo Dakhinaranjan ought to have said the Marquis Wellesley,) '—of the criminal rite of suttee suicide, by Lord W. Bentinck, 'and the passing of other laws for the discontinuance of similar 'cruel and barbarous usages, equally called for by justice and 'humanity, by Governors General (though they existed among 'us for ages) never for a moment led us to suspect, that our 'British rulers would interfere with our religion, or weaken the 'allegiance of any class of subjects in India. And is it to be sup- 'posed that Lord Canning's subscription to the missionary 'societies has ignited and fanned the awful fire, the flame of 'which now surrounds the fair provinces of Hindustan, and has 'changed the obedient and faithful native soldiers of the state 'into fiends, who delight in plunder, massacre and destruction? 'No, certainly not. Our countrymen are perfectly able to 'make a distinction between the acts of Lord Canning as a 'private individual, and his Lordship's doings as the viceroy 'of Her Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria.

"Chiefs of all denominations, both Hindu and Mohammedan, 'as well as the merchants and soldiers of both these races, possess 'enough of intelligence and shrewdness to know, that what a 'person does in his *taut khas*, is quite a different thing to what 'he does in his *wohdaw*; and Lord Ellenborough must have 'been misinformed as to the impression the Governor General's

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'subscription to the missionary societies has produced in this 'country, when he surmised, that that has occasioned the re- 'bellion, &c.

"Aware of the weight, that would be attached by the British 'public to the views expressed by that personage, we feel it incum- 'bent on us to point out his Lordship's mistake. Then, as to 'the missionaries, a man must be a total stranger to the thoughts, 'habits and character of the Hindu population, who could fancy, 'that, because the missionaries are the apostles of another reli- 'gion, the Hindus entertain an inveterate hatred against them. 'Akbar of blessed memory, whose policy Lord Ellenborough 'pronounces as peculiarly adapted to the Government of India, '(and which, no doubt, is so) gave encouragement to the followers 'of all sects, religions and modes of worship. Jaghires and 'alunghas, bearing his imperial seal, are yet extant to show that 'he endowed lands and buildings for the Mahomedan musjids, 'Christian churches and Hindu devalayas. The Hindus are 'essentially a tolerant people, a fact which that sagacious prince 'did fully comprehend, appreciate, and act upon, and the remarks 'of Lord Ellenborough, that Akbar's policy should be the invari- 'able rule of guidance for British Indian Governors, is most 'correct, but in the sense we have just explained, and should be 'recorded in golden characters on the walls of the council cham- 'ber. When discussing on Indian subjects, it should always be 'remembered, that this country is not inhabited by savages and 'barbarians, but by those, whose language and literature are the 'oldest in the world, and whose progenitors were engaged in the 'contemplation of the sublimest doctrines of religion and philo- 'sophy, at a time when their Anglo-Saxon and Gallic contem- 'poraries were deeply immersed in darkness and ignorance; and, 'if, owing to nine hundred years of Mahomedan tyranny and 'misrule this great nation has sunk in sloth and lethargy, it has, 'thank God, not lost its reason, and is able to make a difference 'between the followers of a religion which inculcates the doctrine, 'that it should be propagated at the point of the sword, and that 'which offers compulsion to none, but simply invites enquiry. 'However we may differ with the Christian missionaries in reli- 'gion, we speak the minds of this society and generally of those 'of the people, when we say, that, as regards their learning, purity 'of morals, and disinterestedness of intention to promote our 'weal, no doubt is entertained throughout the land, nay, they are 'held by us in the highest esteem. European history does not 'bear on its record the mention of a class of men, who suffered 'so many sacrifices in the cause of humanity and education, as 'the Christian missionaries in India; and though the native 'community differ with them in the opinion, that Hindustan

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'will one day be included in Christendom, (for the worship of 'Almighty God in His unity, as laid down in the holy veda, is 'and has been our religion for thousands of years, and is enough 'to satisfy all our spiritual wants;) yet we cannot forbear doing 'justice to the venerable ministers of a religion, who, we do here 'most solemnly asseverate, in piety and righteousness alone are 'fit to be classed with those Rishis and Mahaturas of antiquity, 'who derived their support, and that of their charitable boarding 'schools, from voluntary subscriptions, and consecrated their lives 'to the cause of God and of knowledge."

It is not, therefore, likely, that any little monetary aid, that may have been rendered by the Governor General in his private capacity to missionary societies, should have sown the germ of that recent disaffection in the native army, which has introduced so much anarchy and confusion in these dominions.

It is to be hoped, that British statesmen will lay aside their alarms, sincere or feigned, when they are assured by Hindus themselves, that they have no apprehensions whatever of Government proselytism.

Every misfortune or mischief, caused by blunders or supineness on the part of the Government in India, has been connected, wherever feasible arguments could be found, with the cause of Christianity.

When in 1813, the great Indian discussions took place in the House of Commons, which resulted in the free admission of Christian missionaries into the dominions of the East India Company, the Vellore mutiny,—which had occurred in 1806, when 113 Europeans had fallen a sacrifice to the fury of sepoys, excited by Government orders commanding a change of dress, and secretly instigated by the Mohammedan princes of the family of Tippu, whom an overconfiding and unsuspecting Government had royally lodged and supported with lavish liberality in the fortress of Vellore,—was used by the party hostile to the spread of the gospel in India, as a strong and irrefragable argument against the admittance of missionaries among a population so extremely sensitive and jealous of any, the least interference with their religion. Yet, what had been the facts of the case? Lord W. Bentinck, then Governor of Madras, whose decision was confirmed by the deliberate judgment of the Court of Directors, pronounced after a full investigation of the whole business, had declared, "that, whatever difference of opinion 'the dispute respecting the more remote or primary causes of the 'mutiny may have occasioned, there has always prevailed but one 'sentiment, respecting the immediate causes of that event. These 'are on all hands admitted to have been certain military regulations, then recently introduced into the Madras army." These

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regulations were the ordering of "the sepoys to appear on parade 'with their chins clean shaved, and the hair on the upper lip cut 'after the same fashion," "never to wear the distinguishing 'marks of caste or earrings when in uniform," and "the ordering 'for the use of the sepoys a turban of a new pattern." Such were the new regulations, made *by a new Commander-in-Chief*, fresh from Europe, (the prototype in many respects of General Anson) of whom, however, Wilberforce, the noble advocate of the slave and the Hindu, speaks highly in a note to his substance of speeches, delivered in June and July, 1813. "It is due 'to the highly respectable officer, who was at that time first in 'command in the Carnatic, to state, that he appears to have been 'misled by the erroneous judgment of some officers of long ex-'perience in the Indian army, as well as (in the instance of the 'new turban) by a court of inquiry, into conceiving, that no 'bad consequences would result from the new regulations; and, 'having once commanded them to be introduced, it became a 'matter of extreme doubt and difficulty to decide, whether it 'would be best to retreat or enforce the orders." Such were the obnoxious regulations, and they were strongly enforced. The refractory non-commissioned officers were ordered to be reduced to the ranks; nineteen of the ringleaders, privates, were condemned to receive severe corporal punishment, and to be dismissed the Company's service as turbulent and unworthy subjects. The greater part of these offenders, shewing strong signs of contrition, were, indeed, forgiven, but the sentence was executed in front of the garrison on two of them, each receiving nine hundred lashes. The fire was smothered for a time; but political intrigue kept it alive, fanned the flame in secret, and used every method of increasing the general discontent, until on the 10th of July, the fatal explosion took place, which is still unforgotten by the few survivors of that generation. The mutineers, however, were at length overpowered by the timely succour of a squadron of dragoons from Arcot: 350 were killed, and 500 taken prisoners. The new regulations were persisted in. About the 21st July, they were ordered to be introduced in the subsidiary force at Hydrabad, when the new turban, the orders respecting the marks of caste, earrings and whiskers, threw the whole of that force, amounting to ten thousand men, into the utmost disorder. Every thing was ripening for an open revolt, when, by the revocation of the orders, the tumult was instantly allayed, and the troops resumed their obedience. "The revocation operated on the troops," reported an eye-witness, "with the suddenness and efficacy of a 'charm." The instant restoration of tranquillity sufficiently marked the true and principal cause of disaffection. Those troops

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were not Bengal sepoys of the second half of the century. We have enlarged on this subject, because the mutiny of Vellore bears some striking resemblances to the mutiny of 1857, though essentially differing from the Bengal revolt. It is perfectly clear, that the mutiny of 1806, was partly a purely military affair, occasioned by military blunders, partly the fruit of political intrigue, carried on by deposed, but still pampered princes. Yet, seven years later, Wilberforce had in the House of Commons to bring these charges against his opponents: "Sir, may I not 'ask, if there was ever any attempt more atrociously unfair than 'to charge the Vellore mutiny on there having been a greater 'number of missionaries than before, (which was fully disproved 'by a pamphlet of Lord Teignmouth published in 1809) or on 'any increased diligence in the circulation of the Holy Scrip-'tures? Yet, strange to say, such is the force of prejudice, even 'in sagacious and honorable minds, that to these causes it has 'been in a considerable degree attributed."

In a similar fashion, the Bengal mutiny was by some parties in this country, and is still by certain home papers, attributed to the sepoy's jealousy and hatred of missionary operations, which, certainly, are gradually assuming greater importance, without, however, standing in the remotest connection with the lamentable occurrences of this year. The refutation of this "atrociously unfair charge," afforded both by notorious facts and by most trustworthy witnesses, is complete. Better witnesses on a subject of this kind could not be desired, than members of the British Indian Association, who are the most intelligent and influential opponents of the missionaries in Bengal, and have no inducement whatever to speak better of their Christian antagonists, than they think of them in their hearts. But facts, patent to the world, point in the same direction. Missionaries and missionary families have, indeed, been cut off by the mutineers at Delhi, Futteghur and Sealkote, among other European victims; missionary property has been destroyed, as well as public and private property, at Delhi, Agra, Loodianah, Allahabad. But nowhere have missionaries or mission property been singled out as peculiar objects of malice, nowhere amongst the tumults of the revolt has the cry been heard, "Down with the Padres!" Missionary victims have been fewer, God be thanked, than might have been expected, especially when their isolated positions, and their reluctance to quit the posts of duty, are taken into consideration. A few special occurrences may be added. The mutiny first broke out at Berhampore, where there is a mission of the London missionary society. The 19th native infantry, when excited and under arms there, might with ease have destroyed the mission premises, and murdered the mis-

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sionaries. They never threatened either. They were brought down to Barrackpore and disbanded, and soon after the 34th were disbanded there too. Both regiments were let loose on the country. Opposite Barrackpore is Serampore; a short way farther up is Chinsurah. At both places there are missions. The men went moving up the country. They passed an unprotected mission at Burdwan; they could easily have reached the equally unprotected mission stations at Krishnagur and Kutwa; as they went on, they might have reached others. But they neither threatened nor touched one of them. So at Meerut and Umballah. Before the outbreak of the revolt, there were preliminary symptoms of disaffection given by acts of incendiarism; but nowhere did the incendiaries touch mission premises. At Benares a considerable number of active missionaries is stationed, and the chief civil officer is a zealous Christian. Here were two disaffected native regiments, a Seikh corps, on which it was at first doubtful if reliance could be placed, and 200,000 people supposed to be impatient of missions. Yet the city was preserved in tranquillity, and no missionary has been touched by the hand of violence. Yea, it has been publicly stated in the August number of the *Christian Intelligencer*, published at Calcutta, that, if any European is respected and trusted by natives at present, it is the missionary. All the influence of public officers and their agents at Benares could not succeed in procuring supplies for the troops and others from the country round, but a missionary, well known to the people, is now going round the villages, and getting in supplies for the public service. The missionaries and their families are living at that, and some other stations, at some distance from the other residents, and from the means of defence, and are surrounded by the people on every side. How remarkable is this state of affairs! The Government who have always fondled and favored superstition and idolatry, are accused of an underhand design to cheat the people into Christianity; and the missionaries, who have always openly and boldly, but still kindly and affectionately, denounced all idolatrous abominations, and invited their votaries to embrace the gospel of Christ for their salvation—they are understood by the people, and, if any Europeans are trusted, the missionaries are the persons. We repeat, therefore, that there is not the slightest symptom of any special animosity against missionaries or their doings; nor of the present disturbance having in any degree whatever been caused by any missionary proceedings.

It would be singular, indeed, if the sepoys of Bengal had been provoked to mutiny by the progress of missions and the fanaticism of missionaries, since, thanks to the Argus-eyed vigilance of a Christian Government, and its strong hand, guard-

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ing with jealous care the sanctity of heathen ignorance and idolatrous superstition among its Hindustani army—they, of all classes of Hindus, have come least into contact with Christianity and its messengers. To the Bengal sepoys no missions have been directed; they have remained entirely untouched. Christian instruction has never reached them. The majority of them came from Oude, where there has never been a Christian mission. They went on furlough in great numbers yearly, and attended the numerous shrines and temples without let or hindrance. Of Christianity they ordinarily knew no more, than that it was the nominal religion of their beef-eating and wine-drinking officers. Dr. J. Wilson, in a discourse delivered on the 14th and 16th August, on the Indian military revolt, has said with much force and justice, "The Bengal 'army has been greatly and systematically isolated from the 'liberalizing, humanizing, and, I shall add, Christianizing influ-'ences, which are beginning quietly and peaceably to affect in 'many parts of the country large portions of the Indian popu-'lation. It has been, like the Arevi of the South Sea Islands, 'neither to be visited nor addressed nor looked upon, either 'by the enlightened educationist or disinterested religious in-'structor. Its chaplains are expressly forbidden by Govern-'ment and military orders to speak to its sepoys on the subject 'of religion. Its officers are discouraged from addressing a word 'to them on the great salvation. Many of its officers have refused 'access to their troops to missionaries. The circulation of Chris-'tian tracts and books among the native troops, has often been 'interdicted. Individual converts have been expelled from the 'ranks. Religion has thus been placed beyond the pale of social 'intercommunion in the army; and prejudice, and misunderstand-'ing, and misrepresentation, and aversion have been allowed to 'continue, and to work out their natural mischief. The Bengal 'army has, consequently, remained, in the main, a mass of igno-'rance and fanaticism, ready to be exploded by any incidental 'spark, which imagination, excited by deep and designing men, 'could discern as falling upon it. Had the sepoys known what 'Christianity is, what entrance into the Christian church is, 'they could never have dreamed of an intention to destroy 'their caste by "greased cartridges," or by any other silly or 'absurd appliances whatever."

In a similar strain has Baboo Dakhinaranjan complained in the above cited speech before the British Indian Association. "Government now-a-days have made additional provision for the 'education of the middle and upper classes of their subjects, but 'there has, I regret to say, been a sad omission, as regards the 'education of its native army, ever since the days of its first

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'formation. By education I do not mean a course of scholastic 'training; but some sort of training at least should be imparted 'to sepoys, whom, of all others, it is most absolutely requisite 'to humanize and to bring under the fear of God. The soldier's 'occupation is with arms; his daily business lies in tactics and phy- 'sical force. Unless he is taught in some shape the duties he 'owes to his God, his sovereign, and to his immediate employers, 'he becomes, when infuriated, worse than a cannibal, as has been 'to our shame demonstrated in the recent rebellion."

It is scarcely necessary to mention and refute the accusations brought against the "fanatical," the "bigotted" zeal of Lieut.-Col. Wheeler. Lord Canning has been led to declare that officer unfit for military command. But such unfitness has only now, in these days of panic and confusion, come to be discovered, though the uncompromising "methodistical" soldier can never have been a favorite with the powers that be, and must have had many enemies. And it must be borne in mind, that he has now been condemned in the face of an honorable acquittal by a Court of Enquiry, not composed of fellow methodists. As to the connection of the Colonel's preachings with the mutiny, the fact is absolutely decisive, that the sepoys have never once bethought themselves of turning the Colonel's religious zeal into a grievance, never mentioned his religious activity, though the subject was almost suggested to them by the harangue of General Hearsey, in April. Had they said a word, had they audibly murmured against the proselytism of their Colonel, the grievous charge would, perhaps, have been set forth in general orders. But the world has heard nothing of the kind. The shrewd, the seditious sepoys were too dull, it appears, to perceive the shocks, which Lieut.-Col. Wheeler gave to their Hindu or Mussulman prejudices, and their extreme jealousy of religious interference, week after week.

But we must protest altogether against the attempt to connect the deplorable events of the last six months with religious feelings, prejudices, jealousies, fears, or anything purely religious whatsoever. How, in the name of common sense, could Mohammedan fanaticism and Hindu fanaticism agree, as the Mussulman and Brahmanic mutineers have done? Could fanaticism, for the first time in the history of mankind, have submitted to compromise at the time when it burst forth in uncontrolled fury against a race, professing a foreign religion? Could the spirit of the Koran and the spirit of the Shastras fraternize? It is abundantly evident, whatever may be the theoretic possibility or impossibility of such a phenomenon, that no such compromise has been entered into by the two great parties of the mutiny. The spirit of Mohammedanism has displayed itself in its traditionary character of fanatic violence at Delhi and other places.

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Hindus, Brahmans, yea Brahman sepoys, and fellow mutineers, have been forcibly converted. The phantom king of Delhi, during the short-lived resurrection of the dead power of the house of Timur, has ordered every Seikh or Hindu or Punjabi prisoner to be slain. Had religious fanaticism been a primary element of the revolt, the camps of the mutineers would have been divided against themselves after the first day of the outbreak. Or, had the progress of Christian missions operated powerfully upon the minds both of Mussulman and Hindu sepoys, had the near prospect of the Christianization of Hindustan goaded the native army into rebellion, how is it, that the Presidency, in which Christian converts are now counted by thousands year after year, should have remained tranquil, and that the scenes of the mutinies should have been laid in those parts of the country, where the progress of Christianity has been almost imperceptible? Were any further proof of the non-religious character of the mutiny required, we should point to its moral aspect, which has, throughout, presented features never found blended with genuine fanaticism. The fanatic may burn or slay, he may flay alive or torture on the rack his wretched victims; he may be carried to the wildest excesses of mad hatred, or the strangest freaks of refined cruelty—but he will never choose the victims of his religious rage for objects of his sensuality. Satiated bestiality may, often does, turn in murderous passion against its victims, but the cruelty of the fanatic is of another kind. Destruction, swift or slow, is its single aim. It rushes upon blood and death too impetuously to be detained and diverted by enervating licentiousness. Fanatical murderers would never have hit upon the hellish whim of putting in a row, like pairs of shoes, as was done at Cawnpore, fifty pair of white men's and thirty of women's feet, carefully cut off at the ankles.

Let us, then, discard, resolutely and entirely, from our minds every solution of the dreadful enigma, drawn direct from any purely religious consideration, from the effects of Christian missions, or any acts of British officers, civil or military, done by them in private and in their private character.

Others, chiefly military men of experience and discernment, have laid the blame at the door of the present radically defective system of military administration, to which they trace the real causes of the mutiny. Their complaints may be summed up under the following heads, viz:—

1. The more and more prevailing principle of centralization. The bureaucratic system of the Commanders-in-Chief absorbing, or at least weakening, and often neutralizing the powers of subordinate officers, especially of commanders of regiments, has done much of late, they say, to loosen the bonds of discipline,

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and to deprive regimental officers of the authority and the influence they possessed in former times, when Colonels held almost absolute jurisdiction and power within their regiments, when they could promote or punish according to their own discretion, and act vigorously according to the exigencies of the moment. Then commanding officers, it is said, had much power, but also much responsibility; they were then loved by many of their sepoys, feared by some, respected and obeyed by all. Now-a-days a Colonel in command of a regiment has little or no power, neither is he burdened with much responsibility. The sepoy appeals from him to a court martial, to the General of division, to the Commander-in-Chief, and such appeals are not very unfrequently successful. The loss of power hereby entailed on the military authorities in sight, is not compensated by the uncertain action of a scantily informed Board or Chief, at an invisible distance. The influence of the other regimental officers must be impaired in proportion. This is one of the causes of that unruly spirit, which has so much increased of late among the native army.

2. In olden times, officers joined their regiments for life. They entered young, and stuck by their sepoys, grew old among them, and obtained a familiar knowledge, inconceivable almost to people of the present generation, of every thing that concerned their men. They were not overburdened, it is added, with religious principle, had of Christianity little more than the name, and many of them being attached to native women, were almost naturalized among their sepoys by a perfect knowledge of their language, a half-heathen sort of religion, and, Europe and home being well nigh forgotten, by a great similarity of sentiment and principle.

Now-a-days the connection of the regimental officer with his sepoys is very loose. The young Ensign lands with letters of recommendation in his pocket, if he can obtain them through relatives and friends, on which he rests his hopes of exchanging ill-paid and uninteresting garrison duties for staff employment, or some civil appointment, yielding higher salary and honor, and affording greater opportunity for distinguishing himself. He stays with his regiment until he has qualified himself for examination in one or two languages, or until, by interest or favour, he obtains some coveted berth. His heart and mind are away from the regiment, even during the time of his bodily presence, and when he takes leave at last, it is with the earnest wish to stay away as long as possible.

3. But there are general causes, good and hopeful in themselves, which act unfavorably on the ancient sympathies between the sepoy and his European officers. Religion—true, personal, practical religion has, (—who will deny it?—) made great progress

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among the Christian residents in India. In every part of India, and in all professions, men are to be found, who honor and are an honor to the name of Christ. The establishment of Bishoprics, the multiplication of chaplains, the growing strength of Christian missions, have, under the blessing of the divine Head of the church, contributed much to raise the religious, and still more to raise the outwardly moral character of the European community. Licentiousness and drunkenness are now as much proscribed, as in days of old, they were tolerated, yea encouraged. "The steady increase of matrimonial habits among military 'men, the greater facilities now afforded for revisiting home, the 'constant, and lively and close interchange, not of letters only, 'but of mind and spirit between all parts of India, and between 'India and England, kept up by steam, by the rail and by the 'telegraph, and the spirit of European ascendancy peculiar to 'the second generation of this nineteenth century, all tend insen-'sibly, but surely, to Europeanize and Christianize the sepoy 'officer, and to deprive him more and more of the ancient leaning 'towards native ways, native customs, and native religions."

4. The absenteeism of officers has been noted by many well informed men, as one of the main sources of mischief in the management of the native army. It has been justly said, that officers cannot have influence upon their men without familiar and constant intercourse, and sepoys cannot be expected to esteem, to love, or to fear officers, of whom they see little, and know less. The paucity of officers present with a number of the mutinous regiments, has been pointed to as an ominous circumstance. The following tabular statement was given in the *Friend of India* of May 28th, shewing the number of officers present with each of the revolted regiments at the time when they mutinied :—

Regts.	Commanding Officer.	Captain.	Lieut.	Cornet or Ensign.
3rd Cavalry....	1	6	7	none.
9th N. I.	1	2	5	3
11th ditto	1	2	8	2
19th ditto	1	4	7	1
20th ditto	1	3	6	3
34th ditto	1	2	8	1
38th ditto	1	2	3	3
45th ditto	1	4	6	3
54th ditto	1	4	6	3
57th ditto	1	2	6	2
74th ditto	1	3	6	2
Total....	11	34	68	23

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We have, that journal remarked, eleven regiments, belonging to the regular Bengal army, with a complement of 251 officers, excluding medical men, and out of that number, but 136, or little more than half, were present with their respective corps at the time when their aid was most needed. 17 per cent. of the number are ensigns, and eighty officers, or 30 per cent. of the entire number, bearing commissions, are in civil employ or holding detached stations on the staff!

5. The evils of the seniority system have also been pointed out as collateral causes of the revolt, productive of inefficiency in the highest posts of military administration, and mischievous among the native portion of the army, through the constant check laid by it upon every impulse of military ambition, and the inevitable inefficiency of superannuated men, filling stations of great importance and responsibility, thus forming an isolating dead weight rather than a living conductor between the European officer and the sepoy.

There is no doubt, that all the causes here enumerated, have conduced to diminish the hold, which European officers ought to have, and which in former days they had, in a greater measure than now, upon the minds of their sepoys, but they do not explain the Bengal mutiny. The system of centralization has been equally dominant and rampant in all the presidencies. Staff employment and civil employments have been sought after, as eagerly by the Bombay and the Madras officers, as by their brethren in Bengal. The influences tending to un-Hinduize, to Europeanize and Christianize, the British officer have been as strong, if not stronger, in the western and southern presidencies, as in the northern. Regimental absenteeism, and the principle of seniority have prevailed all over India, for years, in the same degree. It must be confessed too, that the comparatively young General Anson has been of as little service to India as General Hewitt, and that Bengal regiments have mutinied, whether they had many European officers with them or few. Remembering the infamous 6th regiment B. N. I., who first mutinied, then feigned loyalty, and begged to be led against Delhi; first swore eternal fidelity to their officers, hugging them with tears, and then in the evening shot twenty of them dead at the Mess-house at Allahabad, we rather rejoice in the number of British officers saved by their happy absence from the treacherous and cruel fangs of the Bengalis.

One great, fatal defect, for which the home authorities, and they alone, are responsible, has prevailed to a greater and more inexcusable extent in Bengal and the north, than in Bombay and Madras,—the paucity of European regiments, which has, in

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spite of the strenuous representations and strong remonstrances of Lord Dalhousie, in spite of the energetic applications of General Anson, and in spite of the equally decided demands of Lord Canning, been permitted to increase with the increase of territory, through the annexation of three large provinces, Pegu, Nagpore and Oude.

A fortnight after the outbreak of the mutiny, the subjoined article appeared in the *Friend of India*, which has never been contradicted: "The following statement of the means of de-
'fence provided for India, and our new possessions to the east-
'ward of the Bay of Bengal, will show how little danger has
'been apprehended from internal foes or outward aggression
'during the last thirty months. We quote the various stations
'of importance and the numbers of the regiments in garrison :—

	1854.	1855.	1856.
Agra	8th foot	Ditto	3rd Europeans.
Allahabad	None	None	6th Dragoons.
Burmah	29th, 10th 2nd European	Ditto Ditto	Ditto. 35th.
Calcutta Chinsurah	35th and 98th	35th and 3rd Europeans	53rd.
Cawnpore	None	None	1st Europeans.
Dugshaie	53rd	Ditto	1st ditto.
Dinapore	3rd Europeans	None	50th.
Ferozepore	70th	Ditto	61st.
Jullander	60th	Ditto	8th.
Kussowlie	32nd	Ditto	75th.
Lahore	10th	10th and 81st	81st.
Lucknow	None	None	32nd.
Meerut	14th Dragoons & 81st	52nd Europeans	60th.
Nowshera	None	None	27th.
Peshawur	75th	87th	Ditto and 70th
Proc. Home	22nd and 96th	None	None.
Rawul Pindee	87th	75th	24th.
Sealkote	24th and 27th	27th	None.
Subathoo	52nd	None	2nd Europeans.
Umballah	9th Lancers	Ditto	Ditto.
Wuzeerabad	61st	Ditto	None.
Total, Cavalry	2	1	2
Infantry	21	18	18

"From the above it will be seen that in December, 1854,
'before the annexation of Oude took place, we had three more
'European regiments than we have now. Of the English
'troops serving in this country, it is considered, that seven
'always should be stationed in the Punjab, two in Burmah, one
'at Calcutta, one at Dinapore, one at Agra, and one at Meerut.
'This leaves a balance of five regiments; but some of these
'are in absolute need of their customary rest in the hills, so

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'that our whole moveable force is actually reduced, to say—'three regiments."

On the day subsequent to the publication of the above, Lord Canning himself observed in a despatch to the Home Government, which, however, failed to make an impression at the time upon the statesmen at home: "We confidently affirm, that the 'Government will be much stronger in respect of all important 'internal and external purposes, with three additional European 'regiments of the established strength, than it would be by 'employing six native regiments of the established strength. 'At present the relative strength of European to native infantry 'in the Company's Bengal army is disproportionately small. 'In the Bombay army it is as 1 to 9¾, and in the Madras army 'as 1 to 16¾, while in the Bengal army, it is as 1 to 24¾." It may safely be affirmed, that, had Oude been held by five European regiments instead of one; had Allahabad and Cawnpore had each two European regiments instead of one; had Agra and Meerut been stronger by one regiment of Europeans each; and had Delhi had a garrison of two European regiments; that is, had the north of India been held by thirty British regiments instead of twenty, there would have been no crisis of 1857, and there would have been no mutiny of the Bengal army, perhaps, for ever.

It has pleased the far-sighted wisdom of God, and the short-sighted folly of mortals, that it should be otherwise. The Bengal army has broken out into a revolt, which has succeeded, not in overturning the power of the British Government, but in destroying its own existence. For the doom of that treacherous, proud, covetous, and murderous brood will be sealed, when once the true character and the real causes of the Bengal mutiny are rightly apprehended by the people and the rulers of Great Britain.

It is one thing to know, with certainty, a powerful drug or skilful operation, by which a dangerous disease might have been prevented altogether, or indefinitely retarded. It is another thing to understand the nature of the disease itself, and to penetrate by a correct interpretation of its symptoms to the root of the distemper. In the one case, you will provide the drug or keep the knife in readiness; in the other, you may succeed in stopping the source of the malady, and in establishing health which needs no physician.

It remains before we proceed further, to examine the correctness of an opinion which seems to gain strength with Indian journalists and others: an esoteric political character is assigned to the revolt. Notwithstanding the deserved estimation of many of its advocates, the number of undeniable facts which

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seem to favor it, and its general plausibility, we do not hold it, for reasons which we shall explain in the sequel.

At the meeting of the British Indian Association of the 25th July last, adverted to above, Rajah Ishara Chandra Singh, the seconder of Baboo Dakhinaranjan Mukerjee, said: "the cause 'of the present rebellion is still deeper, and we every day see 'new causes ascribed, and persons, who can put pen to paper, 'come forward with a new theory of their own, yet, I believe, 'the principal cause still remains as much hidden as before. It 'is to be hoped, that ere long a strict investigation may be held, 'and that the traitors, who have inflamed a seditious spirit, and 'converted the hitherto faithful and honest sepoys into a set of 'murderers of the blackest dye, may be brought to the punish-'ment they so richly deserve.

"Popular belief points to the emissaries of defunct dynasties, 'as the men who have fanned the seditious flame, and who 'had the presumption to hope, and the daring villany to scheme, 'the overthrow of the British Government in Hindustan, a 'government, whose mission it is to repair defects, that ages of 'tyranny and oppression, under the Mohammedan rule, have 'engendered in this unfortunate land, and to teach its sons to 'resume their place among free and enlightened nations of the 'earth. Those wicked emissaries, taking advantage of the sup-'posed wrongs of sepoys, wrought so successfully upon their 'ignorant and untutored minds, as to incite them to deeds, 'of which the devil himself would be ashamed. Every one 'of them, who have disgraced the name of soldiers, and who, 'by their unheard-of cruelties have brought themselves on 'a par with the beasts of prey, should be punished with 'the utmost rigor of the law, so as to deter others from 'the like offences against the state. As for the instigators, 'such examples should be made of them, that their very names 'may be hateful to generations yet unborn." Hints similar to these, contained in Rajah Ishara Chandra Singh's address, have been thrown out of late in several Indian Newspapers, with considerable assurance.

Dr. Duff, a name great on all Indian matters, in a paper published through the *British Standard*, July 31st, has put forward this view of the essentially political character of the mutiny very ably and eloquently. He compares the Vellore mutiny of 1806, and the Bengal mutiny of 1857, and points out an almost perfect parallelism in the leading characteristics of the two sepoy outbreaks, divided though they be by the interval of half a century. "What was the real originating cause of an explosion so disas-'trous?" Dr. Duff asks. "The searching scrutiny which followed," he replies, "left no room to doubt, that the primary moving cause

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'was of an essentially political character, while the supposed 'violation of a sacred religious usage was merely seized on as a 'plausible pretext by designing intriguers who were inimical to 'British sway. And who were these? By the clearest and 'most cogent evidence it was proved, that these were none other 'than the Mohammedan princes of the recently extinguished 'dynasty of Mysore, the sons of Tippoo Sultan, who fell in the 'storming of Seringapatam. Royally accommodated in the for- 'tress of Vellore, and replenished with princely revenues, they 'repaid the debt of gratitude by hatching dark conspiracies 'against the power that spared, and the hand that so bounteously 'fed them. Their hired emissaries, under every variety of caste, 'and character and costume, swarmed in all directions, armed 'with the means of bribery and corruption. And these means 'were employed at once with oriental adroitness and Punic un- 'scrupulousness. Working on the natural attachment of Moham- 'medan soldiers to rulers of their own faith, acting on the natural 'prejudices and bigotry of the Hindu, appealing to the covetous- 'ness of the human heart by large promises of pecuniary ag- 'grandizement, and playing, by turns, on the ignorance and all- 'devouring credulity of all, they succeeded in inspiring them 'with vague and indefinite fears for their own religion, on the 'one hand, and with vague and indefinite hopes of promotion 'and prosperity under a restored native dynasty on the other. 'The alleged purpose of the British Government to destroy their 'ancestral faith, and compel them to embrace the hated creed 'of their European conquerors, was the principal stalking horse 'of the cunning intriguers; but the destruction of the British 'power and the re-establishment of a Mohammedan despotism 'instead was their real object. There were thus, at the outset, 'the crafty deceivers, and the simple deceived—the dupers and 'the duped. The originators of the anti-turban agitation, for 'the accomplishment of their own dark designs, assiduously pro- 'pagated what they knew to be an infamous lie; the silly victims 'of the agitation were cozened to believe the artfully contrived 'lie for a truth; though, doubtless, in the onward progress of 'events, many of the subordinates became principals, many of the 'misled misleaders, many of the deceived deceivers themselves.

"And are not some of the leading circumstances of the recent disaffection and wide-spread mutiny precisely parallel?"

We beg to differ, and shall point out the essential difference of the two mutinies as we proceed.

A purely or primarily political character of the mutiny *seems* indeed to be clearly enough indicated by broad facts patent to the world. In the south-eastern quarter of the field of the revolt, there is the deposed king of Oude, who was taken

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prisoner at Garden Reach on the morning of the 15th of June, and is still kept in closest confinement within the walls of Fort William. His seizure had been ordered upon the discovery of his ex-majesty's being in league with the rebel sepoys—a discovery fully proved by the interception of important correspondence. A brother of the king was imprisoned by Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow, as soon as the Oude revolt had fully broken out. It is evident, then, that Sir Henry Lawrence was cognizant of that person's implication in the mutiny. The Delhi Mogul family have headed the mutiny during more than four months; two of the princes have been shot after the capture of the city, and the old king is a prisoner, awaiting—we trust—his sentence of death. "The king of Delhi" has been the cry of the mutineers in many places; numerous printed proclamations have been dispersed over the north of India in his name. Nana Sahib, Kooer (Kumár or Kuvér?) Sing of Arrah, the insurgent chiefs of Oude, in fact all the minor heads of the revolt, have professed to act under the authority of the house of Timur. It *seems* undeniable that, in the words of Rajah Ishara Chandra Singh, "defunct dynasties" have planned and instigated the revolt, and if so, it seems at least probable, that the Persian Government, against whom war had been declared and commenced in this same year of 1857, has secretly been in league with the phantom king of Delhi. And why not look still farther?—that the Persians and especially the Persian prince at Herat, who proved refractory after the conclusion of peace between the Shah and Queen Victoria, had his instructions from Petersburgh, and, finally, that in Petersburgh the hand is to be sought, which has pulled the strings of the great mutiny of 1857?

To a political instead of a purely military source of the revolt, the strange phenomenon of the "migration of cakes" also seems to point, which commenced somewhere in the neighbourhood of Patna and Moorshedabad, and spread in all directions, until in May it reached Nagpore in Central India. A number of common chapatties, little cakes, made of wheat-flour and salt, were brought to heads of villages with the injunction to multiply the quantity ten-fold, to distribute part among their own community, and to send the remainder to neighbouring places with the same injunction. These masonic orders were faithfully obeyed, the cakes multiplied, and the flood became broader and broader until it reached Central India about the time of the outbreak at Meerut, and the establishment of an army of mutineers in Delhi.

All these facts and signs *seem*, in the opinion of good judges, to point to a political, not a military fountain head of the rebellion.

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We beg to differ, and should consider it a calamity, if the true character and the true causes of the mutiny remained hid under the specious mask of political intrigue. The mighty foe of British power in India, would remain formidable indeed, if, even after this dreadful explosion, he succeeded in baffling detection. We shall first endeavour to show,—not indeed, that political intrigues have not been largely mixed up with the mutiny, but—that the mutiny is not the effect of political intrigue, not the product of a widely ramified and long matured conspiracy. Having established this fact, we shall then proceed to lay before our readers what we believe to be the true interpretation of the mysterious and horrible tragedy of 1857.

To begin with the last mentioned chapatti migration. The mystery is still as dark as ever. No reasonable explanation has been offered. It has been said that the object was first to distribute the cakes largely—then after a month or two, to make it known, that they had been sent by Government, that they had contained foul substances, intended to pollute and spoil the caste of all who had tasted them, and by this means to rouse the whole population into violent excitement and fiercest hatred of Government; —in short that the cakes were intended to serve among the population at large as a counterpart to the sepoy's cartridges. But this interpretation is as doubtful as the phenomenon which it undertakes to explain is mysterious. It may have been, for all we know, the effect of some sudden whim of an individual, or a company of idle fellows, who will never be discovered, or may have had the general object of adding to the ferment, which in those days was at work among the masses, before the great storm burst upon Hindustan proper. A similar phenomenon, the cause and effects of which have remained an unsolved riddle, happened in Central India forty years ago. It is related in Sir John Malcolm's "memoir of Central India," and has been quoted in the *Delhi Gazette*: "The war with the Pin-
'darries was then over (1818), and the country was in a state
'of tolerable tranquillity, when a sudden agitation was produced
'among the peaceable inhabitants: a number of cocoanuts were
'passed from village to village, with the direction to speed them to
'specific destinations (usually to the chief local authority.) From
'beyond Joypore (north) to the Deccan (south), and from the
'frontier of Guzerat to the territories of Bhopal, this signal flew with
'unheard of celerity. The Potail of every village, where the cocoa-
'nuts came, carried them himself with breathless haste to another,
'to avert the curse which was denounced on all who impeded or
'stopped them for a moment. No event followed to throw any
'light on this extraordinary occurrence. Every inquiry was in-
'stituted, and persons were set to trace the route of the signal for

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'several hundred miles, but no information was obtained; and a 'circumstance which for upwards of a month produced a very 'serious sensation over all Central India, remains to this moment 'a complete mystery."

The guilt of the ex-king of Oude, and of the pensioner of Delhi, may, probably will, be fully established. Their connection with the mutineers cannot be denied. Documentary evidence will very likely be produced in abundance to prove that both these men and their immediate counsellers have been drawn into the vortex of the mutiny. It is more than probable from the nature of things, that such has been the case. The state of the army must have been well known to these Mohammedan chiefs. The knowledge which was conveyed to them, no doubt, months before the actual outbreak, of a whole army being disposed or determined to mutiny against the Feringhi Government, must have been to them a temptation of extraordinary power. It is certain, that neither of them has given any, the least intimation to the British Government, in order to secure, by timely warnings of a great danger, its lasting gratitude. Why should they have done so? Their ignorance was profound enough, to permit them to cherish the hope, that the great sepoy army would prove a match, more than a match for the small unprepared European forces, scattered over an immense country, to imagine that ere succour could arrive from across the seas, a general rising of all the Mohammedans, joined by large numbers of fresh proselytes, foreshown to them in the phantasmagoria of their heated brains, and by hordes of wild, lawless men ready to start from the ground as soon as the pressure of established Government were taken away, would give speedy and complete victory to the rebellion, and with one fell swoop cut off the whole Feringhi race from India. It ought ever to be kept in mind, that no Mussulman who does not sincerely renounce his religion, can be trusted by infidel rulers. Mohammedanism is more absolutely antagonistic to Christianity, than any other form of Heathenism. (Heathenism it is, essentially; for the God whose prophet is Mohammed, is as false a God as Shiva, or Krishna, Rama or any other idol.) Other forms of Heathenism have long ceased to make conquests. Mohammedanism, like Christianity, lays claim to the mastery of the world, to be conquered by the sword according to the Koran, by the Word according to the gospel. The Christian may, (at least the Protestant Christian,) nay is bound to, live peaceably under any Government, because his master's kingdom is not of this world; the Mussulman may remain quiet as long as he is conscious of his weakness, and his impotency to throw off the yoke of infidels. But when the standard of the prophet of Mecca is raised, the soul of every

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Mohammedan is stirred by the sight to its inmost depths, and at the cry of Din, Din, the Mussulman shakes off the torpor of every day life, and of acquired habits, and rushes forth as the war-horse at the sound of the trumpet and the clank of arms. Exceptions there may be; no doubt, there are; but they are avowedly rare. To place absolute political confidence in Mohammedans is a fatal mistake, which the British Government has had to rue bitterly, and will have to rue bitterly again, if calamities, like these of 1857, have not the effect of rendering them wiser. How could it be otherwise, therefore, than that Mohammedan princes, like the ex-king of Oude and the phantom King of Delhi, should have fallen into the snare of lending themselves to leaders of a fast ripening revolt of so glorious prospects. They have yielded to the temptation to their own ruin. Thus far the mutiny has, of course, a political character. But the idea, that these chiefs of "defunct dynasties," or their nearest relatives, have been the prime movers in the mutiny, the original instigators of the revolt, is refuted by their conduct since the commencement of the supposed success of their machinations. What has the wretched old king, or the men who acted under his name at Delhi, done since May, to entitle them to the honor of first actors in the terrible performance? The whole conduct of operations on their part has been a miserable failure, down to the capture of the city. As for the Oude ex-king, would he have lived at Garden Reach, doing nothing but carrying on intrigues, had he been the real head of the Oude insurrection? Had he schemed the overthrow of the British Government since his deposition, would he have sent his family to England to petition the Queen, to petition and bribe (!) Parliament for his restoration?

The analogy of the Vellore mutiny, on closer examination, appears inapplicable to the Bengal mutiny. Dr. Duff takes it for certain, that the intrigues of the Mysore princes were the primary cause of the former. We doubt this much. The subject was a matter of very earnest controversy among persons who were on the spot, who conducted the after inquiries, and Lord W. Bentinck himself seems to have been at a loss to come to a decision. But a second consideration seems to us decisive. When the same military regulations were announced at Hyderabad, they produced similar effects upon the Contingent. A fearful convulsion was evidently threatening there. It might have equalled the horrors of Vellore. There were no Mysore princes at Hyderabad to stir and nurse mutiny. Dr. Duff may tell us: "well then, by your showing as well as by mine, the 'parallelism is complete. I contend, in 1806, the Mysore princes 'were the prime movers in the mutiny business, and I believe

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'that Mohammedan princes have played the same part in 1857. 'You say, that both parties only took advantage of an existing 'spirit of mutiny. You change, then, the terms, but preserve 'the parallelism of the two phenomena." We answer: "no; we 'indeed, believe, that in the Vellore and in the Bengal mutiny, 'Mohammedan princes have intrigued with mutinous sepoys, 'but in 1806, the mutiny rose and fell with the "new orders;" 'it was an acute mutiny; in 1857, the cartridge blunder became 'irremediable, because the mutiny of the Bengal army has been 'a chronic disease. The two cases are widely different. When 'in 1806 the obnoxious regulations were withdrawn, their with-'drawal was immediately followed by a perfect calm, and by a 'cheerful return of the sepoys to subordination." In 1857, when the Government had taken away any possible ground of suspicion, by allowing, for instance, the 19th regiment to grease their own cartridges with ghee purchased by themselves, the mutinous excitement went on as before. No withdrawal of cartridges, no furnishing of ghee, no proclamations, no harangues had any effect upon the Bengal mutineers. In 1806, after the revocation of the new orders, the mutinous spirit disappeared, and the intrigues of the sons of Tippoo ceased to trouble the British Government. In 1857, all the honest efforts of a temperate and temporizing Government proved useless. The mutiny took its own course. The ex-king of Oude was imprisoned in Calcutta, his brother in Lucknow—without any effect upon the revolted army. At Delhi neither the old king, nor the younger princes, were considered or treated as the real heads of the rebellion. Had they been the instigators, the planners, the prime movers, they would have held a very different position, when their machinations had been crowned with full success, as it must have appeared to all Delhi on the 11th and 12th of May. For these reasons we demur to the proposition that the *original and principal cause* of the Bengal mutiny was political intrigues on the part of fallen Moslem princes. Much less reason do we see to charge the revolt on the secret hatred of Russia, and the clandestine activity of Russian agents. It would be very unjust to charge a policy as profound and wily as the Czar's with the concoction and direction of a revolt which has distinguished itself as much by its utter want of management, of combination of plans, of harmonious action, of statesmanship, as by its unutterable atrocities, villanies and beastly excesses. Moreover had Russia meant harm to British India, how easily could Russian diplomacy and gold have prevented the timely ratification of the treaty of peace by the Shah of Persia,—a move of exquisite insidiousness, which would have well nigh checkmated the British Government. At the risk of appear-

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ing paradoxical, we confess that we are strongly inclined to doubt, whether the mutiny has been the result of a common conspiracy, ramified through the whole Bengal army, and slowly matured by some secret council of plotting Brahmans, Rajputs and Mussulmans. Our reasons are these: 1. A conspiracy of this sort could not, we conceive, have escaped the knowledge of military officers and of civilians, for they were not all asleep, in some parts of the wide field, over which the meshes of the net must have been tied by a slow process of years. 2. Such a revolt committee would have taken the lead from the time of outbreak. 3. A regular conspiracy would have taken good care to form affiliated clubs in the Bombay and the Madras armies before, instead of dispersing emissaries after the commencement of active operations. In the west and south, such emissaries have been caught, but only long after the beginning of the mutiny, and most of them have been men of disbanded or revolted regiments. To sum up the argument of the preceding pages, then,—

The mutiny of 1857, *a revolt of the Bengal army*, has its *primary cause*, neither in religious jealousy and fears, excited in the Bengal sepoys by donations of Lord Canning to missionary institutions, nor by the over-zeal of laymen in the East India Company's service, nor by the rapid progress of Bengal missions—nor in the faults of an excessively centralizing system of military administration, and the gradual estrangement of the sepoy from his staff-office-or-civil-appointment-loving, more and more Europeanized officer—nor in the paucity of European regiments in India, nor in political intrigues carried on by "defunct dynasties" of India, nor by a powerful and inimical European court, nor in a conspiracy, taking the word in its usual sense. Neither any one of these causes, nor all of them taken together, appear to us to furnish an adequate explanation of the character of the Bengal mutiny.

We hope to have succeeded in convincing unbiassed readers of the correctness of the negative side of our view, and now proceed to—what appears to us—the correct interpretation of the lamentable events of the season of woe which, we trust, has now come to a close.

1. *The primary cause of the Bengal mutiny has been the utter want of discipline, and the spirit of insubordination inseparable from the Brahmanic caste system upheld in the Bengal army.*

Military subordination is utterly incompatible with a system of caste, recognized or connived at in an army of mercenaries, officered by foreigners. Honorary distinctions of any kind between the privates of regiments, who must be treated alike by military superiors, are repugnant to the military system. When

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privates distinguish themselves, they are, in all armies of a healthy constitution, promoted. But the honorary distinctions of caste are of a peculiar kind. The Brahman sepoy is to his comrades, not merely a person of noble birth, but a superior being altogether, surrounded by the glory of priesthood, yea the halo of divinity. His blessing is invoked, his curse is dreaded as the greatest of afflictions. His feet are worshipped. His whole person adored as an incarnation of Brahma. All sepoys of lower caste stand to their Brahman comrades in the relation of humblest fags, ever ready to listen, to obey, to serve, to propitiate. As to native officers of lower caste, in command of Brahman sepoys, they are in a most embarrassing situation. How can they be strict towards men, at whose feet they have to prostrate themselves? How can they dare to thwart the views, the wishes, the whims of those, whose word may consign them to hell? How punish the "Gods of the earth"? How, then, are native officers to uphold discipline, when they are held in spiritual subjection by a large number of the men under their command?

But how stands the matter of subordination between the European officer and the sepoys as a body? The Brahmanic system, to the essence of which the doctrine of caste belongs, assigns to the British officer, a rank below the lowest sepoys, below the lowest native lascar, below the sweeper and the most abject menial. His touch, his breath, yea, his shadow pollutes the brahmanic sanctity of the men, over whom he holds an official superiority, derived from the will of the Government, who feeds and rules the army. Between the British officers and the Hindu regiments, a gulf is fixed, which can never be filled up, which can never be bridged over, by any official connection, familiarity of intercourse, community of dangers, fellowship on the field of battle, or by any act of kindness, friendship, love on the part of the European commanders.

Add to the above, that the Brahmans are a naturally superior race, who have achieved triumphs two thousand years ago over the spirit of the majority of the different peoples of India, greater than the victory of the Roman priesthood over the wild nations, by which Europe was over-run after the fall of the Roman empire; who have held the real sovereignty of India amidst all changes of Hindu and Moslem dynasties for nearly two thousand years, and who are inspired with the proudest spirit of caste, in which the power of clanship, of hierarchical fraternity, and of political association are indissolubly united, and fully conscious of their hereditary superiority,—and you will perceive at once, that military discipline and subordination cannot exist in reality among an army thus constituted and thus commanded. Nor should we lose sight of the important fact,

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that the whole army is one of mercenary soldiers, paid by the rulers of the country, to serve foreign interests, and sprung from among races subjugated and held in subjection by the sword. If Queen Victoria engaged in the attempt of governing Ireland by the help of a Romish native army, swarming with Jesuits, and officered by protestants, she would be in a situation somewhat similar to that of the East India Company, relying on a Brahmanic Bengal army for the security and stability of their empire.

There is a considerable admixture of Mussulmans in the Indian armies. But this ingredient does not sweeten the cup for the British Government. The hereditary innate hatred of the Mohammedan against infidels, is a complete set-off against the Brahmanic abhorrence of the vile stranger. The spirit of caste also is much of the same character and strength among Indian Mohammedans, as among other natives of Hindustan, who have accepted the Goorooship of the Brahmans.

In the Bengal army the preponderance of the Brahmanic element has exceeded all reasonable limits, while it has prevailed much less in the Bombay army, and still less in that of Madras, as will be seen from the following statistics, which are partly taken from Dr. Wilson's admirable discourse, quoted above. Mr. P. Melville, secretary to the military department of the East India Company, in his evidence before the House of Lords, on the 23rd November, 1852, gave the following comparative statement of castes in the regular native infantry of Bengal—Christians (drummers and fifers) 1,118; Brahmans 26,983; Rajputs 27,335; Hindus of an inferior description 15,761. Mohammedans 12,699; Seikhs 50. Total 83,946. These men were almost all from the Upper-provinces, (and particularly the Oude territories) popularly known in India as "Hindustan." "About half the Bombay army,—according 'to the decennial tables of Colonel Jameson,—was in 1851, of 'the same material from the Upper-provinces, of an average of '16,653 for each of the ten preceding years, out of a strength 'of 33,145. The number is now, I believe, somewhat reduced."

The Madras army—on a rough guess—has the following proportions of classes:—

Christians	1,100
Mussulmans	15,500
Brahmans and Rajputs	1,800
Mahrattas	1,300
Telugu	14,000
Tamil	3,500
Other inferior classes	3,000

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The Brahmanic element is lowest in this branch of the Indian army, the number of Mussulman sepoys exceeds the strength of the Mussulman force in the Bengal army. The Madras army, with the exception of one Mussulman cavalry regiment, has remained, if not perfectly loyal, at least perfectly tranquil. This corroborates, we believe, our general view of the Bengal mutiny as to its essentially Brahmanic character. There is no mutiny where Brahmanism does not prevail, let the number of Mussulmans be ever so large.

We shall now produce our witnesses, few, but of unimpeachable intelligence, knowledge, and character, who describe the state of the Bengal army exactly in accordance with the main principle which we have laid down, viz., that the caste system and caste spirit are absolutely incompatible with the maintenance of military discipline.

Our first witness is Major General H. T. Tucker, for many years adjutant-general of the Bengal army, who retired from active service in the beginning of last year. He wrote a letter to the *Times* on the 19th of last July, on the subject of the Bengal mutiny. His letter is an extremely valuable document, as it gives the views of one of the most talented and most experienced superior officers on the Bengal establishment, whose impartiality and perfect knowledge of the army, in which he has spent the greater part of his life, no one will venture to call in question. It is very singular, and a strong proof of the guileless truthfulness of the old soldier, that, after stating the purpose of his communication to be "the exoneration from the 'charge of supineness of the executive, now carrying out the 'details of our Government in the east," he proves the correctness in the main of this very charge, with this modification only, that he shews the blame to rest equally on the men of past generations, and on the whole system of military administration pursued in India, and especially in Bengal, during the last forty years.

We must give the valuable testimony of Major General Tucker almost entire. It contains the fullest confirmation of our own views:—"Sir—at the time, when the whole country is speculat-'ing as to the real causes of the mutiny in Bengal, and while 'in Parliament, and by the *Times* it seems to be assumed, that 'our civilians and officers in India have been deceived, blinded 'and taken by surprise, it becomes a simple act of justice to offer 'a few brief words of explanation, such as, I trust, will produce 'conviction, and exonerate from the charge of supineness, the 'executive, now carrying out the civil and military details of our 'Government in the east.

"It seems quite to be overlooked, that insubordinate and

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'mutinous tendencies in the native army, are not in reality so 'novel and strange to us as many suppose, for we have been at 'any time during the last forty years on the very verge of internal 'convulsion, as strong, fierce, and formidable as the present, and 'in the success alone of this mutiny is to be perceived the differ- 'ence between the former, and the more recent desire displayed 'for the overthrow of our rule. Let me in proof of this advert 'to some of the better known attempts in which this feeling has 'been plainly shewn.

"In 1824, we had the Barrackpore mutiny. On that occasion 'a vigor and energy was displayed, which has since been charac- 'terized as harsh and bloody. I believe, it was simply necessary: 'but I have no intention to enter, at this time, into any argu- 'ment in reference to it. The next symptoms of uneasy feeling, 'following closely on the other, were in 1825 to 1826, when, if 'we had failed in taking Bhurtpore,—as was fully anticipated 'by the natives generally,—our rule and supremacy would have 'received a severe shock, and the fidelity of the sepoys was, in 'that event, thought by many to be most questionable.

"The fear and anxiety with which the tidings from Bhurtpore 'were looked for by many officers of rank of that day, I can 'well remember; and one of my oldest and most intimate friends, 'now holding an important command in India, years ago detailed 'to me the confession, subsequently made to him, of a conspiracy 'shared in by his regiment generally to murder all the European 'officers of the corps, excepting, I think, two, who were special 'favorites; and if the celebrated fortress I have adverted to, had 'not fallen, if reverse and conspiracy had in those days overtaken 'us, may we not reasonably conclude, that scenes similar to 'those which now harrow us, would then, in like manner, have 'occurred?

"For one, I am fully impressed with the conviction, that for 'very many years, we have been subject to this explosion. Upon 'chance of circumstances alone depended the how, when, and 'where.

"To proceed, we had not many years ago the Scinde mutiny— 'a very formidable business. We had other less important indica- 'tions of insubordination and ill will; and more recently, did 'not Sir Charles Napier energetically contend, that forty thou- 'sand sepoys in the Punjab were, to a man, ripe for revolt? 'There was no tangible or precise proof of it; but that the feel- 'ing was there, that a favorable opportunity would at once have 'evolved it, many besides Sir Charles confidently believed; and 'I assert, that it is upon such a mine, liable at any convenient 'moment to explode, we have all along been resting. It may 'be contended, that this being so, it was the duty of those

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'entertaining the opinion boldly to proclaim aloud their conviction, and to advocate a change; but I presume to dispute the correctness of any such assumption.

"In Sir Charles Napier's case, the very existence of such a feeling among the sepoys was authoritatively contradicted by the Governor General, Lord Dalhousie; and it must be admitted, that his Lordship had no proofs before him to warrant, as he thought, Sir Charles's statement, or even to enable him fairly to draw any such inference. By a happy combination of circumstances, the mutiny, at that time, of the 66th regiment, was rendered harmless; and it was, doubtless, not considered politic to admit that the sepoy was so tainted, as to be ripe for the wholesale revolt Sir Charles with an intuitive and just perception had so wonderfully divined.

"I believe firmly, that he was right in his judgment, but, as I have said, there was no precise evidence, and thus things have gone on until now. Fifteen months ago, when I relinquished the post of Adjutant-General of the Bengal army, the most entire calm existed; the repose and apparent contentment of the sepoys were perfect; from Peshawar to Calcutta all was perfectly quiet; but the truth is, that even then one little cloud, the forerunner of many others, was appearing in the horizon. General Anson anxiously desired to innovate. His predecessor has been harshly charged with supineness and lethargic apathy; his own, he designed, should be a reign of a very different description, and he attempted to commence it with a curtailment of the leave of furlough, annually granted to the sepoys—a very hasty and injudicious beginning, and apparently so considered by more than myself, for it was then negatived, though I have since heard that at a later period it was successfully advocated.

..... "General Anson left the plains and went up to Simla without making any preparation for the coming struggle, even although he had himself addressed the Government, representing that the sepoys at Umballa, and in other places, were mutinous and disaffected.....

"Much has been said to the effect, that hog's lard and cartridges have had nothing to do with the mutiny. My own conviction is, that this piece of culpable negligence was as the lighted match to a magazine of powder. The natives generally, and the native army in particular, have been recently strongly impressed, however they came by it—with the idea, that it was intended to subvert their religion, and to make the army converts to Christianity. With this idea prevailing, the discovery that impure matter was mixed up wholesale for the lubrication of cartridges would at once and naturally be pointed to as a conclusive proof of the design of the Government to rob them

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'of their caste, as a preparatory measure; and I do not think 'there can be the least doubt, that in this sense the discovery was 'accepted and confirmed to their minds by the omission of any 'direct explanation on the part of the state, in reference—as they 'considered it—to the pollution prepared for them.*

"The recent legislation, so comparatively rapid on questions 'intimately connected with the feelings, and the religion of the 'natives, together with the wholesale changes introduced into the 'system of native education in Bengal, with the imprudent and 'injudicious conduct of certain weak and foolish bigots among 'us, [read: zealous Christians] have been amply sufficient to dis-'pose the sepoys for the reception of the strongest impressions 'adverse to our rule. The priestly and religious feeling is, next 'to their notorious vice of covetous avarice, the dominating prin-'ciple among the sepoys; in fact, in almost every regiment the 'Brahmanical influence, a very subtle one, has been for years and 'years dangerously great, though I assert confidently, that the 'present generation of officers are not responsible for this vicious 'system;—they found it, and have had to make the best of it. 'To have declared too openly against it would simply have been 'to produce, perhaps, just such a convulsion as, from other causes, 'has now so miserably overtaken us, while the gradual bit-by-'bit attempts to neutralize the strength of the high caste 'sepoy regulars, have failed of their anticipated effects through 'insufficiency, and the vice of the system. In a word, to re-'trace our steps was thought to be as dangerous to us, as to pro-'ceed; and many of those best acquainted with the hollowness 'of our position, were thus kept in a state of vacillation, doubt-'ing whether the danger would not be greater in sounding the 'alarm, than in trusting hopefully to providence. That this 'reasoning was weak, is apparent; but it would have required 'far more moral courage than most of us are blessed with, to 'dare the reproaches and the consequences of a sufficiently 'strong denunciation. Moreover, it would have been not only 'dangerous to take that course, but ineffectual; for in high 'places and in low, everywhere, in short, our supposed in-'terests, our fears, and our wishes were arrayed in support of the 'existing state of things.

"But *now*, now we have the opportunity. The credulous, the 'weak, and the timid, must all see that pretorian mercena-'ries are untrustworthy, and that if we are to preserve our

* On this last point the General's strictures apply to the first time of the commencement of uneasiness among the sepoys only. The first and best season for the clearing up of misunderstandings was missed. But soon after there was no want of explanations, concessions, harangues and proclamations.

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'Indian empire, we must exercise for the future a far sterner 'control and authority."

This is the substance of the valuable testimony of Major General Tucker. He points distinctly enough to the truth that military discipline, that subordination and loyalty, cannot be expected of an army of high caste mercenaries, unduly large and uncontrollable by the small number of European troops located in the country. Yet he appears reluctant to lay his finger on the cancerous sore, and to declare boldly, this, this is the real, the primary source of all the ruin, which has overtaken our Indian empire.

It would be a very curious, a painfully interesting inquiry to search out the gradual growth of the high caste ascendancy in the Indo-British army, from the catastrophe of the Black Hole to the infinitely more horrible, soul-harrowing catastrophes of Meerut, Delhi and Cawnpore. The principle of the progress of Brahmanical influence in the Indian army, is patent enough. No mere worldly statesmanship is equal to the task of effectually resisting the encroachments of a hierarchy, claiming divine right, after it has once obtained a status in the body politic. Mere worldly statesmanship is as unable to cope with the Brahmanic, as with the Romish hierarchy. War or servitude is the only choice. "Touch not, handle not!" the only safe principle. If you bend, you will break. Begin with bowing in compliment, and you will have to end with prostrating yourself in adoration. General Job Briggs, in his "India and England compared" (p. 49, 50) says:—"The native army is made up 'almost entirely of Hindus and Mohammedans, while a pre-'judice among these castes, in which the officers and Govern-'ment partake, exists against the aboriginal races. Now it so 'happens, that in the wars of Lawrence, Clive and Coote, in the 'Carnatic, the aborigines constituted by far the great majority 'of the sepoys. It was they who opposed Hyder Ally, the 'ruler of Mysore, and who gained the battle of Plassey, in 'Bengal, before a Bengal army existed. It was they (the 'Parwaries of the Bombay army) who, in the siege of Man-'galore, together with the 2nd battalion of the 47th High-'landers, under Colonel Campbell, defended that fortress for six 'months against a besieging army of forty thousand men, and 'consented to honorable terms of surrender, only when on the 'point of starvation, having buried within its walls more than half 'its numbers. The Bhengis of this race, the aborigines of 'Bengal, constituted a portion of the infantry of the Mogul 'armies, and it is a fact not generally known, though never-'theless true, that they claimed the honour, as the *indigenes* of

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'the soil, to form the forlorn hope and the storming parties in 'all its desperate service." There can be no doubt, then, that Brahmanism, while it gradually monopolized, under the Company's regime—political influence, has slowly, but surely, filled the ranks of the army with members of its military order, its adherents, and its dependents. The caste system has ruined the army, and had well nigh ruined the British Government and India, whose future regeneration is bound up in the prosperity of British rule.

The enlisting regulations in Bengal, as published in the *Bombay Times*, have the following paragraph:—"Especial care must 'be taken to reject all men of inferior castes, such as petty shop-'keepers, writers, barbers, oilmen, shepherds, thatchers, pawnsellers, 'gram-parchers, porters, palkee-bearers, sweet-meat-makers, gar-'deners and vegetable dealers, and any others habitually employed 'in menial occupations."

The editor of the *Bombay Times* contrasts with these fastidiously eclectic rules, which sound rather like a translation of some military statutes belonging to a generation or two after the establishment of the law of Manu, and to the Government of some Brahman-inspired ancient Kshatriya king, than an exposition of the principles, on which an European—not to say a Christian—power of the nineteenth century, would think of forming its native Indian army,—the short, simple and rational directions given for the Bombay army: "We receive all but those addict-'ed to theft, drunkenness, or other destructive vices;" and goes on to say: "now, many of the very best men in the Bom-'bay army are of these proscribed castes, and there is no reason 'whatever for their rejection in Bengal, but the fact, that the 'Brahman gentlemen of the ranks would *mutiny*, if it were at-'tempted to enlist them. From a return now before us we 'gather, that the composition of a Bengal regiment in general 'is as follows:—

350 Brahmans	150 Mussulmans
350 Rajpoots	150 Hindus of good caste.*

"An army so composed could not but be a standing menace

* Compare with this aristocratic scheme the list of the Madras Regiment N. I., which happens to be nearest to the writer of these pages:—

	Native Off.	Havildars.	Naigues.	Privates.
Christians	1	1	1	19
Mussulmans	9	23	20	264
Brahmans or Rajpoots	1	2	3	29
Mahrattas	3	1	1	21
Telingas	3	12	16	246
Tamils	3	10	7	49
Other inferior classes	0	2	2	57

(of this last description, fifteen more men are sought for enlistment at present.

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'to the state, and its dissolution an object of the first import-
'ance to the stability of our rule in India. Between the first
'three of these denominations, a thousand ties and sympathies
'exist, as the dominant races of the country for a thousand
'years; and to what extent a combination may be success-
'fully achieved by them, we see to-day in the all but general
'rebellion which has broken out. A commission from home would
'know how to deal at once with a system such as this; and in
'connection with it would have to be remedied the evils of our
'staff, and brigading-systems, promotion by seniority, and a half
'dozen other peculiarities, some fatal, and all detrimental to the
'maintenance of any just discipline in the army.

"That Sir Charles Napier held and expressed the very same
'views on the condition of the Bengal army, is notorious. When
'he spoke out, Lord Dalhousie contradicted him publicly and
'officially, but Major General Tucker hints in his letter of the
'19th July, that the denial was rather politic than conscientious.
'It is equally well-known, that Sir Charles Napier's views were
'shared in secret by most officers of experience and sound dis-
'cretion. Messrs. V. Smith, R. Mangles, and men of their stamp in
'Parliament, succeeded in ferreting out some written declarations
'of the same Sir Charles affirmative of the excellency and trust-
'worthiness of the Bengal army, and in neutralizing by their pro-
'duction the effect of his testimony to a truth known in all India,
'as if a man of genius, eccentric and passionate, like Sir Charles,
'could never contradict himself without being put out of court,—
'a pitiful attempt to hide for a few weeks ugly truths, of which
'they were cognizant themselves, from the eyes of Parliament,
'and of honest credulous John Bull, who does not like to call his
'representatives liars. Yet certainly the falsehoods contained in
'parliamentary debates, transmitted to India, mail after mail, are
'so many, and so glaring, that old Johnson, had he had to read
'them, would have emitted long and deep growls: 'they lie, Sir,
'and know that they are lying.'"

Brigadier General John Jacob, one of the bravest and ablest officers of the Indian army, published in 1851: "a few remarks 'on the Bengal army and furlough regulations, with a view to 'their improvement, by a Bombay officer"—for which, if we remember aright, he was severely reprimanded by the highest authorities. The calamitous events of this year have given a melancholy testimony to the truth of his views. The pamphlet, which has been reprinted by Messrs. Smith, Taylor and Co., should be read by all who desire to obtain a more than superficial knowledge of Indian military affairs. We extract a few passages corroborative of our view: "The effect of en-
'listing men of a certain caste or creed, to the exclusion of

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'others, in the Indian army, is to subject that army to the 'control—not of the Government, and of the articles of war, 'but to that of Brahmans and Goseins, Moollahs and Fukheers. 'The consequences are ruinous to discipline. By reason of this 'evil, a native soldier in Bengal is far more afraid of an offence 'against caste, than of an offence against the articles of war, 'and by this means a degree of power rests with the native 'soldier, which is entirely incompatible with all healthy rule. 'Treachery, mutiny, villany of all kinds, may be carried on 'among the private soldiers, unknown to their officers, to any 'extent, where the men are of one caste of Hindus, and where 'the rules of caste are more regarded, than those of military 'discipline. To such an extent does this evil exist, that I have 'known a Bengal commanding officer express his regret at 'being compelled to discharge an excellent sepoy, because the 'other men had discovered him to be of an inferior caste, and 'had demanded his dismissal. In conjunction with the system 'of promotion which prevails, this attention to caste keeps all 'real power in the hands of the private soldiers. The Bengal 'sepoys have contrived to have it believed, that their religion is 'concerned in this business of caste; but this is contrary to 'truth. This is positively proved by that which takes place in 'the army of Bombay, wherein hundreds and thousands of men 'from Hindustan, from the same villages, of the same caste, 'and even of the same families, brothers by the same fathers 'and mothers, as the fine gentlemen of the Bengal army, are 'seen in the ranks, shoulder to shoulder, nay, even sleeping in 'the same tent with the Mahratta, the Dher, and the Parwarrie, 'without scruple or thought of objection. The Bombay sepoy 'looks on the European soldier as his model in all things per-'taining to soldiership, and endeavours to imitate him; like the 'European soldier, the native sepoy of Bombay will turn his 'hand to any labour which he has been ordered to execute. If 'the lines require cleaning, &c., &c., a working party is ordered 'out as a matter of course, with pickaxe and powrah, and the 'work is well done. The technical term "working party" is 'as familiar in the mouth of a Bombay sepoy, as "shoulder 'arms." Nay, I have known more than once the men of a 'Bombay regiment to volunteer for such work, as building 'their officers' houses, mess-room, &c., and do the work well too, 'making the bricks, mixing the mud, &c., &c., entirely by them-'selves. This would not be credited by the greater part of the 'Bengal army; and to such a state of helplessness has the 'recognition of caste in the ranks brought the Bengal sepoy, 'that a regiment of native cavalry, as I have repeatedly wit-'nessed, is unable to picket, unsaddle or groom its horses, until

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'the arrival of its syces and grass-cutters; sometimes, as I have 'seen, for several hours after the arrival of the regiment at its 'ground. In a Bombay regiment, before that time had elapsed, 'the horses would have been picketed, groomed, fed, and water-'ed, stables would have been over, the tents pitched, and the 'men have had their breakfast. To such an incredible extent 'has this helplessness been carried and recognized by authority, 'that a Bengal sentry cannot think of striking the gong at his 'own quarter guard, and men called "Gunta Pandays," are 'actually maintained and paid for by Government to do this 'duty for them."

General Jacob lays great stress upon the evils of the absolute reign of the seniority system in the Bengal army, and justly so. "With such a system of promotion, the good and the bad, the 'clever and the foolish, the brave and the timid, the energetic 'and the imbecile are nearly on a par." We add: this is of a piece with the caste system, which knows of no other distinction between man and man, than that of birth. The recognition of individual merit by promotion would, in some measure, however slight, depreciate the value of the one source of honor—caste. This must not be. The honorary privilege of caste may be lost, indeed, by any trespass against the all-absorbing law of caste, but by nothing else. No crime, meanness or villany, no lie, fraud or swindling, no theft, robbery, murder, no vice however degrading or abominable, touches the honor of caste. Nana Saheb is as pure and honored a Brahman, as he was on the day, when, in his childhood, he put on the sacred cord.

Promotion, *i. e.* honorary distinction for the sake of individual merit, by British military authority, would have put power into the hands of the British officer, cast a shade upon the all-sufficiency of the merit of birth, and thus have marred by a grating discord, the sweet harmony of the caste system in the Bengal army. It was proscribed therefore. General Jacob continues: "The 'officers are powerless for good, and the men, keeping just clear 'of open violence, have their own way in all things. It is as-'tonishing, and says much for the goodness of the raw material 'of the Bengal army, that under such arrangements the whole 'fabric has not entirely fallen to pieces. The thing is rotten 'throughout, and discipline there is not; but it is wonderful that 'even the outward semblance of an army has been still main-'tained under such deplorable mismanagement." What officer or soldier in Europe could believe—unless upon unimpeachable and public testimony, that in the Bengal army, guard duty was performed in the following style: General, then Colonel Jacob, in 1851, published this statement: "The first thing done by a 'Bengal sepoy when he mounts guard, is to strip himself of

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'arms, accoutrements, and clothing; the muskets are piled, and 'a sentry is posted, who remains, generally (not always) pro- 'perly accoutred, etc.; all the others, including Non-commission- 'ed officers, disarm and strip; if there be any water near, they 'go and dabble in it after the fashion of all Hindustanis; 'otherwise they cover themselves with sheets and go to sleep, 'quite naked, with the exception of a *lungootee*. When the 'sentry thinks that he has been on long enough, he bawls out 'for some one to relieve him; after a while, up gets a sepoy 'from beneath his sheet, and after a few yawns and stretches, 'puts on his clothes and accoutrements, but does not take his 'musket; that would be too much trouble, and endanger up- 'setting the whole pile. He then goes to the sentry, takes his 'musket from him, and occupies his place. Away goes the re- 'lieved man and strips like the others. No naique attends with 'the relief; he remains fast asleep under his sheet.....In the 'Bengal army four men are allowed to a sentry, instead of 'three, as with the other armies, so that a sepoy with them 'is on sentry only six hours altogether during his tour of 'twenty-four hours, instead of eight as usual. But it is by 'no means uncommon in the Bengal army to relieve a guard 'once a week, and even at longer intervals. This was the 'case, when the Bombay and Bengal troops met at Peshawur, 'and considerable grumbling and complaining took place, when 'Sir H. Dundas insisted on the guards being relieved daily."

Lord Melville's (formerly Sir H. Dundas) testimony given in the House of Lords on the 13th of July, 1857, tallies perfectly with the testimony of Col. Jacob in 1851. Lord Melville "had 'no hesitation in saying, that the condition of the Bengal army 'was the worst in the world. He had never served with so bad 'an army, nor did he ever witness such a want of discipline among 'soldiers.....These mutinies were not altogether new. The 'present was not a singular instance. When he was commanding 'in 1849, on the frontier, two Bengal regiments mutinied. 'When he returned to this country in 1850, he was requested to 'give his opinion on the state of the Bengal army. He express- 'ed his opinion in terms of the strongest disapprobation, but 'was told, that it would be imprudent to express that opinion, 'however correct it might be. No steps had since been taken 'to remedy the defects in the discipline of that army, although 'they could not be unknown to the Court of Directors. To 'give the House one instance of the state of the Bengal army, 'he might mention, what happened at the siege of Mooltan. An 'officer, commanding a company, had a covering party. One 'night a tremendous disturbance took place. He went to see 'what was the matter, and found the Bengal regiment obstruct-

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'ing the sepoys of a Bombay regiment, because they were digging 'the trenches. The Bengal regiment said: "We will fight, 'but will not work;" and it was not until the officer threatened 'to have two Bengal men shot, who were the ringleaders, that 'they could be got to retire; but they did not do one foot of the 'work traced out by the engineers." We have heard another version of the occurrence, or perhaps the equally correct report of another incident in that row. Our story runs thus: As soon as the Bengalis saw the Bombay men digging away at the trenches, they bawled out furiously, bidding them to desist. When they would not listen, the Bengalis ran towards them, armed with sticks and clubs, to drive them away, crying: "We 'will fight, but not dig." A fight, indeed, seemed to threaten, when a Bengal officer ran between the disputants, and called to his men: "Brethren, brethren, let them alone; they are low-'castes." An esteemed friend of ours, a Madras officer, has furnished us with a Bengal-army scene, worthy of being hung by the side of General Jacob's "sentry," and the "Mool-'tan trenches" of Lord Melville. Many years ago, our friend visited Benares. He was the guest of the adjutant of one of the Bengal regiments stationed there. One morning he accompanied his host to meet a treasure party whose arrival was due. When the two officers arrived on the ground, the treasure party, who had arrived a little earlier, had made themselves easy without awaiting the adjutant. They had piled arms, put off their accoutrements, and stripped themselves of their uniforms. The treasure bags lay on the ground, some fellows sitting around them, others were engaged in the most important business of a Brahman,—in cooking. The two British officers walked up and down at a little distance from the sepoys, conversing together. On a sudden, one of the cooking men—a Brahman—started up some three or four yards from Capt. M. with a hiss, like an infuriated snake, dashed his cooking pots in pieces over the fire, and—standing erect and bristling with rage—cast a look of deadly hate and defiance at Capt. M. (who had suddenly turned at the noise behind him) and uttered words, which did not sound like compliments or blessings. Our friend instinctively grasped his cane under a strong temptation to give his new acquaintance a sound thrashing, and—turning to his host—cried out: "What does this fellow say, tell me." But the adjutant seized his arm and drew him away, saying: "never 'mind, never mind, let us be off; don't stay. You have come too 'near the man's pots I suppose. That has put him into a rage." Captain M. mechanically followed, amazed and indignant. He said nothing, but never forgot the scene.

General Jacob's "Sentry" exhibits the utter want of disci-

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pline; Lord Melville's "Mooltan trenches," the rampant insubordination; Capt. M.'s "treasure party," the insolent-defying contempt of the British officer, which have been long conspicuous in the high-caste army of Bengal. An army, in which the system of caste is recognized, if recognized—dominant, if dominant—destructive of order and subordination, without which a large standing army is a gigantic armed mob, must in time become the plague and ruin of the Government by which it is fed, or be itself annihilated. There is no middle course. Reformation is out of the question.

The system of caste lies at the foundation of modern Brahmanic Hinduism, as the doctrine of hierarchical domination at that of Romanism. The religious and the hierarchical doctrines, in both systems, are inseparably blended. These systems are enormous creepers, which by degrees eat up the life of the trees round which they have entwined themselves. At first they give beauty to the trunk, on which they spread their branches and foliage; when the tree, sapped by them, begins to decay, they appear its powerful supporters; but the end is ruin and desolation. In former times caste was the strongest stay of Hindu religion and law. It has now taken the place of religion and morality. Laws divine and human have lost their power; and caste has now become all powerful, now purely for evil—in the Hindu world.

"The main facts connected with it," says Dr. Wilson, in his excellent discourse, "are such as the following: It had no exis-
'tence at the time when the oldest Vedic hymns were com-
'posed, about fifteen hundred years before the Christian era;
'for the Brahmans then constituted a profession, and not a
'hereditary and exclusive caste, while the other divisions in the
'Hindu community were unknown in the same relationship.
'The principal distinctions then recognized, were those of Aryás,
'an intrusive ruling tribe from Aryá, and of the subjected or
'hostile Dásyás. Even up to the time of the composition of
'the earlier portions of the institutes, ascribed to Manu (500—
'600 before Christ) the denomination of Arya was preserved by
'the conquering tribes. The Dásyás too are mentioned in the
'latter portions of the same work. About the same time the
'Hindu mind began to speculate on the religious and social
'relations of men, while forgetful of primitive tradition and
'history. At first the concept of the divinity as an enormous
'male, from whose divided body man and woman were formed, was
'tried and noted. Then the fiction, more acceptable to the as-
'pirant classes of society, and still the foundation of the doctrine
'of caste, was originated, that the Brahman, now become heredi-
'tary and exclusive in the priesthood, sprung from the mouth of

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'the divinity; while the Kshatrya or ruler and warrior, sprung 'from the arms of the divinity; the Vaishya or merchant and 'agriculturist, from his thighs; and the Shudra or slave, origi- 'nally a denomination of a distinct people on the Indus, from 'his feet. In these inventions, the object of which is palpable, 'fraud is most conspicuous. It was only by degrees, that the 'Brahmans became the monopolists of the priesthood. The 'Kshatriyas appear to have had their own peculiar caste pre- 'tensions independently of those of the Brahmans. The vari- 'ous nations, with whom the Aryás came in contact in the 'progress of their dominion, were represented as sprung from 'an adulterous mixture of the original castes, and consequently 'greatly degraded. Legislation in the hands of the Brahmans 'soon became unjust, tyrannical, and unreasonable in an incon- 'ceivable degree, and that as far as body, soul, honour and pro- 'perty are concerned. The castes were multiplied according to the 'social occupations and residences of the community, or rather 'communities, even to the number of thousands. The pre- 'scriptions for their guidance became frivolous, arbitrary and 'vexatious beyond imagination, extending to every relation and 'event of life, and recognizing systems of purity and impurity, 'of propriety and impropriety, of eating, drinking, clothing, 'washing, training, worshipping, working, buying, burning, and 'commemorating, both injurious and irrational. They prefer 'ceremonies to morality, custom to rectitude, and external im- 'provement to internal purity, error to truth, ignorance to in- 'struction, slavery to liberty, pride of assumed status to humane 'sympathy and co-operation. Caste, which is thus a lie against 'nature, against humanity, against history, has proved the bane 'of India, and the greatest obstacle to its well-being. As de- 'clared by Bishop Heber;—"The system of caste tends more 'than any thing else the devil has yet invented to destroy the 'feelings of general benevolence, and to make nine-tenths of 'mankind the hopeless slaves of the remainder."

2. *The seeds of disorganization, inherent, as we have shewn, in the very nature of a high caste army, were gradually developed during the last ten or twenty years under circumstances peculiar to the history of the Indian empire, and the position held by the Bengal army, and brought to full maturity by grave errors of the Home Government, of the Indian administration, and of the body of Bengal officers.*

With the rapid growth of the empire by the conquest of Scinde, the Punjab and Pegu, and the annexation of Nagpore and Oude, the importance of the standing army rose apace, and the Bengal army especially grew in numbers and consequence. The Bengal army distinguished itself by valour on many a hard

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won field of battle. They were praised without stint and measure, and began to think themselves equal to the European soldiers, by whose side they had fought, and bled and conquered.

The internal organization of the more and more preponderating body of Brahmans, Rajpoots, and their dependents, the so-called "caste Hindus," was by degrees perfected. The Brahmanical interest formed an "imperium in imperio." Most regiments became close boroughs, hermetically sealed from the knowledge and interference of their own officers and of the Government. The wily Brahmans well knew how to turn to account the faults of the military system, and the prejudices, the fears, the vanity of their commandants and officers, for carrying on systematically, under a hundred pretexts of privilege, caste, and religion, their encroachments upon legitimate military authority. "The Brahmans" were far more feared than the power of Government. A subadar of the 34th regiment, after his discharge at Barrackpore, bitterly complained of his misfortune. He was told that his punishment was just; he protested his innocence. He was reminded, that, if he himself were loyal, yet he must have been cognizant of the treasonable designs of others, and ought to have denounced them. He replied: "Impossible!" "Had I given information, how could I have been sure of finding credit with Government? but had I taken this course, I would have been certain of being killed by 'the Brahmans.' A sepoy, indeed, did give information; he was superciliously handed over to a committee of native officers, who had no difficulty in proving, that he was a habitual drunkard, and subject to fits of insanity."

The insolent pride, and the dangerous disposition of the great body of the Bengal army, were strangely favored by the fatal policy of the Home Government, who, though fully aware of the serious defects of their military administration in India, and in spite of repeated warnings, given by officers of great discernment and large experience, not only failed to increase the strength of their European troops, in proportion to the growth of their territory, but actually diminished it, in order to make some inconsiderable saving in their Indian military expenditure (£10,000,000 per annum) at the risk, it might be, of immense losses, in case of failure, yea of irretrievable ruin. They have acted like a desperate merchant, who orders his vessel to sea, though aware of her unsound condition; he himself stays at home, letting the captain and crew take their chance, and hoping for the best. The season passes, the ship returns safe. Next season she is painted fresh and put to sea again. If there be no tempestuous weather, if her commander be vigilant, and the crew active, she may, though a rotten concern, yet perform many

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a voyage. But the first hurricane will break her to pieces, when all hands will perish, and the freight go to the bottom of the sea. Precisely in this manner have the Home Government treated their Indian empire. They knew, certainly ought to have known, the impending danger; but looked on. The cyclone has burst, and it is no merit of theirs, that all has not been lost.

The Indian Government has been unequal to the task imposed upon it, for two principal reasons. Its most serious defect has been want of principle, political, moral, or religious. All its wisdom was the wisdom of expediency. There was not boldness enough to break with the ancient traditions of India, and to proclaim themselves, and to act as, lords paramount, in the name of God, of all India. A pageant court was still kept at Delhi at a great expense, with much inconvenience, and, as events have shown, much danger. It was not long ago, that, by the acknowledgment of a grandson of the old king as legal successor, the Government, of their own choice, perpetuated the nuisance. The Government knew, that in many parts of India they were cheated out of a large amount of revenue by surreptitious enams, and by alienations of revenue, which they had a perfect right, according to ancient usage, to resume. But they had not the heart to use their right, and preferred to leave the laboring millions unrelieved, for the benefit of a thousand drones. They might have dictated to those dependent princes, whose thrones were supported by the bayonets of the Company's troops, the lessons of humane and sound policy in a much more straightforward manner, and acted as the true friends of oppressed people, who are kept in bondage through the power and the name of the Company; but they have forborne.

What idea can Hindus, be they sepoys or ryots, form of the moral character of their Government, when its manifold undeniable excellencies are marred by blemishes inexplicable, except on the ground of insatiable thirst for money, the *auri sacra fames*, one of the principal vices of the sepoy; viz., the large and increasing revenue derived from the sale of spirits, utterly repugnant to the Hindu idea of a paternal government, and the yearly income of about four millions of pounds, gotten by the cultivation and manufacture, on account of Government, of opium, smuggled into China, under the protection of the British flag, contrary to imperial edicts, contrary to international law, contrary to the dictates of honor and humanity,—because the Indian exchequer wants money, and must have money *per fas aut nefas?*

As for religious principle, the Indian Government have never pretended to have any. It was long doubtful to the Hindus, if Englishmen had or had not any kind of religion. Things

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have mended very much. Bishops have come, churches have been built, colleges founded, missions established, popular education has commenced. But both Hindus and Mussulmans still look upon Government as supporters of their religious establishments. The word of God is still excluded from the schools, established and maintained by a professedly Christian Government, and when a Governor General, who is attacked at home on account of acts of Christian liberality, and whose Christian character stands unimpeached, proclaims a public day of humiliation and prayer, he is led to consider it politic to avoid in his proclamation the name of "Christian" subjects, or of "Christ." The motives of such a wisdom are utterly incomprehensible to natives of the East, who consider the open profession of religion a point of honor, and dissimulation a sign or mark of utter infamy, and slavish meanness.

The second great deficiency has been that of power, either material or spiritual. Had there been a sufficiently large European army, sepoy insubordination and insolence would have been kept within bounds. The Bengalis, as we have remarked above, would never have risen, if there had been 30,000 European bayonets in sight. But in material power the Government has been for years lamentably deficient. And of the higher spiritual power there has been a total absence. Had the Government of India stood before their subjects in the attitude of God-fearing, God-honoring, and God-serving rulers, a character perfectly compatible with the largest toleration, the most even-handed justice, the most perfect integrity, the most sympathizing humanity, but altogether incompatible with the temporizing, dissimulating, halt-and-lame policy, whose highest principle is that of expediency; had the people of India, had the native army perceived in their Christian rulers something of the old protestant, Cromwellian, true British spirit, they would have felt as if all the powers of heaven and earth were in league with their masters, and would have thought it madness to rise against them, or had they risen, they would soon have found it madness indeed.

But the fiendish spirit of the mutinous army found itself opposed by no such power. Before a bold Christian spirit, it would have quailed. They stood not in awe of the Government, which they determined to resist, whose timid-looking mildness and moderation provoked their insolence, and whose most solemn declarations and manifestoes they impudently derided.

The chief blame which rests on the officers of the Bengal army is their un-English spirit of yielding to and coquetting with the unreasonable arrogance of their high-caste sepoys. In former days it was said, that Englishmen coming to India left

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their religion at the Cape of Good Hope. The British officer of the Bengal army seemed to have left his native pride at home. He knew, might have known, ought to have known, in what estimation he was held by high-caste Brahmanism, but was content to be looked down upon by the noble twice-born, and prided himself on his management and tact, if he succeeded in keeping the priestly race nominally under his command in tolerably good humour by a steady perseverance in cool and studied complaisance and subserviency. The sepoys were in fact masters; their officers felt it, knew it, and succumbed. They were aware of their absolute ignorance of every thing that was going on within the inner circle of the regiment; they were aware, that there were many things—perhaps matters of importance—discussed, determined upon by the men of their companies and of their regiment at large, of which they saw and heard nothing—and contented themselves with their ignorance. They were proud of the noble blood of their sepoys, as gentlemen are proud of Arab blood horses, and overlooked the intractable viciousness of their favorites, or tried to forget it, and never cared to reflect that the men, whom they admired so much, requited their admiration with the most thorough scorn and contempt. Outward appearances were specious enough. The sepoys, tall, broad-chested, handsome, noble-looking men, admirable parade soldiers, knew well how to pay outward respect, and how to conciliate officers by show of politeness. The officers on the other hand took pains to humor and to conciliate their men. But, with more or less rare exceptions, the intercourse between the two classes was insincere and hollow; and on the part of the sepoys, as events have lamentably proved, full of treacherous hypocrisy.

3. But now the question forces itself upon us. How was it possible for such an army to hold together for years and years? What magic power kept the volcano of revolt quiet? Our answer is: The charm of silver produced that semblance of order, subordination, discipline, and loyalty, which deceived many of the ignorant, and suggested thoughts of comfort and hopefulness to those who had looked behind the scenes, leading them to indulge in the idea that the catastrophe, which had been impending so long, might be staved off still longer by the mercy of providence.

The certainty of liberal pay and pension, combined with the full assurance, that their rulers had made up their minds to yield to their sepoys as far as possible, to humor and indulge them in all matters connected with, or said to be connected with caste or religion, served for a long period to keep the Bengal army, though mutinous to the core, from actual revolt.

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The love of pay and pension, the security of which depended upon the continuance of the British Government, was the powerful magnet, which kept the more and more dangerously oscillating needle of the Bengal sepoys' fealty true to the point of outward obedience. Attachment to the Government, which they had sworn to serve, there was very little, if any, in the hearts of the sepoys. Their traditionary loyalty to their salt had long evaporated; respect for the Government, who had so often given in to the insolent pretensions of their mercenaries, there was none. They had ceased to fear the power of those, whose temporizing policy had impressed the overbearing prætorians with the conviction, that they were themselves dreaded by their masters. They considered themselves the main-stay and prop of a foreign Government, and were easily persuaded by their vanity and pride, that their rulers were completely at their mercy. But the Brahman sepoy, while he felt himself fully able, whenever he were so pleased, to subvert the Government of the Company, was yet too shrewd to kill the goose, which —sure as the changes of the moon—laid the golden egg for him twelve times a year. Therefore he chose to be quiet. Therefore he determined on keeping up the show of as much loyalty as was absolutely necessary. He was richly rewarded for his forbearance. One Bengal regiment, during its sojourn in Pegu, laid by three lacs of rupees, which were invested in Company's paper. Such men could not have had—at that time—the intention of revolting against the guardians of their hoards. Thus the notorious avarice of the sepoy was the sheet-anchor, which kept the vessel of the Bengal army—within hearing, within sight almost of the breakers of mutiny—in tolerable safety.

4. At length, however, the cable snapped, under an increasing pressure of tide and current, and an extraordinary strain of tempestuous weather. We shall endeavour to present a general outline of the principal circumstances, which of late years have contributed to unsettle the minds of the dominating majority among the Bengal troops, and the various influences of good and evil, which have of late been at work in the atmosphere of the Bengal army, the sudden combination of which has produced the violent storm, whose thunders have rolled over all India, and are now re-echoing from England; whose lightnings have shattered the high prestige of the Company's name, scattered to the winds the faded glory of the Mogul, and deluged with blood the fairest provinces of Hindustan.

The world seemed to change during the last years. Steam formed an invisible bridge between the east and the west, shortening year by year. It carried India to England, brought England to India. The stream of passengers between the high places of India and seat of power in Europe, became broader and

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deeper, and an increasing number of Indian notabilities, Brahmans, Mussulmans, Parsees, young students aspiring after fame and fortune; merchants, agents, princes and princesses, queens and ministers, became conspicuous in the throng. A *rapport* between the two great countries of the governing and the governed, bade fair to be firmly established. This boded no good to the ancient régime in India, and to the ascendancy of the representatives of the old order of things.

A change became gradually perceptible, or seemed to take place in the principles and proceedings of Government. The gates of India were thrown open to western arts and civilization, and to the enterprise and activity of a rapidly increasing commerce. The new railroads cut straight through ancient prejudice and the aristocratic arrogance of the higher castes, who preferred low fares and the jostling and huddling together with low-castes and no-castes, to scrupulous seclusion which cost them money. The whistle of the engine sounded like a note of triumph over the downfall of immemorial custom and traditional ideas. If these railroads were not arrested in their progress, were permitted to spread their net over the whole territory of the Company, an ubiquity of Government and of the European soldier would soon be established, perfectly irresistible for any power within the Hindu world. The Telegraph, which overran India with magic speed, its posts starting up like mushrooms, threatened to put the supreme Government in possession of almost superhuman knowledge, and to complete their absolute hold on their immense domains. The founding of universities and colleges, and the establishment of schools, forming the nuclei of a system of popular education, and whatever else contributed to the spread of western science, was full of ill-boding to the spirit and the champions of ancient Hinduism. The Government, indeed, steadily persevered in reiterating their old professions of non-interference with the religions and customs of the country; in proof of their perfect neutrality, and for the purpose of effectually shutting out Christian proselytism from all their own seats of learning, they excluded the Bible from public schools, and forbade religious instruction. But they could not blind the sharp eye of Brahmanism to the plain fact, that every branch of European science, every communication of sound knowledge in natural history, natural philosophy, astronomy, history, etc., was as subversive of the ancient tradition and religion as the open teaching of the Bible; yea more dangerous, perhaps, because more covered and indirect. The principles and sentiments, the language and the conduct of "Young Bengal" foreshadowed clearly enough the inevitable results, at a time not very far distant, of the new educational movement, at last earnestly commenced by the Indian Government. Last year another

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inroad was made by the supreme authority, (though—of course—most strictly adhering to the sacred principle of non-interference) upon time-hallowed custom, by the legalization of widow marriages, from no other motives, evidently, than those of humanity, but directly opposed to one of the most inveterate usages of modern Hinduism. And, lo, no sooner was the act of legalization passed, than some of the highest families in Calcutta, the focus of innovation, took advantage of the new law, and celebrated publicly, and with due pomp and solemnity, in the presence of crowds of Brahman guests, marriages of the new style.

Many of the changes here adverted to, as well as others which we do not stop to enumerate, such as the more and more numerous instances of conversion to Christianity, from among the higher and highest castes, some of them, indeed, the fruit of missionary teaching, but others the result of Government education,—had, perhaps, no very strong direct effect upon the Brahmanic party in the army; but they have created great uneasiness among the still powerful body of conservative Brahmans, with whom the high caste army was connected by a thousand ties. We suspect, that the judicial enquiries into the immediate causes of the military revolt, which Government cannot fail to institute, will implicate many an influential person, whose lips have overflowed with professions of loyalty, while the heart and hand were secretly in league with the mutineers.

The annexation of Oude gave great offence to the sepoys, not indeed because they considered the measure unjust, for according to the popular idea of India, the lord paramount is invested with absolute sovereignty, and is the sole irresponsible dispenser of crowns and sceptres—but because the establishment of the Company's government in their home, formerly the paradise of the Bengal sepoy, sadly encroached upon their wonted privileges. They had not been dependent upon the native courts or upon the native administration for justice, and yet reaped no inconsiderable advantages from misrule. They considered and felt the peasantry below them. They were looked up to as superiors, as the Company's servants. But on Oude becoming a British province, the cultivator of the soil could claim equal rights with the sepoy. The former felt and saw, that all difference was at an end. They, too, could claim protection from the British Government, and could be no longer maltreated by the soldier, secure in the injustice of the native courts. No doubt, the inhabitants of Oude made the sepoy feel the difference that had taken place in his condition. The latter naturally considered himself degraded, and would give way to a strong feeling of discontent, dangerous to his small stock of loyalty.

The innovating propensities of the new Commander-in-Chief

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were not calculated to allay the rising storm. He touched the furlough regulations, one of the sorest points. The army felt that the introduction of a new order of things was attempted, and the leaders became conscious, that now or never was the time for striking a blow. It was necessary to establish a mutual understanding between the Brahmanic party, by far the stronger, and the Mohammedan, intimately connected with the chief notabilities of India, the ex-king of Oude and the king of Delhi. A compromise was evidently effected between the two not very harmonious elements. There was to be a new Delhi raj, the restoration, probably, of other Mussulman thrones,—but the Brahmanic party, no doubt, looked beyond the realization of these common plans to a re-establishment of the ancient glories of Brahmanism.

Now came the rumours of a China war, the commencement of the war with Persia. The opportunity for a successful revolt was given. Strike, or not? It was difficult to come to a decision. The temptation was great indeed. There could scarcely be a doubt of immediate complete success. There was, certainly, no assurance of liberal pay and ample pension in the distant future, but there would be full treasuries and immense booty besides, enough for this generation. The cartridges made their appearance; they made a sensation. The army took fire. Government explanations were received with a bad grace. Treasonable proposals from Delhi, from Garden Reach, from Oude, were greedily received. Mutiny shewed its face openly, incendiarism lifted the torch. The 19th and 34th regiments were disbanded and scattered over the country. The court martial at Meerut proceeded to stronger measures for the suppression of the defiant spirit of insubordination;—the military authorities then fell into a fatal slumber, and the explosion of the first mine followed. The die was cast. The Bengal army rose not so much according to the secret concert of a conspiracy, as by the simultaneous action of the same force upon the same material, through the length and breadth of the territory occupied by the Bengal army.

This is the interpretation of the Bengal mutiny, which we offer to our readers and to the rulers of this great country. The analysis of the disease would naturally lead to the consideration of the remedies called for; but upon this consideration we cannot enter now.

British India has at the close of its first century, passed through a baptism of blood. May the second century see old things pass away, and all things become new, by a baptism of that spirit which infuses new life from above into individuals and nations!

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ART. VI.—*Report of the Commissioners for the investigation of alleged cases of Torture at Madras.*

ONE remarkable result of the disastrous mutiny and rebellion which has desolated northern and central India, will be the light it throws on the real state of the country, and its power of bringing to a touchstone test those distorted statements by which public opinion has been too often misled. Amid the wonderful events which have occurred during the past six months, many startling anomalies come to view, and few are more likely to surprise the people of England, than the fact of the Madras presidency remaining loyal and tranquil, when they had just been taught to believe that it was the abode of cruelty, wretchedness, and despair; where an immoderate revenue collected by violence, and torture used as an ordinary instrument of administration, had brought the Company's rule into general hatred. To such an extent had this belief been spread abroad in England by an active party, bent on assailing the Government and its servants, for the purpose of overthrowing the East India Company, that eloquent divines preaching on the day of humiliation, have, we observe, cited the supposed practice of torture as one of the national sins which brought God's chastisement on us. What then will be their astonishment to find that this part of India, where they had been led to expect the excesses of an oppressed and infuriated people, whenever an opportunity occurred for shaking off our rule, has remained orderly and loyal during the greatest shock which our power has ever sustained. They looked for "oppression," but behold "judgment," for "a cry," but behold "righteousness." In other words loyal addresses drawn out in terms of sympathy and respect, have been showered on the Government instead of execrations, and in the place of rebellion and bloodshed, order and tranquillity have prevailed.

This gratifying state of affairs is happily beyond contradiction. In no instance have the people of the Madras provinces risen against their rulers, or impeded the ordinary course of administration; and no executions for mutiny or treason have thrown a shadow over the land. This tranquillity cannot certainly be ascribed to ignorance of what was passing in Bengal; since the events there have been heard in a voice of thunder throughout the land, and called forth those numerous addresses to Government, in which the atrocities of the mutineers are indignantly denounced. Nor can it be said that the people were kept down by military force, since at no period have the resources of Government been weaker than during this crisis. Its troops had been drained away to help other parts of the empire,

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so that in three of the Madras military divisions, there was neither European infantry nor cavalry. In the other three divisions, the European force was reduced to one-half of its ordinary strength in times of profound peace. Many of the provinces again, such for example, as Guntoor, Vellore and South Arcot, had no effective troops in them, European or native, but were under the care of the police, and one or two companies of veterans.

The representations of torture and mal-administration in the Madras presidency, which have been so industriously promulgated by a party hostile to the East India Company, are thus effectually refuted by the proof which has been afforded of the Government possessing the good will of the great mass of its subjects. But still it may not be unprofitable to analyse the real worth of the Torture Report, and trace its history, to show how an active and interested party has been able, with the aid of a portion of the press, and the English system of political agitation, to vilify the Company's Government, and mislead public opinion. Lord Byron has informed the world how he awoke one morning and found himself famous. What Childe Harold accomplished for the poet, has been effected for Madras, though in an opposite sense, by the serious charge which was suddenly brought against its internal administration. This presidency used to think that it might possibly be open to the imputation of being somewhat sleepy and stagnant, though on the whole it was peacefully and successfully governed, when it was startled from its complacent trance, by finding itself held up to the indignation of the civilized world, on a charge of using torture as an every-day instrument of Government. This unexpected and extraordinary accusation arose in the following manner:

In 1853, Mr. Danby Seymour, a member of the House of Commons, and a leading supporter of the India Reform Society, visited Madras for the purpose of seeing the state of the country with his own eyes. He thus set an example worthy of praise and imitation; but unfortunately for his usefulness, the Honorable member did not come with an unprejudiced mind. He had heard such tales of mis-government and oppression, that he dreaded all offiical sources of information, and threw himself into the arms of the Madras Hindoo Association, a body which had made itself remarkable for inveighing against the tyranny of our rule, with a freedom of speech and writing which at once showed the absurdity of the charge, since it would not have been permitted under any Government, European or Asiatic, but our own.

This association, among other attacks on the local Govern-

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ment, led Mr. D. Seymour to believe, that the revenue was still collected by ill usage and torture, as under the preceding native rulers; and they provided him with a picture, representing various kinds of torture to aid his inquiries among the people during his tour in the provinces. Mr. D. Seymour could not speak a word of any native language, and had with him for interpreters, an agent of the Hindoo Association, and a sub-editor of the *Athenæum*, a Madras newspaper, distinguished by its hostility to the civil service, and the present system of administration. Travelling under such circumstances, it is not surprising that he received information which led him afterwards to declare in the House of Commons, "that the grand object of the Company 'was to get ten shillings from a man when he had only eight," and that the same system of torture and coercion which prevailed a hundred years ago, was still continued to accomplish this end.

In the debate on Mr. Blackett's motion on the state of the Madras presidency, when this assertion was made, some other members connected with the Indian Reform Society, also declared that torture was still practised in the collection of the revenue; and although an emphatic denial was given by Sir J. W. Hogg and other speakers, the charge thus assumed an importance which induced Lord Harris, the newly appointed Governor of Madras, to institute a searching investigation into its truth. In the order issued on the occasion, Lord Harris observed: "The idea 'of such a practice is so abhorrent to the principles innate in 'every Englishman, that the Right Honorable the Governor in 'Council would not hesitate to repel such an accusation on the 'part of the covenanted service; but he feels that a mere denial 'of this nature would not be satisfactory to the officers of the 'service themselves, but that on the contrary they would be 'desirous, as he is, that the fullest enquiry should be made, in 'order that if untrue the charge may be at once openly and 'clearly rebutted; while if on the other hand, there should be 'any ground for the assertion, every exertion may be made to 'expose and effectually prevent such highly objectionable practices, and vindicate the character of our Government."

Commissioners were accordingly appointed to investigate the subject, and care was taken to make the enquiry effective and free from suspicion. The most prominent member of the commission was Mr. J. B. Norton, a Barrister of the Supreme Court, who was a correspondent of the India Reform Society, and editor of the *Madras Athenæum*, in which newspaper Mr. D. Seymour's proceedings, during his provincial tour, had been loudly praised and vindicated. Another member was Mr. E. F. Elliot, Chief Magistrate of the town of Madras, whose duties were confined to

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the limits of Her Majesty's Supreme Court, and who did not belong either to the Company's civil or military service. The third member was Mr. H. Stokes, a civil servant, but whose occupation separated him from the subject of enquiry, as he was employed at the Presidency and not in the provinces.

To aid the enquiries of the Commissioners, the legislature passed a special law, Act XXXII. of 1854, investing them with full judicial powers for administering oaths, summoning witnesses and punishing perjury. Witnesses were protected from the consequences of any self-criminatory disclosures they might make, and the Commissioners were authorised to pay their travelling expenses to and from Madras, or to have them examined upon written interrogatories before "any Judge, Collector, Ma-'gistrate, or other officer, having by law power to examine wit-'nesses on oath." The records of every court and public office were thrown open to them—the servants of Government received orders to answer their calls for information, and proclamations were issued *in every village* throughout the presidency, inviting the people to state personally or by letter, any instances of torture or violence with which they were acquainted during the preceding seven years, and notifying that those persons who appeared before the Commissioner to complain, would receive payment, as well as their witnesses, for their travelling expenses. Every encouragement was thus given for aggrieved parties to make known their wrongs, and the European public officers in the provinces, anxious for the cause of truth and good Government, gave all the information in their possession. This is acknowledged by the Commissioners, who in publishing the letters of these officers, which form Appendix C to the Report, observe: "We cannot too pointedly recommend to perusal a body of opi-'nion remarkable for its candor, and throwing much light on this 'important question." (Para. 19.)

It was under these favorable circumstances that the Commissioners proceeded with their enquiry, and after a sitting of seven months, they produced the report which stands at the head of this article. The importance of the subject caused the report to be looked for with much interest, for although minds of candor and common sense were slow to believe it possible that educated Christian gentlemen could sanction such a barbarity as torture, yet it was evident that without the aid of its European servants, the Government could not accomplish the grand object imputed to it by Mr. D. Seymour, "of obtaining ten shillings from a man 'who had only eight." How it was practicable even with that aid we leave Mr. Seymour to show. Expectation was consequently raised to ascertain how such an idea as the complicity of the European officers could have arisen, and to what extent vio-

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lence or torture had been resorted to by their native subordinates without their knowledge. The report does not, however, set at rest the controversy between Mr. D. Seymour and Sir J. Hogg. Unfortunately, in our opinion, the Commissioners were instructed by Government to extend their enquiry to torture *in the Police department* before they had completed their original subject. The consequence is that a new field was opened, which enables the Commissioners to depart from the original question, and instead of giving a clear decision whether the parliamentary statement of Mr. D. Seymour or that of Sir J. Hogg had most truth, they confine themselves to a comparison of the prevalence of torture in the revenue and Police departments. Another consequence is that the original subject of torture in collecting the revenue, unavoidably appears in an exaggerated light, by being so mingled with cruelties inflicted on prisoners to extort confessions, or discover stolen property, that the reader of the report has difficulty in keeping the two subjects distinct. The opinion at which the Commissioners arrive, is that the European servants of Government are known throughout the land to abhor torture of all descriptions, and that under their active exertions, its practice has greatly diminished; but they then proceed to remark (Para. 63) that it is most frequently exercised in the revenue department, though in a less aggravated form than in the Police; and in Para. 55 they express "a sweeping declaration of their belief in the general existence of torture for revenue purposes." Thus two entirely incompatible things have been enunciated; the exculpation of the European servants of Government, and the general prevalence of torture in collecting the revenue!

Such is the tenor of the report which has led many unacquainted with India to believe that Mr. D. Seymour suddenly discovered a terrible plague-spot in our administration, and that the revenues of Madras are still collected through violence and cruelty. The fact, however, is that the Commissioners are manifestly illogical and contradictory in their judgment. Both portions of it cannot be true, and one must be abandoned. We propose therefore to show, by a brief analysis of the Report, that the unsound portion of the judgment is that which has thrown obloquy on the Madras Government by asserting that its revenues are still collected by torture. This may be deemed hardly necessary, after the spectacle which the Madras provinces have shown of loyalty, order, and contentment, during the crisis of our Indian empire; but it will not be uninteresting to notice how such a delusion arose, and on what really slight materials it has been raised.

One main cause of the temporary success of the assailants of

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Government undoubtedly is the name of *torture*. No other word causes such an abhorrence to English ears, and the very idea of torture being exercised by the powerful on the weak, and especially under official authority, is sure to excite sympathy and indignation. The parties therefore who sought to assail the Government, chose their topic well in bringing forward this hated word, and it has been turned to the best account by the Commissioners.* The casual reader who opens their report is apt to suppose that the "torture" which he finds spoken of in all its pages, consists of that deliberate and atrocious cruelty which the word elsewhere implies. But so far is this from being the case, that the Commissioners have given a new sense to the word, and include in it every act which causes pain, however trifling, or even inconvenience. On referring to Paras. 54 and 61, it will be found that "keeping a man in the sun," where the mass of the people pursue their daily labour—"temporary restraint, and charging 'the expense of the peon who serves the notice for an arrear," both legal measures—keeping the defaulter's cattle in his cow-shed —and the pettiest acts of ill-usage, such as a push or a slap, are brought into the category. It is surely unnecessary to dwell on the unfairness of this perversion of language, or to point out the danger of a report which in its title and pages thus misleads, or at least mystifies its reader by using the odious word "torture" in so novel and unheard-of a sense. Amid the general denunciations against torture, and in the confusion of great and trivial matters—of revenue and police, how are the public to come to a knowledge of the truth, or always recollect that when the Commissioners speak of "*torture*" in collecting the revenue, they may be alluding to such acts as a constable or a schoolmaster resorts to for keeping a set of unruly boys in order? But besides the Government which is thus unfairly assailed, and the reading public who are mystified, a third party has just cause to complain of this perverted use of language. In the body of the Report the reader finds that the leading servants of Government are appealed to in support of the assertion that "torture" still "extensively prevails in the collection of the revenue." But this is an injustice to those gentlemen whose information forms the most valuable part of the Report, Appendix C. Their testimony is to the effect, that instead of

* The report is understood to have been written by Mr. J. B. Norton, and his influence in the commission is evident by the difference between the tenor of the report, and the opinion which one of the Commissioners, Mr. Stokes, had previously recorded on the question of torture. It is therefore important to recollect that Mr. J. B. Norton was in some degree on his own trial, and was interested in making out a case against the Government to justify his perpetual attacks on it regarding torture and other subjects in his books, and in the *Athenæum* newspaper.

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the harsh coercive system which prevailed under the former native Governments, a few petty acts of indignity or ill usage now only occur, and they expressly state that the term "torture" is inapplicable to these acts. For example, Mr. Robertson says: 'The methods of coercion used do not come up to the idea of 'torture;" and according to Mr. Smollet, "the acts alluded to, 'cannot reasonably be called torture." Mr. Bourdillon observes: "I think that the term torture is likely to convey a mistaken 'and exaggerated impression," and Mr. Hall remarks: "I do not 'think that it can justly be said that a system of using torture 'to collect the revenue, exists in this district, or in any other 'with which I have had acquaintance." Mr. H. Stokes also in his reply to a circular enquiry which had been sent by Government, explained, "that he was alluding, not to the existence of 'torture, but of personal molestation and restraint." We content ourselves with quoting a few gentlemen of extensive experience and acknowledged candor; but a perusal of Appendix C. will show that numerous other authorities might be cited, and that it is only by employing language in a new sense that "torture" and the collection of the revenue can be associated.

The next part of the Report calling for notice, are the passages in Paras. 55 and 63, where the Commissioners state that "torture" is "more frequently exercised in the revenue department, though 'in a less aggravated form than in the police," and express "a 'sweeping declaration of their belief in the general existence of 'torture for revenue purposes." We cannot but attribute these extraordinary passages, and the perverted use of the word "torture" which has just been commented on, to a desire to afford some shelter to Mr. D. Seymour, Mr. J. B. Norton's friend and associate in the India Reform Society, under the exposure of his ill-judged speech which Sir J. Hogg made in the Parliamentary debate. We come to this conclusion for the three following reasons:

1. The Commissioners directly contradict themselves—they must have forgotten that in another place (P. 60) they had spoken of ill usage being resorted to for the extraction of the "dregs" only of the public revenue—and in another of its being "probably" confined to the lower order of ryots, and again of its having been banished from all those neighbourhoods, where Europeans, either officers of Government or others, reside—so that their sweeping belief here expressed of its general existence for revenue purposes, takes the reader by surprise.

2. Their statement that torture is more prevalent in the revenue than in the police department is directly opposed to the testimony of their own witnesses. For example, among the authorities quoted by them in p. 21, as the most experienced

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and sagacious, Mr. Walter Elliot says: "It is a fact that 'instances of proved infliction of torture in criminal cases far 'exceed those which have been established in connection with 'the payment of revenue," and then shows why this is a fair criterion to judge by. Mr. Bourdillon remarks that the practice of petty acts of violence "is not very common in the 'revenue department; while personal ill-treatment is largely 'resorted to by the police as a means of discovering offences." Mr. Fischer, Zemindar of Salem, writes—"It would be a great 'mistake to suppose the practice limited to that (the revenue) 'department; on the contrary, I believe that comparatively 'speaking, illegal violence is more generally practised by the 'police authorities on suspected criminals, its object being to 'induce confessions." The same opinion is expressed by Messrs. Maltby, Ward, Clarke, by Lieut.-Colonel McCally, Captains Rundall and Ludlow, the Rev. Mr. Moegling, and generally by all the gentlemen whose statements appear in Appendix C.

3. The statement of torture prevailing generally in the collection of the revenue is entirely inconsistent with the exculpation of the European officers of Government, which the Report makes upon evidence beyond all impeachment. In the Madras ryotwary provinces the collectors and their assistants settle the revenue with each cultivator—move among the people, and hold the freest communication with them. It is therefore impossible that they should be looked up to with confidence, as haters and successful opponents of ill-usage and wrong, if the revenue was collected by cruelty. Here the report is utterly illogical and inconsistent. Both its statements cannot be true, and the Commissioners must decide on giving up one of the two assertions. Remarks will hereafter be made on the feelings shown by the people towards the European officers of Government, when considering the degree to which any remnant of ill-usage or coercion does still exist; and here we confine ourselves to observing that the assertion of torture being still general for revenue purposes, is an opinion only, while the respect and confidence, shown by the people towards the European officers, is an open fact.

The attention of the readers of the Report is invited to this part of the subject, both on account of its bearing on the original question between Mr. Danby Seymour and Sir James Hogg, which led to the torture enquiry, and also on account of the manner in which it affects the credit of Government. An accusation of employing cruelty to fill its treasuries, is far more serious and damning than an imputation of partial failure in eradicating an old native practice of extorting confessions, which though mistaken and barbarous, has for its object the advancement of justice, and is supported by native public opinion and long established usage.

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We have next to call attention to a very important part of the Report, viz., the complaints made to the Commissioners personally and by letter. These complaints constitute what the Commissioners call "the fourth head" of evidence. They are extensively dwelt upon in the body of the Report (P. 26 to 37,) and the volume is swelled by the publication of a great number of them in the Appendices E and F. The reader thus finds a large book filled with allegations of torture, to which he naturally attaches credit, as they are published by Commissioners who were officially appointed to investigate their truth, and who assure him in a most solemn way of their title to credence (P. 28.) "As an evi-'dential test this mass of testimony appears to us to admit of 'no dispute." "In consequence of a certain notification disse-'minated almost simultaneously over the whole presidency, 'without any previous warning or notice, 1,959 complaints were 'preferred within the space of three months by parties, the great 'majority of whom could have no means of acting in concert, 'poor, ignorant, and powerless, dwelling at great distances from, 'and totally unknown to, each other, and using even various lan-'guages—yet these complaints, one and all, speak to similar 'facts, detail similar practices, ascribe similar causes for their 'treatment. If this be a concocted plan, it is the most singular 'conspiracy in the world's history."*

Thus we have the extraordinary spectacle of three Commissioners, who were armed with special judicial powers "for the 'investigation of alleged complaints of torture," asserting the credibility of a mass of complaints, *without any examination of witnesses, or the defence of the accused being heard in a single instance!* A great public wrong has thus been done, and some indignation may allowably mingle with astonishment, when it is recollected that two of the Commissioners who have thus jumped to a conclusion, and pronounced these uninvestigated complaints to be true, are ignorant of the native languages and of administrative detail in the provinces, and that the mode in which these complaints were invited by proclamation rendered the greatest caution necessary. All who have Indian experience, know that such a commission would be extensively used, by a people fond of litigation, to make malicious attacks on adversaries, repeat appeals and bring forward old disputes in a new form, by adding a charge of torture. The promised payment of travelling expenses to complainants was also an incentive which required watching, as it enabled persons who had private business at Madras to make their journey at the public cost by presenting a complaint at the

* The gross misrepresentation in saying that these 1959 petitions tell one tale, and all relate to torture, will be mentioned presently.

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torture Commissioners' office, an expedient which native wit did not fail to discover. The complaints therefore required careful sifting, but have, in fact, received none. Some had been previously presented in the provinces, and the Commissioners addressed the local officers to ascertain how they had been disposed of; but even this information was not waited for, and the Commissioners have thought it consistent with their duty to publish and vouch for the truth of a mass of uninvestigated complaints, thus throwing a stain on various public servants who never had even heard that any charge had been made against them.

This course is fortunately unique in public affairs, and the Commissioners show their sense of its being open to grave objection by the apologetical explanation they offer for it. In Para. 33, they make the surprising declaration that, whatever might have been the result of an investigation into these complaints, "it could not alter or shake the convictions or conclusions at 'which we have arrived on the general questions submitted to 'us." So that if all these 1959 alleged complaints of torture had been found to be false, the Commissioners were still prepared to make that "sweeping declaration of their belief in the gene-'ral existence of torture for revenue purposes, which they ex-'press in Para. 55 of their Report!" Had any other Commissioners appointed for a judicial purpose, made such a declaration, and pronounced accusations to be true without hearing evidence or defence, we can imagine what a prominent place it would have occupied in Mr. J. B. Norton's book on the administration of justice in southern India, and in what terms it would have been spoken of by him at the bar of the Supreme Court.

Let us, however, give the Commissioners' explanation in their own words:—

"It is very true that our commission was appointed for the ''investigation of all such complaints as might be preferred 'before us,' but it is to be borne in mind that we were never 'constituted into a criminal tribunal to punish or award redress. 'Our instructions were to satisfy our own minds, and report our 'opinion upon the existence or non-existence of the alleged prac-'tice of torture; and we conceive that discretion was necessarily 'left to us as to the measure of investigation which we might 'deem necessary to enter into before satisfying our own judg-'ment. It was essential to make our report within a reason-'able time; and it is clear that had we tried each case brought 'before us, we could not have concluded the task under at least 'two years. Again we had no power, we conceive, to call the 'accused parties before us, or rather to put them upon their de-'fence. They might reasonably have refused to criminate them-'selves, or demurred to our jurisdiction to try them. Be that

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'as it may, we felt that, from the course which affairs have taken, 'it would be most improper for us to have sought to "try" each 'charge. Had a few isolated cases only presented themselves, 'the case might have been different; but as it is, with 1959 'complaints from all parts of the country, we thought that it 'would be in itself a cruel oppression, had we compelled the nu-'merous witnesses, named by the parties complaining, to leave 'their homes, and travel long distances to Madras, there to wait 'their turn of examination for an indefinite period. It would 'at the same time have proved a great impediment, if it did not 'completely put a stop to the civil administration of the country, 'had we sought to withdraw all the Tahsildars and other public 'officers complained against from the sphere of their duties; and 'under the pressure of these considerations, we determined that 'we should not be justified in endeavouring to bring up all the 'accused for trial. We therefore treated the complainants as 'parties appearing before us to make information on oath, we 'tested their credibility by their manner and deportment, and 'the probability of their story, which we corroborated whenever 'opportunity offered, by reference to extraneous circumstances, 'such for instance as inspecting or calling for petitions alleged 'to have been presented to the various provincial authorities, 'showing that the tale was not one of recent invention, obtain-'ing production of records where any partial investigation had 'previously taken place, and the like, leaving it to the Govern-'ment, should it deem necessary or expedient, to order 'criminal or other proceedings to be taken hereafter in any cases 'of more than ordinary severity. We have further referred 'many cases, which appeared to us to admit of easy investiga-'tion on the spot, to the various local authorities; and making 'every allowance for the tendency of natives to exaggerate, even 'when their story is founded on fact; being painfully conscious 'of their untruthfulness, knowing by experience how litigious 'and revengeful they are, we still think that most of their depo-'sitions, as a whole, bear marks of veracity, and that their stories 'are in the main true." (P. 27.) But the arguments thus used by the Commissioners are easy to be refuted. The judicial powers conferred on them by the legislature, were certainly intended to be used, and the very title given to their commission, shows that it was appointed "for the investigation of alleged cases of tor-'ture." The Madras Government, in addressing the Court of Di-rectors, mention that they had appointed a commission "to re-'ceive *and investigate* any complaints (of torture) which may be 'made to them by persons of any class," and the Commissioners themselves, in their proclamations, announced that they were prepared to make "*a thorough investigation*" of any complaints

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made to them, and that *witnesses* as well as complainants would be paid their travelling expenses. The object for which the Commissioners were appointed is therefore plain, and the non-performance of the duty assigned to them, is not satisfactorily explained by their remarks, that "if they had tried 'each case they could not have concluded their task under 'at least two years," and that it would have been "a cruel oppression" to bring so many complainants and witnesses long distances from their homes to Madras. Many of the complaints came from districts close to where the Commissioners were sitting, and Act XXXII. of 1854 enabled distant witnesses to be examined upon written interrogatories sent to the local judges or magistrates. There were consequently the means for testing at all events some of these complaints by a thorough investigation; and the Commissioners were not justified in omitting to do so, and yet swelling their report with the publication of these complaints, referring to them as an irresistible proof of the prevalence of torture in the revenue and police departments, when they had not been investigated or even made known to the parties accused.

The consequence has been what all persons of Indian experience would have anticipated. A large number of complaints have been laid before the public as true, which would have been found on enquiry to be exaggerated or worthless. We propose giving a few examples of the manner in which the Commissioners, and through them, the public, have been imposed upon. To begin with the first petition of the series (Appendix E, No. 1.) Here is an allegation of torture being employed, not by a petty officer, but by one of the highest servants of a collector, to induce the injured party to sell some land, and of redress being sought from the collector in vain. The Commissioners give emphasis to the charge by saying, that parties named by the first complainant, on being separately examined, confirmed all the important particulars, and that one among them was the village moonsiff or head inhabitant. Here then is a serious charge, with, ostensibly, some foundation, but the accused sheristadar was not heard, and the Commissioners obtained no information from the collector. Had this been done, they would have learnt that there was no sale of land and no torture. A Mr. Potter wished to obtain some waste land in the village of Arimbaukum for agricultural purposes, and applied to the collector for a grant. The parties who complained to the Commissioners belong to that village, and opposed Mr. Potter's application, claiming the land for themselves. *The collector decided in their favor*, but on the matter coming before the Board of Revenue, the opposition of the villagers was pronounced invalid, and the land, which had long been unoccupied,

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was ordered to be given to Mr. Potter for establishing a farm. Advantage has been taken of the appointment of the torture commission to revive their dispute, by tacking to it a charge of torture, in which the complainants did not scruple to implicate the collector, who had supported their cause! The case is thus amply suggestive, and it is made complete by the collector, who is represented as refusing all redress to the tortured and aggrieved parties, being Mr. J. D. Bourdillon, the Indian reformer, one of the authors of the well-known report on public works in the Madras presidency, and the model collector and magistrate of Mr. J. B. Norton's newspaper.

Petition No. 13 E, complains of two kinds of torture being used by a tahsildar, for the recovery of an arrear, and yet the arrear was due, not to Government, but to a Pagoda, with which the Government and its servants have no concern.

In No. 49 E, an allegation of torture for the collection of an arrear of revenue is made, and the complainant, like numerous others, was obliged to admit that he had made no complaint to the European officers of his district. To account for this, he says, that the collector always dismissed such complaint with the observation, "you had better pay the money." This again was Mr. Bourdillon's district, and notwithstanding his well-known zeal against abuses, and his exertions to trace out any relics of torture, which are conspicuous in the Report, his name is thus brought forward by this petitioner, apparently to annoy an adversary, or obtain his travelling expenses.

Nos. 21 E and 22 F, are from the same person, and relate to the same subject—a piece of ground for a shop—regarding which it is shown that petitioner was righted by the local assistant magistrate.

Nos. 15 and 27 F. It apppears that these complaints were made to the magistrate, who summoned the parties and appointed a day for their investigation, when the complainants did not take the trouble to attend.

No. 23 F. is presented by a carnum or village accountant who had been dismissed for fraudulent misconduct. In his applications to the collector for restoration to office, no mention of ill-usage is to be found. But those applications were unsuccessful, and he now addresses the Commissioners, declaring, for the purpose of gaining their attention, that he was beaten and pinched by the tahsildar to make him give up his public accounts of the village, which, it need hardly be said, are *the property of Government!* Could satire go further regarding these petitions?

No. 28 F. This is a petition from a few discontented persons in Canara, who avail themselves of the notification inviting complaints, to indulge in a general rabid attack on Government.

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Like several others of these printed petitions, it will be found to contain *no mention of any personal ill-treatment*, and the Commissioners, in Para. 58 of their report, notice Canara as a model for other provinces in respect to light taxation, and a sound system of administration—yet it has been thought fit to swell the report with this production, and thus give it official currency.

Here we stop, as our object is only to show, by a few patent examples, the real value of uninvestigated native complaints, especially when they have been called forth by a proclamation, and promises of travelling expenses. Even without such stimulants, the majority of Indian complaints are found to be exaggerated and untrue, and in vouching for the credibility of all the petitions presented to them, without investigating their truth, the Commissioners have shown how little reliance is to be placed on their experience and judgment.*

The *Times* newspaper recently published a letter from Mr. Dickinson, secretary of the India Reform Society, containing the lamentation of Mr. J. B. Norton, that the report, "after 'being a nine days' wonder," was forgotten, and had led to no results. As the Commissioners had neglected the particular duty assigned to them of "investigating alleged cases of torture," and

* The official printed Report of criminal justice in the Madras presidency for 1855, shows that accusations and convictions are usually as follow :—

1853.

Accused.	*No. of Persons.*	*Punished.*	*No. of Persons.*
Before Village Police,	11,368	By Village Police,	5,008
„ District Ditto	186,038	„ District Ditto	41,465
„ Magistracy	6,822	„ Magistracy	2,377
		„ the Criminal Courts	2,951
	204,228		51,801

1854.

Accused.	*No. of Persons.*	*Punished.*	*No. of Persons.*
Before Village Police,	11,528	By Village Police,	5,668
„ District Ditto	190,685	„ District Ditto	44,741
„ Magistracy	7,725	„ Magistracy	2,883
		„ the Criminal Courts	4,387
	209,938		57,679

1855.

Accused.	*No. of Persons.*	*Punished.*	*No. of Persons.*
Before Village Police,	12,403	By Village Police,	6,013
„ District Ditto	191,359	„ District Ditto	43,462
„ Magistracy	6,407	„ Magistracy	2,199
		„ the Criminal Courts	3,805
	210,169		55,479

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had avowedly written their Report before their enquiries "were 'brought to a close" (P. 33), such a termination would not have been surprising; but an important result *did* follow, and confirms the remarks here written. Impressed at first with the Report, Government ordered an investigation of the complaints left unexamined by the Commissioners, and directed that in these and all other similar charges, the papers were to be laid before them. From the information thus acquired, Lord Harris, whose zeal against torture or any other form of misrule will not be disputed, has found it necessary, "*in justice to the individuals accused and the 'public interests,*" to issue circular instructions to officers in the provinces that charges of torture and violence require careful and full scrutiny, "that opportunity must be afforded to the accused 'of proving their innocence," and "that the evidence, both 'against them and in their favor, must be closely sifted and care-'fully weighed," lest the servants of Government "should be sa-'crificed to mere clamor, or caught by plots concocted purposely 'to entrap them."*

Having touched on the above fallacious parts of the report, we come to consider the general question, whether many relics of coercion or torture do still really linger in the provinces, either in the police or revenue departments; and this leads us to notice briefly the "evidence" on which the Commissioners formed their conclusion that torture still extensively prevails, and their remarks on the European servants of Government. First, as regards the actual evidence, we find the pursuit of it to resemble much the chase of a shadow. It is divided ostentatiously into five heads, but when attempted to be grappled with, dissolves generally into a mass of opinions and unsubstantiated statements. The first head is styled "the old authorities," and only proves that before the commencement of the Company's rule, violence and abuses prevailed, which the Government was immediately anxious to suppress. When, however, the Commissioners finish their detail on this head, and remark (P. 19) that they have thus cleared their way, "and ascertained the existence 'of torture at any rate down *to a comparatively recent date,*" we find on referring to their history, that their most recent instance of torture *occurred twenty years ago.* The next head of evidence, or "the modern authorities," consist of the opinions and general information given on the subject by European servants of Government, and other residents in the interior; and we have already shown how they differ from the Commissioners as to the comparative prevalence of "torture,"

* See the printed Circular Orders of the Court of Foujdarry Adawlut and the Revenue Board for August, 1856.

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in collecting the revenue, and the inapplicability of such a term as "torture" to the petty acts of coercion or indignity which are occasionally employed by impatient native underlings towards a few recusant defaulters. The next head of evidence consists of "eye-witnesses," whom the Commissioners have discovered. These are twelve in number, though one, Lieut. Tireman, speaks from hearsay only; another, the Rev. L. Verdier, merely heard flogging which might have been the legal punishment of offenders, and the Rev. H. A. Kanudinga alludes to police, not to revenue officers. There thus remain nine individuals who speak of having witnessed acts of oppression, principally blows of a stick, during a period extending over thirteen years, throughout twenty-one large provinces, with a population of twenty-two millions. This infinitesimal quantity of evidence in an extensive presidency, must be considered to give small weight to the "sweeping" assertion of the Commissioners' belief "in the general existence of torture for revenue 'purposes." Nor will its weight be increased when other witnesses are heard, whose testimony is valuable from their acquaintance with the people and their language, and from their having passed a large portion of their lives in districts where, according to the Commissioners, "torture" extensively abounds. Thus the Rev. Mr. Addis, a missionary clergyman, writes, (Appendix C.): "I have resided in the province of Coimbatore 'since 1830, which is of considerable extent, nearly equal to North 'and South Wales, containing about 8,000 square miles, with a 'population of 1,53,862. During the time of my residence 'here, I have mingled freely with the natives of all classes and 'in different parts, visiting their public places of resort, frequently sleeping in their midst, in choultries, and also in their villages 'for weeks together, and where unrestrained communications are 'common, and I flatter myself as possessing their confidence 'and friendship, but I do not recollect ever having seen torture 'applied for the purpose of collecting the revenue of Government, *nor hearing of its being applied for the purpose.*" Regarding the populous province of Tanjore, the Rev. C. Ocks observes, (Appendix C.) that, "during twelve years' residence, he has 'not been impressed with an opinion, that torture is made 'use of in collecting the revenue. The only mode of enforcing the revenue of which he has heard is that of lodging a peon on the premises of the defaulters, who have to 'pay him batta." The Rev. D. Spommere, a Roman catholic missionary who resides in the same province, has also never had his attention called to the subject; and other similar testimony might be adduced; but it is needless, as the Commissioners themselves are obliged to admit how scanty this description of

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proof is. "Few of the civil engineers," they remark (P. 20) "few of the missionaries, can testify to the existence of torture," and again, "it may be thought singular that but few of the mer-'chants or Europeans engaged in agriculture, have detailed 'instances of torture as coming under their personal expe-'rience." Also "few of the medical men attached to zillah 'stations, have any experience of the practice. When it is 'remembered that they have charge of the jails, that it is 'their duty personally to inspect the prisoners, and that from 'being at the head of public dispensaries, they must necessarily 'become acquainted with great numbers of the poor suffering 'from bodily ailments, it cannot but excite surprise to find al-'most every one of them declaring that neither do their records 'show, nor does their own experience furnish them with cases 'of complaints of personal violence." But the public are not likely to share the Commissioners' surprise, and follow them in trying to discover reasons to reconcile this phenomenon with their assertion that torture is still generally prevalent. Unbiassed minds will take the more common-place course of supposing that where a thing is not seen or heard of it does not exist; especially when they observe that during the recent danger to our empire, the Government officials in the Madras presidency have mixed with the people as before, respected and unarmed, and that no instances have occurred of oppressed provinces rising against their rules, or Government Legrees, either white or coloured, falling the victims of an outraged and infuriated people. If the report was true, a jacquerie was to have been expected, but all has been tranquillity and order.

The fourth head of evidence is termed "evidence taken by 'the commission," and consists of *ex parte* statements taken from some of the persons who brought petitions or complaints. We have already exposed the manifest injustice of publishing as true a large collection of uninvestigated complaints, and our indignation is not lessened, because in some instances the Commissioners took down *ex parte* statements from the petitioners without subjecting them to any test. No cross-examination has been held, no witnesses have been examined, and no defence has been heard. Whatever the petitioners chose to say to the Commissioners, was accepted without hesitation, and all who are acquainted with India, will understand the mass of rubbish which has thus been palmed off by parties who used the temporary outcry about torture, to annoy a rival or enemy, to bring forward in a new shape disputes already decided against them, or to claim their travelling expenses when wishing to visit the Presidency.

But the report of the Commissioners is open to another

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serious charge respecting these petitions, as it will be found that undeserved weight has been given to them by a gross exaggeration regarding their number. In Para. 28 they are spoken of in the following emphatic words which we again quote: "In consequence of a certain notification disseminated almost simultaneously over the whole presidency, without any previous warning or notice, 1,957 complaints were preferred within the space of three months by parties, the great majority of whom could have had no means of acting in concert, poor, ignorant and powerless, dwelling at great distances from, and totally unknown to each other, and using even various languages. Yet these complainants, *one and all*, speak to similar facts, detail similar practices, ascribe similar causes for their ill-treatment. If this be a concocted plan, it is the most singular conspiracy in the world's history."

Thus Government and the public have been led to believe by this eloquent and elaborate passage, that these petitions "*one and all*" relate to torture; and this is no clerical or casual error, since in another place (P. 27) the Commissioners urge the impossibility of examining all these 1,957 complaints as an excuse for not having investigated any of them. What then will be thought on its being pointed out that the great majority of these complaints do not refer to torture or personal ill-usage of any description, but to various other subjects, such as are described in P. 10—viz: dismissals from office, appeals from convicted prisoners—restoration of lands—private quarrels—remissions of revenue, and "other subjects which it would be tedious to specify?" We find for instance from P. 31, that out of 850 complaints presented in person to the Commissioners, 280 had no connection with the subject of their enquiry, and the Commissioners in their letter to Government, dated 16th April, (see Appendix) show that out of the 1,440 petitions or letters which reached them by post, 854 were set apart as relating "*to matters not falling within the scope of their investigation.*" The vaunted complaints of torture thus at once sink from 1,959 to 832, and the truth of these had still to be ascertained by investigation, when the report was written! To estimate the real paucity of these complaints, it must be borne in mind that they were brought forth by proclamation under the stimulants of redress for real injuries, payments of travelling expenses, and opportunities for renewing litigation and indulging malice and envy—that they were invited for a period of seven years, throughout a large presidency, where the land revenue alone is paid annually direct to Government by 1,630,084 individuals. In the offices at Madras and in each province, the annual petitions amount to thousands.

The fifth and last head of evidence is styled "native officers'

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'admissions." Encouragement and indemnity were held out for these revelations, but very few have been elicited, and only four are detailed in Appendix G. The first witness, a retired tahsildar, after describing the acts of coercion still occasionally resorted to, says, "ill-treatment is not common." The second witness, a sheristadar, states that the number of persons ill-treated, "is very limited." The third witness principally argues for the separation of revenue and police functions, and the fourth witness seems to think the distraint and sale of a defaulter's property, one of the worst forms of oppression. His inconsecutive and rambling communications show that under British rule the people have learnt not to submit to wrongs in silence, and that their state shines in comparison with that of the subjects of a native prince whose territory he visited.

Such is the really weak and unsifted evidence on which this "sweeping" attack on the Madras administration rests, and it only remains to notice the remarks made on the European officers. Has there been any complicity or supineness on their part, and are they in consequence mistrusted by the people? On the contrary, it is shown that the obnoxious acts which formed the subject of enquiry, were universal under the preceding native Governments, and "have of late years been steadily decreasing 'both in severity and extent" (P. 53) through the exertions of the European officers. So general and clear is the testimony on this point from missionaries, European settlers, and the people themselves, who find their best protection in the presence of English officers, that the Commissioners remark: "There is not 'a native public servant from the highest to the lowest, who does 'not well know that these practices are held in abhorrence by his 'European superiors" (P. 66,) and again in P. 70,—"We have 'seen nothing to impress us with the belief that the people 'at large entertain an idea that their maltreatment is coun-'tenanced by the European officers of Government;" on the contrary, "the abstinence of the native officials from such 'practices in or near the stations where Europeans, be they 'civilians, surgeons, commissariat or other officers, reside; and 'the prevalence of torture increasing in proportion as the taluk 'appears less exposed to European scrutiny, are strong argu-'ments in favor of a consciousness on the part of the native 'officials, that they cannot with impunity resort to illegal and 'personal violence when it admits of easy and speedy substan-'tiation before the European authorities of the districts; and 'the whole cry of the people which has come up to us, is to 'save them from the cruelties of their fellow natives, not from 'the effect of unkindness, or indifference on the part of the 'European officers."

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What then, we again ask, becomes of the Commissioners' "sweeping assertion," that torture prevails generally in the revenue department, when it comes not near the collectors and magistrates, who are living among the people, visiting continually the villages of their districts, and settling thousands and thousands of complaints on every conceivable subject; and when it is confessedly unknown to the great body of the missionaries, the civil engineers, the commissariat officers, the district surgeons and the European residents, whom commerce or agriculture leads into the provinces? The public, we anticipate, will have little hesitation in reversing the Commissioners' judgment, and deciding that the balance of truth on Sir J. Hogg's side far outweighs that of Mr. Danby Seymour. It becomes, therefore, an interesting point to ascertain how a contrary impression got abroad among those unacquainted with India. Several causes have contributed to this result. A local press, generally hostile to the East India Company and its civil service, which it regards as an obnoxious monopoly, has continually used the "torture" question as a point of attack, and the India reform society at home has repeated the charge in all shapes and at all times. To aid their attack they have been able to quote from a large volume, which carried weight as an official publication, without the general public, who trusted to their quotations, being aware that the Commissioners had mis-used the term "torture," and entirely failed to execute that duty of investigating complaints which was specially entrusted to them.

Thus on the one side were perpetual attacks, while on the other the English officers, conscious of their integrity, left truth to make its own way, and maintained a proud silence. Although therefore, the inflated bubble did not deceive those acquainted with India, it is not surprising that repeated and uncontradicted allegations of torture made some impression on the public mind at home, accustomed as it was to the writings of Macaulay and the eloquence of Burke, in which old Indian annals and morality are depicted in most sombre tints. Thus have the sins of the fathers been visited in some degree on the children.

The assailants also of the Madras ryotwary system have in some degree helped to facilitate a belief in the revenue being collected by violence, through their mistaken pictures of a race of pauper peasants. We are not however about to plunge into this vexed question; nor is it necessary. Torture cannot be encouraged by the hereditary proprietors and occupants of the soil, paying their dues direct to Government, instead of being placed under zemindars or other middlemen; and much as the ryotwary system has been misunderstood, its admirers have at last the satisfaction of seeing it appreciated and imitated.

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While we write, Mr. Currie has brought his ryottee bill before the Legislative Council, which, according to the *Friend of India* of the 19th November last, is to confer on Bengal the following "three immense reforms: 1st, it releases the ryot from his per-'sonal slavery to the zemindar, making him a tenant instead of 'a serf—2nd, it enables him to throw up his land if he chooses 'without reference to anything save his own voluntary engage-'ment, or his own free will—3rd, it secures him his property 'so long as he pays his rent, without risk of that rent being 'illegally enhanced." The Madras system has conferred on the ryot all these advantages, with the great additional one of being acknowledged by Government as the absolute and unfettered proprietor of his farm. But notwithstanding these helping causes, the attack on the Madras administration, respecting torture, would not have had such success, we readily admit, if it had not contained some truth. Its fault is, unjust and gross exaggeration, not total falsehood. The habits of a nation, founded as they are on national character, thought, feeling and mode of education, take long to alter; and little more than half a century has elapsed since in most of the Madras provinces a native Government had to use violence to collect its revenues, because the people dreaded its rapacity, and knew that prompt payment would be considered a sign of wealth and lead to further demands. This fear has been removed by a fixed and more* moderate revenue, but the oriental dislike to part with money, and hopes of ultimately gaining remission, lead occasionally to the old habit of procrastination, and although instruments of torture have long since been banished from the land, petty acts of coercion or threats are sometimes used, despite the exertions of European officers, to obstinate defaulters. But this is only for what the Commissioners style in a candid part of their report, "the dregs of the revenue," and complaints rarely follow, because the injury is so trifling that "the loss of time spent in 'complaining is felt as the greater inconvenience of the two." (Letter of the Revd. S. Dewasagayeun, Appendix C.) And the parties know the justness of the claim, and are aware that they brought the treatment on themselves, and were liable to the distraint and sale of their property, which they consider a harsher and more odious course.†

* The land tax is here spoken of in comparison of what it used to be under the preceding native Government. We gladly hail the measures now in progress for its further modification.

† The mode of tax-gathering by oriental Governments may be seen described in Sharpe's History of Egypt - Hadji Baba, and numerous books of eastern travel. A recent traveller in Syria has described that a man loses caste in his village

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Again, as an instrument of police, torture in its real sense has always been resorted to in oriental countries, to obtain proof of guilt, or recover stolen property; and though the practice has greatly diminished through the exertions of the European officers, as observed by the Commissioners, we dare not hope that it is altogether eradicated, either in Madras or in the other presidencies. Much, however, has been accomplished, and the known abhorrence felt for it by Europeans, the punishments* inflicted on parties convicted of its perpetration, and the positive refusal to admit as evidence, alleged confessions before native police officers, aided by the spread of education and more humane and just ideas, will, it is hoped, gradually lead to its extinction. But, as already observed, national habits alter slowly; and we must recollect how lately the rack was used in England, and that the extraction of confessions by prolonged mental harassment, by scanty diet and unwholesome dungeons, as well as by even sharper means, is not yet banished from all European countries. But it is unnecessary to pursue this part of the subject, which has been treated in the Report with ability as well as fairness, omitting the error of publishing complaints, which have not undergone investigation. The Commissioners show the connection between the torture of criminals and the habits of the people in their various social relations, including the still popular trial by ordeal; and the Hindoo religion encourages inhumanities, by its visions of deities who delight in bloodshed, and expect sacrifices and painful acts of penance from their worshippers. One observation, however, seems called

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if he pays without blows, instead of being disgraced by them, since all would suffer by his yielding readily to demands which are made in proportion to the supposed power of payment The land tax in Madras is fixed and known to all the ryots, so that this reason for resisting the demands of Government has long ceased to exist. But we see traditional relics of the practice in our magisterial and criminal courts. It is common to see a convicted person pray for the remission or modification of a fine, urging that he has no means to pay, and must be ruined together with his family if sent to prison. The judge or magistrate is however obdurate, and orders the warrant for his imprisonment to be made out, upon which he produces the money from his turban or waistcloth, pays the fine and walks off unabashed.

* An impression has got abroad that real efforts have not been made to suppress acts of ill-usage and violence, because light punishments appear to be occasionally inflicted for grave offences. But this is an error, and arises from the mode in which the magisterial returns of punishments published in the report, are drawn out. They show the charge made, *not the offence proved*, which under oriental exaggeration is usually very different,—and then the punishment. The returns might be usefully corrected on this point. Dismissal from the service is the prescribed penalty, when an European officer strikes a native, and it is not therefore to be supposed that Government permits leniency to other offenders.

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for—it is to caution the English reader against supposing that the native police officers have any pre-eminence in cruelty. The people practice torture on suspected criminals in cases which have not been brought before the public authorities, and some of the most cruel instances occur in this manner. We could immediately quote as examples, sepoys on a march, burning the fingers of villagers with oiled rags on a theft being committed in their camp—a school-master smearing pupils with sugared water and placing them for punishment on the nests of stinging ants,—and women servants being indecently tortured in families of respectable position to recover missing marriage ornaments, the loss of which was thought a bad omen. The efforts of the magistracy for the suppression of this evil, have thus been scantily supported by native public opinion; but still the use of violence towards prisoners has been so much extinguished that it is unknown, as the Commissioners observe, in neighbourhoods where the European officers reside, and is yearly decreasing. Happily this is no matter of opinion—every prisoner committed for trial is inspected by the medical officer on reaching the zillah jail, and questioned by the judge as to his treatment by the police, and yet the Commissioners found on enquiry that "few of the medi-'cal men attached to zillah stations, have any experience of the 'practice of torture."

Such has been the origin and termination of the Torture Commission. It was appointed with the most benevolent intentions, but it would have carried more weight, if, from the bar of the supreme court, or other independent quarter, another member had been selected instead of Mr. J. B. Norton, whose praises of Mr. D. Seymour, and previous attacks on the administration of the country in the *Athenæum* newspaper, gave him a personal interest in the subject under enquiry, and prevented his coming to it with an unprejudiced mind. Mr. Norton is fully entitled to his opinion that India would be better governed with an open than with a covenanted civil service; but a person who has attacked the whole system of Government, and carried his opinions so far as to assert that all the Company's judicial officers exhibit a dead level of incapacity and ignorance, and that Madras has declined in prosperity, since educated English gentlemen presided over the law courts of its provinces in supercession of Hindoo pundits and Mohammedan cazees, was not sufficiently unbiassed to give weight to the Torture Commission. It was also a mistake to invite complaints by proclamation, and to promise payment of expenses to parties who came forward to complain.

The papers published with the report, show that a call upon the public servants, the missionaries, the engineer and medical

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officers, and other English gentlemen scattered through the provinces, joined to a scrutiny of public records, would have obtained the desired information, and these temporary jealousies, and mistrust between the people and the native officials, would have been avoided. But notwithstanding these drawbacks, it may be hoped that the good caused by the enquiry will ultimately preponderate. The information furnished to the Commissioners, and now published in a collected and handy form, throws much useful light on the habits and feelings of the people; and the attention drawn to the subject will hasten the extirpation of the last remnants of oppression, whether in the shape of actual torture, or in acts of petty molestation. A spur will also be given, we trust, to the revision of the land assessment now in progress; and it is to this measure that we look with most confidence, next to the growth of feelings of self-respect and humanity, through the influence of European character and the spread of education.

Before taking leave of the Report, we may add that among much that is sad and grotesque, it contains some passages which raise a smile. It will surprise the English public to find that resort to the legal process of distraint and sale of property, is designated "torture," by some who have answered the public invitation to complain, and that the Commissioners themselves bring under that abhorred term such acts as placing a defaulter under temporary arrest—or seating him in the sun where natives of the highest caste ordinarily walk bareheaded—or obliging him to pay the legal expenses of a notice, or laying a temporary embargo on his cattle. Some of the parties also, who have supplied information, speak with such little real and personal knowledge of the subject, that we hear of native judges torturing prisoners, though no such officers exist, (Right Rev. A. Canoz, Appendix C.) and *of witnesses* in criminal cases being put to torture (Rev. S. G. Coyle, Appendix C.) We have, too, the honest indignation of a sturdy British merchant, called forth by Mr. Danby Seymour's attempt to explain away the fact that so little is known of torture, even in provinces where it has been alleged to abound. Mr. Glasson of Calicut observes (Appendix C.): "If Mr. Seymour's information is no better 'generally than the specimen he gives in the following sentence, 'viz.—British merchants who knew it (the existence of tor-'ture) were afraid to disclose it, because they feared their 'position might be affected by the displeasure of the Indian 'Government, it is not worth much. I, as one of that body, 'totally deny the charge, not only verbally, but in deeds." Lest however, a warlike intention should be supposed in the event of

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Mr. D. Seymour repeating his visit to India, we will add that the deeds referred to by Mr. Glasson, are previous exertions on his part to bring to light grievances and wrongs, for proof of which he refers to the public records.

Before ending our remarks the Madras Hindoo Association calls for a brief notice. It is composed almost entirely of natives at the presidency, not belonging to the Brahmanical class, and affords a gratifying sign of the progress of education, independence and wealth. Like, however, many other young societies, composed of partially educated men, it has displayed more sail than ballast, and has been remarkable for exaggeration, and a seeking after notoriety. To gain this latter object, it has continually inveighed against the Government, under which its members have risen to wealth and independence, and which has been wisely tolerant of its follies and imitations of English agitation. It was to assail the Government and its rivals of the Brahmanical order, who are the largest, though by no means the exclusive holders of the higher appointments in the provinces, that it revived accounts of obsolete tortures and acts of oppression, and brought them forward, as if still in active existence. It failed to see, in its blind desire to attack, that this unjust accusation would redound to its own injury, as an enquiry was sure to show that the practices were entirely of native origin, and that the present remnant of them has continued in spite of the efforts of the European officers for their suppression. The association must now bid "a long farewell" to prospective greatness in the enjoyment of those judgeships, collectorates and seats in council, to which they have advanced such loud claims. Public opinion has now turned, and is for more European officers to protect the people from native officials; and the Indian Government has been actually charged with complicity in torture, for not having already taken this step, and for having followed Lord W. Bentinck's views, so recently in popular favor, of leaving administrative detail to native agency. The engineer has thus been "hoisted with his own petard," and though we regret the result on account of a meritorious native service, and the cause of national advancement, we must acknowledge a just nemesis as respects the members of the association, and exclaim:

"Nec lex justior ulla
"Quam necis artifices arte perire sua."

One word in conclusion regarding the Brahmin servants of Government, to whom the Commissioners make allusion in their Report, on account of the numerous public offices which they fill.

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So recently as the time of Sir J. Malcolm, it was our acknowledged policy to entrust the higher appointments exclusively to them, and their superior acquirements and influence with the people justified the choice, and in fact, made their aid indispensible. Times are now altered through the spread of education, and it has become equally just and politic to open the public service to merit in all classes of the community. But in doing this, let us avoid the vulgar error of rushing from one extreme to another, and now raising a cry against a body of men who have rendered valuable service to the state, and without whose aid, in the infancy of our rule, we could not have governed the country. To alienate them from us, and thus fall into the mistake which cost the French so dear by weakening their influence in southern India, is surely neither necessary nor wise.

Here our task ends, and we shall have accomplished our object if we moderate the indignation caused in the public mind by the bare idea of torture, and lead the subject to be considered in an impartial and dispassionate spirit. It is strange that while the administration of our magnificent Indian empire has called forth the wonder of the world, and the eulogies of distinguished foreigners, it should thus be assailed by parties among ourselves. But under a free Government, there will always be found persons who seek to obtain advancement and influence or notoriety by any means, as well as others who exhibit a righteous, though sometimes a hasty and misdirected zeal against any appearance of oppression or wrong. The result happily is a watchful scrutiny over public affairs, and continual amendment and progress; but there appears at the same time the singular paradox of our claiming the general applause and imitation of foreign nations, as the leaders of civilisation, while they can point to most gloomy and repulsive pictures of our administration painted by our own hands.

Fortunately, however, in this instance, the real state of the Madras presidency has been shown to the world by the loyalty and tranquillity of its provinces, during the late shock to our empire; and the officers who are engaged in its administration have now a right to expect that the idle calumny of its revenues being collected by torture, which should gratify none but slave-owners in America, and the rulers of Russia and Naples, will not be repeated. To show the feelings of the people themselves, we extract from the official gazette one of those numerous loyal addresses which the Madras Government has received from its subjects during the recent crisis. It was presented when Delhi was still untaken, when the possible restoration of Mohammedan ascendancy in southern India, through the Hyderabad and

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Carnatic royal families, formed a subject of native conversation; and when the Government had only two regiments of European infantry at its command. This particular address has been selected as coming from a district which is frequently mentioned in the Torture Report, and in which the Madras Hindoo association had established a branch society to spread its peculiar views—

To the Right Honorable Lord Harris,

Governor in Council, Madras.

"My Lord,—We, the undersigned inhabitants of South Arcot, 'think it a duty that we owe as much to ourselves as to Government, of which we are the faithful and happy subjects, to convey to your Lordship at this crisis, when that happiness is 'attempted to be disturbed by the treacherous and savage proceedings of the native soldiery in Bengal, our full and cordial 'participation in the feelings of sympathy and loyalty towards 'the British Government, already recorded by our brethren at 'the presidency. Indeed, the language adopted by the Madras 'inhabitants, as published now in the Fort St. George Gazette, 'so well and truly represents the views entertained by the population of this province, and we have no doubt of the other 'provinces, under this presidency, that any elaborate address on our part would only involve a repetition of the very terms in 'which those views are embodied. We trust, however, that it 'will afford your Lordship gratification to learn that the ryot 'in the interior is as much interested, if not more so, in the 'preservation and increased prosperity of the British Government, 'as the merchant or the public servant; and that the time is 'happily long past when he was indifferent as to the country 'or nation to which his rulers belonged. For upwards of half 'a century the inhabitants of southern India have uninterruptedly enjoyed a peace and tranquillity to which they had for centuries before been strangers; and the blessings of that peace, 'too numerous to be here detailed, have had, and do still have, 'such direct and obvious bearing upon the condition of the ryots, 'that it is with unfeigned abhorrence that they have viewed the 'progress of the Bengal mutiny, and look upon its authors as the 'greatest curse that could befall them.

"We have no hesitation therefore, my Lord, in endorsing our 'sincere and unqualified assent to the conviction expressed by our 'Madras brethren, "that the overthrow of the British power in 'India would be the greatest calamity that could befall the 'natives." But that is happily a contingency which, we are persuaded, the might of the British Government is too strong to

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'admit of occurring; and we beg to conclude with repeating the 'assurance of our loyalty to a Government from which we have 'experienced nothing but benevolence, and towards whom, there- 'fore, we entertain no feelings, but those of strong attachment 'and deep gratitude."

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